
How is spatial governance changing under the construction of new relations of production? -- Based on the case study of Jiangling Village, Guangdong Province

Li Guotai

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Abstract

E-commerce, as a kind of production relations, is closely linked to the process of rural revitalization in China. For this reason, the construction of an e-commerce village is both a change in production relations and a change in village space, becoming one of the focal points of the academic community. However, there are few existing studies on village governance, and these suffer from a split between 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' perspectives, a split between cross-regional networks within and outside villages, and a lack of historical continuity. In order to avoid these problems, this thesis uses a framework of 'flow space' and 'translation' to study e-commerce and its impact on spatial governance. A typical case study is taken from Jiangling Village in C City, Guangdong Province. Meanwhile, the thesis uses a chronological narrative to detail how three key actors i.e., the government, village committees and e-commerce households translate e-commerce into a network of local actors through a process of translation, which leads to a distinction between the governance of space and the governance of production relations within space among different actors. Through this study, this thesis answers the research question “What are the changes in rural spatial governance?” and “What are the reasons for the changes based on the revelations from case study of the Jiangling village in C city?”

During the construction phase of the e-commerce village, the government, the village committee and the e-merchants were in a state of "three networks under one", which jointly influenced the village space and production relations within the space. However, after the completion of the e-commerce village in 2018, the withdrawal of the municipality led to the separation and division of the government, the village committee and the e-merchant households into "three networks in parallel", in which the town government and the village committee only maintain the spatial landscape of the village, while the e-merchant households deal with the dilemmas of production relations alone.

In terms of the causes of change in governance, this thesis finds that municipal government power links reconfigure multiple networks of governance, and that administrative power contributes to the "three networks in one", giving town and village councils the function of governing the space and production relations within it. Differences in the embedding of production relations lead to the 'three networks in parallel', with different actors focusing on the governance of space and its production

relations. The contradiction between the 'space of flow' and 'locality' of production relations in e-commerce is the source of the fragmentation of governing the space and production relations within it.

Keyword: E-commerce, Digital Economy; Space of flow; Rural Governance

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

With the rise of information and communication technology (ICT) and the information economy, the network-based "flow space" has become the dominant form of global spatial organization, reshaping global economic relations and organization (Castells, 1996). At the same time, the 'space of flows' formed by ICT-derived networks are creating a range of activities and organisations based on localization, which is manifested in the rise and development of e-commerce villages in China, represented by the 'Taobao Village' ¹(Zhou, 2021). According to a report by the Ali Research Institute (2020), e-commerce villages have exploded since 2012, from three Taobao villages in 2009 to more than 5,000 Taobao villages by 2020. 90% of the villages are located in the three major metropolitan areas of the Pearl River Delta, Yangtze River Delta and Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei, with an extension into the mid-west (Figure 1-1, 1-2). In 2020, the annual turnover of online shops in Taobao villages and towns will exceed 1 trillion yuan, generating more than 8.28 million jobs. (Ali, 2020), and they are attracting a significant portion of people, especially young people, from the cities back to the countryside, becoming an important driving force for rural revitalization (Qia et al., 2019; Luo and He, 2017; Zhou et al., 2018).

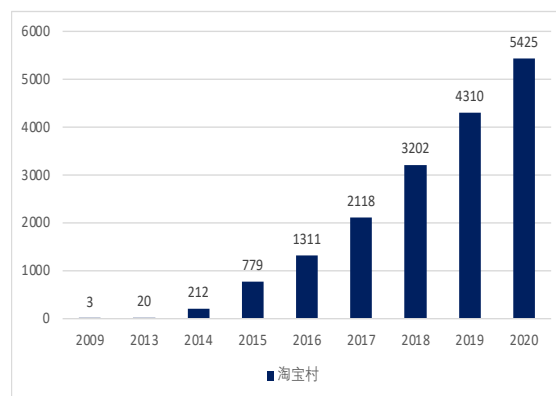


Figure 1-1 Number of Taobao villages in China (2009-2020)

Source: Ali report

¹ A village where more than 10% of households operate a Taobao shop and the village's e-commerce revenue exceeds RMB 10 million per year

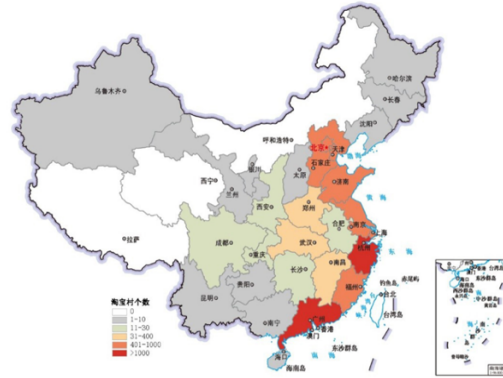


Figure 1-2 Distribution of Taobao villages in China in 2020

Source: Ali report

The rapid rise of e-commerce villages cannot be separated from the government's promotion. Several policy were made to support the construction of e-commerce villages, such as the No. 1 central document of 2012 and 2022, *the Circular on Comprehensive Demonstration of E-Commerce in Rural Areas, Guidance on Promoting the Accelerated Development of Rural E-Commerce and so on*. By 2020, the state supported a total of 1,185 e-commerce villages, with a capital investment of over 23.7 billion yuan; rural e-tailing transactions also grew rapidly from less than 0.1 trillion yuan in 2013 to 1.79 trillion yuan by 2020.

The construction of e-commerce villages is both a change in production relations and a new round of spatial transformation, which has become one of the focal topics in academia (e.g. Luo Jianfa, 2013; Luo Zhendong, 2020; Qiu Zeqi, 2021, etc.). Despite the different development models of e-commerce village, the governance dilemmas that emerge in e-commerce villages in the existing literature are highly similar, i.e. internal space fragmentation, the face of internal vicious competition, the virtual absence of an e-commerce association, the absence of a governance body, the lack of response to external crises and so on.(Luo, 2020). However, there is relatively little research in the existing literature on the governance of e-commerce villages compared to other areas, which raises the author's concern. Since e-commerce is a form of 'space of flow' in which state power plays an important role, the rise of e-commerce and the emergence of the local governance dilemmas can therefore be seen as the result of the interaction of the 'space of flow' into local space under the influence of state power (Castells, 1996; Luo, 2020). Therefore, from the perspective of space of flow, this thesis attempts to explore the reason of the general governance dilemmas from a theoretical perspective, and selects the Jiangling village as a typical case for theoretical explanation, following the logic of analysis from the general to the particular. The Jiangling village is an ideal

model for observing the changes in governance arising from the flow of e-commerce into local spaces under the domination of state power. Before the construction of the e-commerce village, the village was a 'hollow village'² with an exodus of population and decaying industries. In 2013, C City proposed to build the "First E-Commerce Village" in Jiangling Village, raising the construction of the village's e-commerce village to the municipal level and giving it multiple support in terms of funding, training and organization. By changing the type of village from natural village to an administrative village, C City further moved the village from a relatively independent local space into the wider regional economic network and national e-commerce network. Therefore, a case study of the Jiangling Village in C City is useful and reasonable to further elucidate the general reasons that lead to the spatial governance dilemma. Based on this, this study will focus on two research question: What are the changes in village spatial governance? What are the reasons for the changes after e-commerce has entered one village based on the revelations from case study of the Jiangling village in C city?

1.2 Research implication

On a practical level, the study on the causes of changes in the governance of e-commerce villages helps to further enhance the capacity of governance in the new era, and the study is of great significance in promoting rural revitalisation. As an important part of social governance, rural grassroots self-government plays an important role in enhancing the overall effectiveness of governance. Since the construction of rural e-commerce is currently an important tool to promote rural revitalization, the study on the reasons of the governance dilemma will help to provide feasible measures and suggestions to improve rural grassroots governance and promote rural revitalization. Meanwhile, the digital economy, represented by e-commerce, has led to the blurring of administrative boundaries in the village area, which has brought new opportunities and challenges to rural planning. Therefore, this study will help to improve the thinking on urban-rural relations and rural governance across regional scales, and improve rural planning practices under the digital economy.

At the theoretical level, existing studies have paid little attention to the governance of e-commerce villages, and there is a certain degree of dichotomy between "bottom-

² The village that is abandoned for many years, and has several unused house foundations.

up" and "top-down" perspectives. This study refers to the concept of 'space of flow' in an attempt to break through the existing studies' "bottom-up" and "top-down" perspectives.

The chapters of this study are arranged as follows.

Chapter 1 Introduction contains sections on the origin of the study and problem formulation, and the significance of the study. This chapter answers the questions of research background, theoretical significance, and practical significance, and outlines the structural arrangement of the whole text.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on "flow space" and governance. Firstly, this chapter provides a systematic answer to the questions of the definition of "flow space" and the aspects of "flow space" governance that need attention. Secondly, this chapter provides a systematic review of existing research on e-commerce villages, outlining the practical issues and theoretical perspectives on which the existing research focuses.

Chapter 3 clarifies the object of the study and theoretical concepts, and presents the research framework and describes the significance of the case selection, the research methodology and the research process of this study.

Chapter 4 is the core part of this thesis, which chronologically and theoretically demonstrates the changes in rural governance before and after the construction of the e-commerce village and its causes. Firstly, this chapter briefly describes the historical foundation of Jiangling village. Then, it reveals the impact of e-commerce influx on village governance through the analysis of the "translation" process of actor networks. Finally, the chapter presents the results of the "translation" process and analyses the governance dilemmas that have arisen. These three chapters present the reasons for the current governance dilemma of e-commerce villages step by step, and provide a regular understanding for the policy recommendations at the end.

Chapter 5 summarises the main findings of this study and looks at future research directions.

2. Literature review

2.1 Space of flow and governance

2.1.1 Concept of the space of flow

E-commerce is the one of the main forms of space of flow. With the advent of the network society brought about by the development of information technology, the rapid flow of information, knowledge, capital and other elements has accelerated the process of globalization, the original localized place space has been impacted and new spatial forms have been created (Gao, Xin et al., 2012). To explain the social and spatial reconfiguration brought about by information technology, Castells (1996, 1997, 1998) proposed the concept of "space of flow" based on David Havey's "spatio-temporal compression" effect. A "space of flow" is a physical arrangement based on an information and communication infrastructure, a physical organisation of shared time without geographical distance (Castells, 1999). In this sense, a "space of flow" is a flow of elements in space, corresponding to the control of food, financial and information flows, linking social agents, material and immaterial goods and 'local spaces'. (Castells 1999; Jin 2021; Gao Xin et al. 2012; Luo Zhendong 2020). The constituent elements of space of flow are networks of technological infrastructure, networks of nodes and hubs, dominant networks of governing elites and e-spaces (Castells, 1999).

The counterpart of flow space is "local space", which together constitute a pair of linked and dependent concepts in the context of globalisation and information technology (Luo, 2020). The term of local space refers to a unique place in space for everyday activities, which unites the history, culture and materiality attached to a specific territory (Castells, 1996; Castells, 2004; Pacione, 2005). In contrast to the global dominance of flow space, local space works only on everyday life, social organisation and political expression, and is an emphasis on locality (Castells, 1999; Gao Xin, 2012). Despite the distinction between the two, local space and flow space are interactive and intertwined (Gao Xin, 2012). Space of flow is folded into local space, from which it exists. And as an open system, the space of flows is embedded in the

cultural and institutional environment of the local space, which selectively uses and excludes flows through a variety of formal and informal systems and influences the production of flows, altering their content and form and localising them to suit the specificities of a given place (Castells, 1999; Zhou, 2021; Gao, Xin, 2012; Luo, 2020). Space of flow thus shapes local space, and the latter shapes the former (Luo, 2020).

2.1.2 Flow space and local governance

Castells (1996, 1997, 1998) discusses 'flow space' more from an economic perspective, arguing that technological networks have facilitated the transformation of the “world economy” into a “global economy”, allowing capitalism to truly break the limits of time and space and expand globally. Therefore, in Castells' work, the flow space is essentially a meta-mapping of global capitalism with technological determinism (Smith, 2003). Understood in this way, the impact of flow space on the local is the change in production, everyday experience, power and culture brought about by capitalism and technological expansion (Castells, 1996; Smith, 2003).

Flow spaces have a profound impact on the transformation of local governance. Flow spaces incorporates both locally and globally located participants into the same network, and the interactions between participants embedded in the network are influenced not only by their individual agency, but also by their location in space. (Bush, 2007; Jin, 2021). As there is a difference between nodes and hubs in "flow space", the frequency of resource flows varies from place to place, and resource-intensive places become hubs in the network, wielding greater power and interfering with economic activities elsewhere in the network through elite organisations (e.g., transnational corporations). (Bush, 2007; Lin, 2019). This has been more widely argued in the literature from the perspective of multinational enterprises, which set standardised production processes and norms and profoundly shape environmental rules in the Third World, with broad political and economic implications (e.g. Bush, 2007; Brockington, 2008; Garcia & Trillo, 2013; Li, 2022, etc.). With increasing global connectivity and the frequent movement of people and goods, the scope of governance is increasingly going beyond the traditional "territorial" limits, and the emergence of new governance organisations that transcend territories is challenging the authority of traditional intra-territorial organisations (Paasi, 2001; Taylor, 2005; Garcia & Trillo, 2013). This situation is profoundly changing the order and logic of regional governance. The spread

of the "flow space", which transposes universal principles and institutions from the hubs to the rest of the network, creates a mismatch of local governance, i.e., a separation of orders, while the nodal areas, lacking the technology, financial resources and power to set standards and institutions, are in a weaker position of passive acceptance and subservience (Healey, 2006; Bush, 2007). Since an individual's position in the space of flow depends on financial and technological capabilities, without these capabilities the individual will be marginalised and subjugated to the space (Healey, 2006). The entry of "mobile spaces" will therefore exacerbate local class divisions and reshape or strengthen local power structures (Bush, 2007; Danyluk, 2021). At the same time, flow spaces contribute to political consumerism. Consumer-oriented governance mechanisms are becoming instruments of political consumerism, i.e., governments seem to be less able and willing to intervene actively in economic processes (Micheletti, 2003; Bush, 2007). And as global linkages deepen, economic risks and volatility spread rapidly along the network, but there is a markedly unequal distribution of risk between hub and node areas, with areas at nodes often bearing more risk than hub areas (Bush, 2007; Taylor, 2005). Understood in this way, the process of globalisation represented by 'flow spaces' is productive-destructive, i.e., producing new networks and powers, constructing new narratives of modernity, while at the same time disrupting localised powers and relations, breaking down particular local narratives and everyday experiences, and thus generating intense contradictions and incoherent narratives of modernity on a global scale (Massey, 1999).

Although 'flow spaces' have a profound impact on local places, they are at the same time geographically embedded (Massey, 1999). Since "flow space" requires access to local space through informal sociocultural institutions, local governance affects flow space (Bush, 2007). 'Intermediaries', represented by local elites, connect local networks to global networks, actively translating and regulating the material and information flows between them (Taylor, 2005; Healey, 2006; Bush, 2007; Latour, 2007). The entry of material and information has also empowered local "intermediaries", creating subtle interactions with formal organisations such as grassroots power, and a trend towards fragmentation of urban governance (Healey, 2006). In contrast to Castells' (1996) view that 'flow spaces' will weaken or even replace nation-state and territorial boundaries, Taylor (2005) and Healey (2006) argue that because 'factor mobility' is dependent on the nation-state facilitation and regulation, in which state power plays a crucial role, the

concept of territory is not weakened but strengthened and takes on new forms. At the same time, local control over mobile resources can be achieved through rule-making and the construction of structural power, resulting in new forms of governance (Healey, 2006). The incursion of space of flow and information technology into the local to a certain extent gives rise to local political resistance, and grassroots enhance their bargaining power through collective action to safeguard their rights and social justice (Danyluk, 2021).

Overall, the governance of "flow spaces" and places is a dynamic process of globalisation and localisation (Healey, 2006; Danyluk, 2021). Flow space exacerbates local divisions and reshapes local political practices and power structures, while local governments and elites will in turn embed stream space in local social networks by strengthening their own power through practices such as translating and regulating material and information flows (Healey, 2006). The grassroots can resist the unfairness and class division brought about by the flow space through collective action, to defend their own interests and promote fairness and justice (Healey, 2006; Danyluk, 2021). The existing literature has mostly explored the impact of 'flow space' on local governance from the perspective of economic corridors and global industrial chains, but has not paid enough attention to rural areas. With the extension of information infrastructure to rural areas and the reshaping of rural economic structures (Zhang, 2018), 'flow spaces' aggregate, diffuse, link and divide local factors of production in rural areas, changing traditional thinking and creating new spatial logics (Adams, 1998, Soriano, 2007, Salemink, 2017). At the same time, the extension of infrastructure in the countryside has blurred urban-rural boundaries, transformed rural spatial agglomerations, and strengthened state power (Zhang, 2018; Wang, 2021). With the frequent movement of people, goods, technology, capital and other factors, the original social network in the countryside is broken and fragmented, embedded in the urban-centred production division network, and rural areas are also undergoing a process of individualisation, diversification and de-farming, and the pace of life is changing accordingly. (Wang, 2021).

2.2 E-Commerce Village Research Review

2.2.1 Overview of the study on e-commerce village

There is a rich literature on the spatial characteristics, development mechanisms, rural governance and rural changes of e-commerce villages (Luo, 2020).

Existing literature has provided a richer description of the spatial characteristics of e-commerce villages from the national scale and micro-regional scale. At the national scale, at the early stage of e-commerce development, online shops already showed obvious clustering characteristics, and the more developed the economy, logistics and education, the more clustered the online shops were, showing a pattern of decreasing gradient from the eastern coast to the inland areas (Wang Xianwen and Xu Shenmeng 2011; Yu Jinguo et al. 2010; Zhong Haidong et al. 2014). With the further development of e-commerce, e-commerce villages represented by Taobao Village appeared, and on the basis of the spatial pattern of online shops, clustered into a cluster-like spatial pattern, which still presents the characteristics of gradient diffusion from the southeast to the northwest, and is mainly clustered in the Yangtze River Delta, the Pearl River Delta, Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei and other urban agglomerations with well-developed economy, logistics, and consumption, and is characterised by fission-like growth (Wei, 2019; Zhu Bangyao et al. 2016; Xu Zhibang et al. 2017; Luo Zhendong, 2020); and the demise is also highly spatially correlated with agglomeration areas (Luo, 2020). At the micro-regional scale, existing studies have characterized the spatial evolution within e-commerce villages. Overall, spatial evolution shows features such as functional diversification, spatial changes in industry, spatial restructuring, increased spatial density, and diffusion from within villages to surrounding villages (Zhang, 2018; Tang, 2020; Luo, 2017; Luo, 2020). Different types of e-commerce villages also show subtle differences, with spontaneous and disorderly expansion of production space agglomeration for remote villages far from towns, and urban-rural integration and orderly expansion of production space for villages adjacent to towns or cities (Luo, 2020).

The development of e-commerce villages represented by "Taobao villages" is the result of the combined role of villagers, government and enterprises (Lin, 2019; Tang, 2018; Wei, 2019; Luo Zhendong, 2020). The formation of e-commerce villages is

driven by grassroots entrepreneurship of villagers, especially those who have returned to their hometowns (Lin, 2019; Luo, 2020; Wei et al. 2020; Zhou, 2021). In the initial stage, private spontaneous forces drove the sprouting of e-commerce villages (Zeng, Yiwu et al., 2015). Returning villagers brought back e-commerce experience and entrepreneurial knowledge from developed regions and leveraged the advantages of low-cost land and labour in the villages to start simple reprocessing and wholesale and retail businesses in the countryside, while the production sites were mainly outside the villages (Luo, 2017); as the shops grew, returning villagers attracted other villagers to join e-commerce through their networks of acquaintances and gradually formed a localised production-wholesale-sales division of labour network, and the e-commerce village takes initial shape (Luo, 2020). In this process, e-commerce villages began to develop rapidly as government forces continued to join in. Higher-level governments issued relevant support policies and formulated corresponding incentive and assessment mechanisms, driving grassroots governments to improve infrastructure, organise e-commerce training courses in collaboration with junior college and provide certain financial support, realising smooth access to the internet for each villager and smooth logistics within and outside the village, cultivating a large number of villagers with e-commerce skills, rapidly expanding the number of online shops and attracting some foreign populations to enter (Zeng Yiwu et al., 2015; Xin Xiangyang, Qiao Jiajun, 2018; Luo Zhendong, 2020; Yang Ren, 2021). These are inseparable from the entry of e-commerce platforms such as Taobao and logistics enterprises, which have low barriers to entry, technical difficulty news, and many consumers, linking markets and products and providing corresponding sales services for a large number of villagers, allowing villagers to avoid the market risks of opening physical shops to some extent, and creating opportunities for entrepreneurial transformation (Cui Lili et al. 2014; Xue Zhou et al. 2015; Shu Lin 2018; Zeng Yimu et al. 2020); relying on good transport infrastructure, the presence of logistics enterprises has created an important distribution centre for the village and opened up the logistics network inside and outside the village (Lin, 2019; Luo, 2020). These factors are necessary conditions for the successful development of e-commerce villages, which represent behind them the triple logic of politics, market and elite, the integration of which constitutes a sufficient condition for the development of e-commerce villages (Yang, 2021), i.e. political logic creates the space for market and elite logic to operate and works with market logic embedded in the extensive network of acquaintances in the business logic, while political logic and

elite logic need to match with market demand so that the political, elite and market logic can form a synergy to drive the development of e-commerce villages (Kwak et al., 2019; Zeng, Yiwu, 2020; Yang, Shinobu, 2021). It is worth highlighting that a few literatures have focused on the contribution of township enterprises to the development of e-commerce villages. The legacy of township enterprises laid some transport and planning foundation for e-commerce village development, and the vacant land and factory buildings caused by their decay reduced the cost of spatial reconfiguration of e-commerce villages (Lin, 2019; Wang et al., 2021; Yang, 2021).

In terms of rural governance, in the process of the formation of e-commerce villages, mainly Taobao villages, with the continuous entry of external resources, a diversified pattern of rural governance has gradually formed, and the original rural governance logic has changed (Luo Zhendong, 2020). With the influx of foreigners brought about by the development of e-commerce villages, the government plays the roles of "guide", "matchmaker" and "social service provider", giving rise to the "agent" level of governance that coordinates internal and external communication (Li Yulin and Zhang Yuqiang, 2015; Luo Zhendong, 2020). Self-governing organisations such as village committees are activated in the process of promoting Internet infrastructure, and the capacity and power of self-governance is strengthened through formal and informal systems that promote e-commerce villages and reconfigure individual interests and the logic of governance (Luo, 2020; Qiu, 2021). Some scholars have also focused on the role of e-commerce associations, which are regarded as the extensive participation of online merchants in public affairs, which can effectively enhance the collective efficiency of e-commerce villages and complement each other with governmental support, forming a new model of Corporatism governance.(Li, 2017; Zeng Yiwu and Guo Hongdong, 2016). However, as e-commerce villages take shape, the logic of "Growth Supremacism" becomes the core governance logic of autonomous organisations such as village committees. Under the intertwined interests and conflicts, the governance powers of village committees have been weakened, the awareness of villagers as the main body of governance has been marginalised, and various types of economic organisations have found it difficult to play a role in governance, and have been caught in a governance dilemma (Yan, 2011; Qiu Zeqi, 2017; Luo Zhendong, 2020). Qiu Zeqi et al. (2019) explored this phenomenon from the perspective of order, arguing that it is a result and manifestation of the disunity between the political order and the economic and social order.

The development of e-commerce has brought modern online economies into traditional rural arenas, accelerating the process of de-agriculturalisation and bringing about fundamental changes to everyday rural activities (Qian et al., 2012; Fang and Liu, 2014; Lin et al., 2016), and the reconfiguration of rurality has received widespread scholarly attention as a response to rural transformation, mainly encompassing identity and values, sense of belonging to the village, rhythm of life, and living space (Lin et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2021; Wu Xinhui et al., 2015). In terms of values and identity, the non-farming employment brought about by e-commerce has changed villagers' identification with themselves, as they neither fully identify themselves as farmers, but still carry the identity of their original rural community without self-identifying as urbanites, presenting a mixed and complex identity (Lin, 2016; Zhang et al., 2018). The identity shift is accompanied by changes in values, with utilitarian values focused on boosting sales gradually becoming mainstream, reflected in villagers' everyday discourse (Lin, et al 2016). The flexibility of e-commerce hours allows women to participate extensively in the production partnerships of e-commerce villages, and also prompts them to return to their traditional role as housewives and regain traditional family ties, with intact families strengthening village cohesion (Lin et al, 2016); while the development of e-commerce villages has attracted a large number of young people to return to their hometowns, with a "homecoming wave ", which changed villagers' perceptions of urbanism, a sense of achievement among young people was ignited in the villages, and a sense of belonging in the villages increased (Bye, 2009; Lin et al, 2016). The logistics industry and the schedule of online consumption have deeply changed the time concept of most young villagers, and the rhythm of life has changed from the traditional village rhythm to the "Taobao rhythm" of "working around the clock". The fragmentation of time allocation, irregular and disorderly working hours erode life time, while older villagers living in e-commerce villages are also affected, and intergenerational conflicts emerge (Liu et al., 2015; Wang et al. 2021; Wu Xinhui et al., 2015). Despite being called 'Taobao villages' and other e-commerce villages, sometimes not all villages are e-commerce villages, and the e-commerce industry is often clustered in a certain area within the village, which separates the production space from the living space and fragments the village space (Liu et al., 2015). Moreover, the villagers' use of self-built houses to run Taobao shops has in turn allowed the production space to penetrate deep into the individual's living space, which the elderly and children do not want to go to, and intergenerational segregation has emerged to a certain extent

(Liu et al, 2015). Overall, the changes in rurality caused by e-commerce villages are distinctly modern in character, accompanied by alienation and the emergence of intergenerational conflicts.

With regard to the classification of development models, existing studies have mainly summarized and generalized from the industrial base, product categories and other economic production fields, but there is no systematic and comprehensive generalization method yet (Luo Zhendong, 2020). Zhang Jiabin et al. (2016) classified e-commerce villages into the "from scratch" type, e-commerce villages relying on the original agricultural and processing industry, e-commerce villages relying on the original manufacturing industry, e-commerce villages relying on business and trade services, and e-commerce villages formed by imitating neighbouring e-commerce villages. Mao Jingeng (2018), on the other hand, categorised e-commerce villages into three types of villages from a product perspective, such as agricultural product-based, industrial product-based and handicraft-based villages. Dongdong Bai and Zhongwei Sun (2019) categorised e-commerce villages into four types of villages: self-produced and self-marketed, in-village production, general out-of-village production, and combination of out-of-village production and specialised markets, in accordance with the access to goods and the distribution of production plants in e-commerce villages.

2.2.2 E-Commerce Village Research Perspectives

Summary

There are four main perspectives on e-commerce villages in the existing literature, namely the e-commerce village as a new bottom-up urbanisation process, the 'flow space', the network-embedded perspective and the cultural order perspective.

(1) The New Bottom-Up Urbanisation Process

This perspective involves macro-urbanisation research, covering almost all aspects of e-commerce village research content, with the core being a macro presentation of the stages of peasant deagrarianisation and rural modernisation (Luo, 2020). The bottom-up urbanisation process refers to a model of in situ urbanisation driven by grassroots governments and villagers and dominated by the grassroots administrative units of townships (Koo and Li Zhengyou, 1998; Cui Gonghao and Ma Runchao, 1999; Luo Zhendong, 2020). This perspective emphasises the rationality of farmers in the process

of industrialisation, a process of de-farming. (Chai Honghui et al., 2009; Luo Zhendong, 2020). The previous stage of bottom-up urbanisation was urbanisation with township and village enterprises as the main vehicle, from the beginning of the reform and opening up to its decline in 2000. This urbanisation process has three typical modes: industry-led, market-led and foreign trade-driven, with macro-policy encouragement, industrial development, grass-roots government promotion and farmers' participation as the main development mechanism (Yang, Hong and Liu, Chuanhong, 2000; Luo, 2020). The fundamental difference between e-commerce villages as a new bottom-up urbanisation process and the previous stage lies in the difference in the carrier, i.e. urbanisation with e-commerce as the main carrier (Luo, 2020). In contrast to the original bottom-up urbanisation process, studies of e-commerce villages from this perspective examine the development patterns, development mechanisms and spatial characteristics of e-commerce villages at the macro level (e.g. Zhang Jiaxin et al. 2016; Zhou Guanxin 2016; Luo Zhendong 2020). Most of the studies from this perspective fall back on the results of spatial transformation, focusing on the transformation of urbanisation patterns and emphasising the summary of the new urbanisation characteristics brought about by e-commerce villages (Luo, 2020).

(2) Space of flow

In contrast to the previous perspective, which focuses on a general summary of the characteristics of urbanisation, the study of 'flow space' examines the formation and development of e-commerce villages in terms of human, logistics, capital, technology and information flows (Chen, 2018). Researches in this field view e-commerce villages as spaces built up by the flow of the five elements mentioned above, supported by information technology and transport networks in a purposeful, iterative and programmable dynamic evolution (Shen, 2010). Wang Linshen et al. (2017) see the formation of e-commerce villages as a result of the interaction between geographic space and "flow space", which influences villagers' spatial decision-making behaviour and reconstructs the network of urban-rural relations, to which the geographic space of e-commerce villages responds. Luo (2020) also focuses on the supporting role of township enterprises, suggesting that there is a link between the period of e-commerce village development and the period of township enterprises.

(3) Social network embedded perspective

The network embedding perspective further explores specific actions within e-

commerce villages, arguing that e-commerce village activities are economic behaviours embedded in local social networks, focusing on the fundamental role of localised social networks in e-commerce villages (e.g. Leong et al., 2016; Luo Jianfa, 2014; Luo Zhendong, 2020). Leong et al. (2016) argue that villagers' self-organising behaviour is the basis for the construction of e-commerce ecologies in marginal rural areas, and IT facilities are used by villagers to achieve different functional support and participate in the economic construction of e-commerce. Based on actor network theory, Luo Jianfa (2014) studied the influence of actor networks of innovative entrepreneurs, industrial clusters and external links on the formation of e-commerce villages, and emphasised the translation process of actor networks on flows. Xue Zhou (2018) argues that the social network has helped online businesses to avoid some of the market risks, facilitating the proliferation of e-commerce and the emergence of a specialised division of labour based on networks with the accumulation of capital and technology. Relying on blood and village networks, the successes of e-commerce start-ups have been rapidly replicated and spread, with the industry expanding and generating a large number of innovative attempts (Gu Shulin, 2015; Liang Qiang et al., 2016). Qiu Zeqi (2021) used a simulation approach to socially model the imitation and innovation of e-commerce entrepreneurship triggered by social network and found that the market is its sufficient condition, while social network is a necessary condition and entrepreneurially competent individuals are a sufficient condition.

(4) Perspectives on Cultural Order

This perspective is relatively rare and is mainly a sociological phenomenological analysis, focusing on the phenomenon of e-commerce villages from the perspective of collective behavioural logic and rural order (Chen Ran, 2016; Qiu Zeqi and Li Chengyi, 2019). Chen Ran (2016) argues that the formation and development of e-commerce villages not only follow the logic of collective peasant behaviour guided by technological rationality, but also have a more modernized form of production and life organization, with the value of regional productivity reengineering and social transformation. On the basis of "state-market-society", Qiu Zeqi and Li Chengyi (2019) suggest that the development of rural transformation is accompanied by changes in the social order based on the society of acquaintances, the economic order based on market forces, and the political order based on state power. The entry of external resources breaks the balance of the existing order and creates a new "three orders to one", while

the new balance breeds order differentiation, thus making rural transformation full of uncertainty (Qiu Zeqi and Li Chengyi, 2019).

(5) Summary

There is a wealth of existing research on the four main existing research perspectives, but each still has several research gap. The new top-down perspective focuses on macro-urbanisation, and there is a split between the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' perspectives, which in practice are often intertwined and difficult to distinguish clearly.

The "flow space" perspective effectively addresses the dichotomy, but most of the existing literature places it within a bottom-up framework, with emphasizing the distinction between grassroot and high-level government (Luo, 2020 et al.). At the same time, this perspective focuses too much on the impact of 'flow space' on the reconfiguration of urban-rural relationship networks (e.g. Chen, 2018), while it explains vaguely how the village responds to flow space and how flow space specifically affects e-commerce villages.

The network embeddedness perspective reveals the process by which external resources enter the countryside, but suffers from an excessive focus on the interior of the countryside at the expense of changes in the external "flow space". Moreover, there is a certain weakness in the analysis of state power from the network-embedded perspective, with too much emphasis on the governance network of multiple actors and less attention paid to political system factors, i.e. there is a certain degree of state-society dichotomy.

The cultural order perspective pays good attention to the issue of state-society relations, emphasising the integration of state and social order/logic in rural governance. The problem, however, is that the process of order/logic integration and interaction is not sufficiently explained, and is more of an abstract description than a concrete analysis of the mechanism. Moreover, this perspective studies the countryside as a relatively isolated space and is not sufficiently concerned with the interaction of cross-regional networks.

The common shortcomings of the four perspectives lie in the lack of historical continuity and the insufficient attention to rural governance. Although Luo (2020) focuses on the connection between township enterprises and e-commerce villages, the exact kind of connection has not been revealed. At the same time, most of the existing studies focus on the process of economic development of e-commerce villages and its

mechanism exploration, while there are fewer studies on governance. In addition, existing studies have focused on the positive aspects of the development of e-commerce villages until 2019, while the crises and exposed risks in recent years have made it difficult to fit into the framework and conclusions of existing studies. Therefore, there is a need for a time-continuous framework that takes into account both in-village and out-of-village networks. Based on this, this thesis adopts a framework that combines 'flow space' and 'translation' to achieve a chronological narrative that focuses on networks within and outside the village and on developments across time. And the definition of this framework will be cleared in the next part.

3. Methodology

3.1 Framework

3.1.1 Spatial governance

The focus of this study is on how the entry of e-commerce into the village as a 'flow space' has changed rural spatial governance. According to a review of the literature, 'flow spaces' and local governance are dynamic processes of globalisation and localisation, and their interactions unfold through a process of 'translation' (Healey, 2006; Latour, 2007; Danyluk. 2021). In the process of translation, local actors reconfigure networks of power relations and reshape local governance based on their mastery of 'flows' of material information resources (Castells, 1996; Smith, 2003, etc.). From this point of view, changes in governance occur through changes in localised relations of production that are triggered by the translation of the 'flow space'. At this level, explaining how the key actors in the process of 'translation' reshape governance agents and their behaviour in the reconfiguration of production relations is key to answering the question of why local spatial governance changes under the influence of 'flow space'.

As relations of production both generate space and are the content of space (Lefebvre, 2009), there are two aspect of spatial governance, i.e., governance of space and governance of production relations within space. Through spatial arrangements, the subject of action can influence the construction of relations of production, while at the same time the activities of relations of production influence the organisation of space (Lefebvre, 2009).

3.1.2 Translation

For "translation", the author will borrow the conceptual framework of "translation" from Latour. Latour (2007) defines "translation" as "the interpretation given by factual constructors of their own interests and of the interests of the actors absorbed, i.e., key actors translate their interests into benefits for other actors to recognise and participate

in the network constructed by the key actors". Problematization, interessenment, enrollment and mobilization are four stages in the process of 'translation' that do not necessarily occur in sequence and may even overlap(Latour, 2007). In these four stages, the roles of the different actors change, resulting in new associations, networks and orders (Latour, 2007). The problem with this framework is that it overemphasises the study of "actors" and assumes that the researcher can study the workings of society by following the lead of the "actors". However, this research orientation effectively divorces "action" from "structure" and may overlook deeper structural factors (Elder-Vass, 2008). From this critique, the focus of Latour's actor network theory on each specific actor can reveal the reasons behind the functioning of local societies, but to proceed from this point alone would be to ignore the role of macro-structural laws to a certain extent. Therefore, this study advocates the dual purpose of answering both the causes of the functioning of the local society and the understanding of the overall law by tracing the process of "translation" by specific actors, starting from the macroscopic law. Based on this line of thought, this study will take the law of production relations as the main premise of this thesis, i.e., as stated in the first paragraph of this subsection, "changes in governance occur through changes in localised relations of production that are triggered by the translation of the flow space". Through the four processes of "translation", the study then elaborates on how the key actors reshape the subjects of governance and their behaviours in reconfiguring the relations of production, revealing the specific processes and mechanisms through which the main premise occurs, in order to answer the research questions of this thesis. The theoretical framework of this study is as follows:

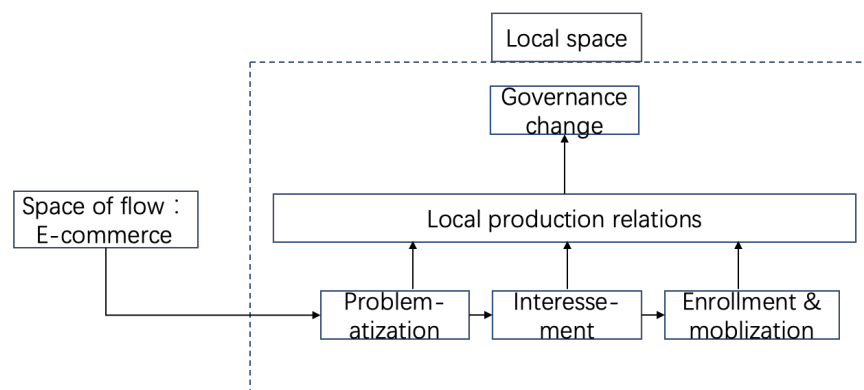


Figure 3-1 Framework

In this thesis, e-commerce as a specific form of "flow space" is defined by Castells (1999) as a network of technological infrastructure, a network of nodes and hubs, a

network of dominant managerial elites, and an electronic space, which are the four major elements of "flow space". According to Castells (1999), the network of technological infrastructure, the network of nodes and hubs, the network of dominant managerial elites, and the e-space are the four major elements of the "flow space"; and studies on e-commerce villages from the "flow space" also start from these four aspects, focusing on the construction of e-commerce infrastructure, logistics network, logistics and e-commerce platform enterprises such as Taobao, e-commerce network platforms such as Taobao.com, etc. (e.g. Li Yuanjun et al; Luo Zhendong, 2020; Wang Linshen et al. 2017). Based on this, this thesis summarises the dimensions involved in building e-commerce into three, namely infrastructure, regional division of labour networks and e-commerce platforms (corresponding to the last two elements of the 'flow space', including logistics enterprises, e-commerce platform enterprises and e-commerce network platforms). On this basis, the thesis analyses how the three key actors in the 'translation' of e-commerce, namely the government, the village committees and the villagers, act as narrators to influence the changes in governance structures through production relations.

3.2 Research method

The research methodology for this study is qualitative, selecting one typical case village and revealing specific mechanisms of governance change through field research methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis. Although the seemingly theoretical hypothesis of this study based on a single case analysis is weaker than the large number analysis of quantitative research, the underlying mechanisms that can be revealed in more detail by more actors through case studies are more helpful than quantitative analysis in clarifying the deeper reasons for the occurrence of the phenomenon and are useful for both hypothesis generation and testing (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Therefore, the analysis of a single case in this study is justified.

3.2.1 Case Selection and Introduction

(1) Case selection principle

Case selection does not necessarily follow a random selection strategy;

information-driven case selection can reveal more information (Flyvbjerg, 2006). "One important category of case is the 'critical case' which, by looking for the 'most likely' or 'least likely' case, obtains allows for the type of logical inference that "if this (does) not apply to this case, then it applies to all (un)cases" (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This is in effect akin to making the leap from case to general theory by finding cases that are close to the 'ideal type' for analysis. For this reason, the generals' village selected for this study is useful for making the leap from particulars to generalities. On the one hand, the government's power in the construction of the e-commerce village is enormous. As mentioned in the background and literature review, local government power plays an important role in the process of promoting e-commerce villages, and the action of building e-commerce in Shouliang Village was directly elevated to the municipal level, with governments at the municipal, district and township levels being mobilised, and Shouliang Village was separated from the natural village as an 'administrative village'. Compared to other e-commerce villages, which were built on their own initiative, the village has a more standardised and government-led character. In this case, the village still faces governance dilemmas common to other e-commerce villages. At the same time, the village was a typical "hollow village" before the construction of e-commerce, and following the logic of the "critical case", this governance dilemma has occurred in the village, so other "hollow villages" are also more likely to have governance dilemmas in the process of promoting e-commerce construction. Therefore, the study of governance changes in Jiangling Village will help to reveal the general mechanism of e-commerce's impact on the governance of "hollow villages". On the other hand, Jiangling Village is a famous e-commerce village in China, one of the "Top Ten Taobao Villages", and ranks among the top ten villages in China in terms of express business volume. The study of this village can reveal more detailed mechanisms of governance change, and has research significance.

(2) Case introduction

Jiangling village is located in C Town, C City, Guangdong Province, with a total area of 0.53 square kilometres and a total of 620 households and 3,082 people, originally a small food processing-based natural village, but later became an independent administrative village. The village was awarded the title of "Taobao Town" in China at the 8th China Taobao Village Summit Forum in 2020, and Jiangling village was awarded the title of "Most Beautiful Taobao Village" by Alibaba in 2013.

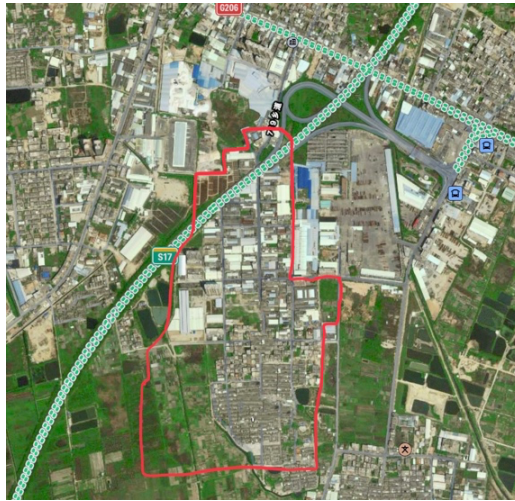


Figure 3-2 Map of Jiangling Village

At present, there are 221 e-commerce enterprises, 5157 individual e-commerce households, more than 10,000 Taobao online shops, more than 600 physical online wholesale shops (360 in the district, more than 240 in the surrounding area), three local online wholesale platforms (Wuji Electric Business Park, JP0663 wholesale network, will lead the online mall), demonstrating and driving the development of more than 30,000 online shops clustered in the town, forming a wholesale - retail e-commerce pattern.

The online shops in Jiangling Village mainly deal with clothing and daily necessities, among which most of the links to clothing goods are very high in the network rankings, and some of the sales rankings are among the top ten in the country. According to the document from town government, there are now 16 courier companies and 36 logistics market players in the vicinity, with the Yudong distribution centre of seven courier companies settled around the village, and more than 150,000 couriers sent out from the village every day. The e-commerce industry of Jiangling Village not only digests the whole village's labour force, but more importantly radiates 20 villages in a 10-kilometre radius around it, driving the surrounding people to employ more than 200,000 people.

3.2.2 Field Research Methods

(1) Participatory observation

This study contacted the Jiangling village e-merchants into the field to understand the operation and governance model of the Jiangling village by participating in the daily life of the e-merchants and investigating their main governance relationship network,

order and governance behaviour.

(2) Semi-structured interviews

This study uses the four processes of 'translation' as the basis for designing the interview outline, which consists of three basic parts: a basic introduction to the individual, memories of joining the e-commerce village, and participation in village governance. The authors contacted the interviewees through a snowball approach, covering the key actors in e-commerce in the village, i.e. the town director, village committee staff, wholesale e-merchants, retail e-merchants and ordinary villagers, and conducted semi-structured interviews with the interviewees in the form of talks or one-on-one interviews, lasting 1-1.5 hours per person. A total of 20 people were interviewed.

(3) Literature Research

By collecting relevant documents promulgated by the city of C, where the village will be located, as well as relevant authoritative reports and academic research materials, this study follows a theoretical framework of analysis to categorise them in a way that reflects the behavioural strategies of the municipal government and other state subject forces in the process of building the e-commerce village, complementing the information obtained from semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

4. Data and Analysis

Based on the research framework and fieldworks, this thesis shows in detail the process of building e-commerce in Jiangling village. At the same time, in order to better present the changes and their intrinsic causes, the thesis adopts a chronological narrative and summarises the laws of the mechanism in each subsection.

4.1 Jiangling village in the midst of regional economic restructuring

Before 2000, when small towns became the centre of regional economic development, Jiangling Village actively set up food processing enterprises and the village prospered, but due to the lack of real land revenue distribution rights for the village collective, the villagers' group³ had limited say in the public affairs of the village and mainly maintained the order. However, due to the lack of collective land and collective economy, the decline of the food processing industry and the exodus of young and middle-aged labour, the villagers, the food processing enterprises and the villagers' groups were separated from each other.

The power of the villagers' group has diminished and they lack the material basis to manage the village, making it difficult to organise and mobilise villagers to participate in the construction of the village. The village relied on the township government to solve its public affairs, and daily governance activities of villagers' group were limited to the two major tasks of sanitation and fire protection. The exodus of young and middle-aged people has left behind a limited amount of energy for the elderly to participate in village public affairs, stagnating democratic elections and villagers' self-governance. At the same time, due to the decline of the food processing industry, which was the pillar industry, the villagers' income decreased, and some villagers began to petition to try to get back the land that had been privately transferred in the past in order to obtain a certain amount of income. As a result, villagers' conflicts

³ A self-governance group under the level of administrative village

have intensified. Meanwhile, due to the large-scale bankruptcy of villagers running food-processing enterprises and the lack of a stable source of income for the surviving food-processing enterprises, it is difficult for these entrepreneurs to support the public affairs of the villages, leading to a lack of governance by village elites. Lastly, Jiangling Village was a villagers' group under the Tai Liao Village, which was not directly connected to the town government, and was a "problem village" due to the decline of village enterprises and the pressure of villagers' letters and petitions. This state of governance was transformed in 2013 when the construction of the electricity business began.

4.2 E-commerce village establishment: the construction of governance relationships in translation

In 2013, twelve young people from Guangzhou returned to their hometown to set up clothing e-commerce, and became the first batch of people engaged in e-commerce industry in Jiangling Village. Such situation was soon noticed by the leaders of C City, and the municipal government started put its efforts to build an e-commerce village, and carried out the "e-commerce first village" construction action. In the process of building an e-commerce village, the government, the village committee and the villagers were the key actors. Under the leadership of the government, the three parties achieved their respective goals by practising the common "obligatory passage point"⁴ (OPP) of building an e-commerce village (see Figure 5-1), and eventually weaving a network of actors that is both hierarchical and interconnected, leading to the transformation from chaos to order. In the process of translation, the three actors differ in their practice of governance of space and the governance of productive relations in space, depending on the degree of embedding of productive relations.

⁴ Obligatory passage points are a feature of actor-networks, usually associated with the initial (problematization) phase of a translation process. An OPP can be thought of as the narrow end of a funnel, that forces the actors to converge on a certain topic, purpose or question. The OPP thereby becomes a necessary element for the formation of a network and an action program, and mediates all interactions between actors in a network and defines the action program (Castells, 2004).

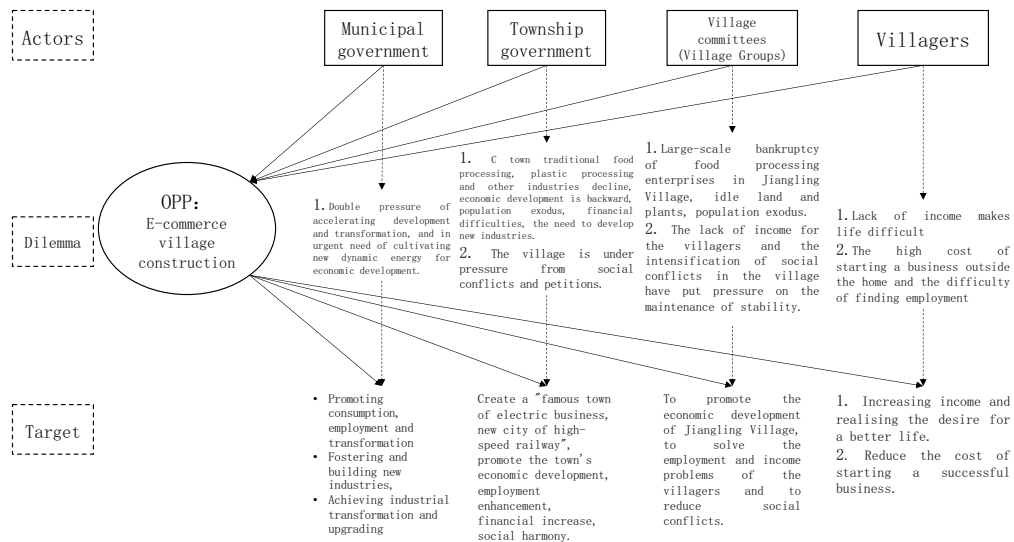


Figure 5- 1 OPP of translation for actors of municipal and township government, village committee, and villagers

4.2.1 Government-led networks of actors: building a governance framework with formal institutions

(1) Problematization

Municipality C is the core force in promoting e-commerce in Jiangling Village. In order to respond to the pressure of the transformation of City C, it has proposed the initiative of creating the "first village of e-commerce" in the village and proposed to make City C "the centre of electricity business in eastern Guangdong" (A-2 ,B-2). In addition, the municipal government proposes to make City C an "e-commerce pioneer city, e-commerce city, e-commerce city", and to form a new industry of regional industrial intersection and high-end industry. Accordingly, City C defined the essence of e-commerce construction as a typical path to promote industrial upgrading, using Jiangling Village as a "blueprint" to create a regional development pole. By thi way, the municipal government defined the construction of an e-commerce village in Jiangling Village in terms of the economic landscape of Municipality C and even beyond, with the goal of embedding Jiangling Village from a state of relatively independent development into a wider regional production network. On this basis, the city government of C set specific goals for the three dimensions of e-commerce, i.e.,

regional division of labour network dimension, infrastructure dimension, and the e-commerce platform dimension.

Regional division of labour network dimension, City C proposes:

City C connects e-commerce development with the local economy, allowing local and neighbouring products to enter e-commerce sales nationwide, realising the integration of traditional industries and e-commerce, and promoting transformation and upgrading (A-11; Clerk A). It can be said that the creation of an e-commerce village in the Jiangling Village belonged to the construction of the circulation link, with the production side promoting the development of local production and urbanisation with smooth circulation. In this production network, the consumption end was in the city and the production end was the traditional industry of city C. The Jiangling Village was in the middle connection point and dominated by both production and consumption ends, which became the essential feature of the Jiangling Village in forming the production relations of this village and was the basis for the participation of the key actors in the governance of the Jiangling Village.

The infrastructure dimension, City C proposes:

C Municipal governments governed the construction of e-commerce in Jiangling Village in terms of talent training, organisational development, institutional development, industrial support, financial services and living support. This pointed the way to e-commerce infrastructure development, which has become the main element of Municipality C's efforts to absorb the township government and the Jiangling Village Committee (village group) into the governance network of e-commerce development.

In the e-commerce platform dimension, cooperation with Alibaba Group and the introduction of platforms of leading enterprises were the main directions of action to promote the construction of e-commerce platforms in City C. City C proposed to "strive to build a special zone in City C of the Chinese industrial belt with the Ababa Group" (A-11) and actively cooperated with Alibaba Group to promote e-commerce to the countryside (A 11, B-5). At the same time, the municipal government proposed to actively introduce domestic and foreign well-known e-commerce enterprises to build regional headquarters and functional centres, and to introduce well-known logistics companies to build professional warehouses (A-11).

Overall, City C's three-dimensional definition of the initiative to create "the first village of e-commerce" in Jiangling Village covered both spatial governance and the

governance of production relations. The city government, on the one hand, fostered the complete network of e-commerce production relations in Jiangling Village downwards, and on the other hand, promoted the embedding of Jiangling Village into a wider regional production network. On the basis of this "problematization" phase, the municipality of C further translated municipal departments, townships and market players into a formalised system of actors in their own network, through interestment and enrollment & mobilization, in order to facilitate the achievement of the action's objectives.

(2) Translation to municipal departments

(i) Interestment

Municipality C had three main incentives for departments, namely, administrative appraisals, administrative inspections and performance incentives. C municipal government through the establishment of the city's e-commerce construction of a special assessment mechanism, the implementation of "monthly supervision, quarterly reviews, half-year summary, year-end inspection" of the work of the work of the promotion system, the implementation of e-commerce support policies of various departments into the annual assessment of the effectiveness of the annual assessment, and the performance appraisal of the unit, the annual assessment of the individual linked to the assessment (A-4,A-11,A-12). The municipal government carried out special supervision and inspection of e-commerce construction as a negative incentive to promote the departments to "strengthen their sense of responsibility, earnestly compare the specific deployment and division of tasks of the municipal party committee and municipal government, formulate specific work measures, and increase their efforts to grasp the implementation " and implement the main responsibility of each department (A-4; B-4). At the same time, the municipal government of C pointed out that the construction of the e-commerce village in Jiangling Village was "conducive to exploring new ideas for future rural development" and "achieving great output with relatively small inputs", providing replicable experiences for the construction of villages nationwide (A-4; B-4); Moreover, the construction of e-commerce in Jiangling Village can provide experience for the creation of a national e-commerce demonstration city in City C. According to documents such as the Notice of the General Office of the National Development and Reform Commission on Organising Special Pilot Projects for E-Commerce in National E-Commerce Demonstration Cities, the Notice on Further Promoting the Healthy and Rapid Development of E-Commerce and the Opinions of

the General Office of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government on Accelerating the Development of E-Commerce, if City C succeeded in creating a national e-commerce demonstration city, it could apply to the central government each year for no more than 4 special financial funds for pilot work, while Guangdong Province would also focus on supporting municipalities with mature conditions to create demonstration cities and provide special financial support for demonstration cities.

In addition, the contribution that e-commerce construction can make to employment rates and possible tax revenue boosts has become the basis of interest for joint action across all sectors.

(ii) Enrollment and mobilization

In 2013, the C municipal government set up a steering group for the creation of the "first village of e-commerce" in C city (hereinafter referred to as the "e-commerce office"), which included 13 government departments such as the Economic and Information Technology Bureau, the Education Bureau, the Science and Technology Bureau, the Finance Bureau, the Human Resources and Social Security Bureau and the district government in the steering group. The group has introduced a series of policies to support the construction of the e-commerce village in Jiangling Village and to build it into a nationally renowned "Taobao Village". The division of labour and measures of each department are roughly as follows.

Table 0- 1 Summary table of support measures for e-commerce construction in Jiangling Village

Serial number	Measures	Characteristic	Departments involved
1	Talent training and introduction: 1. Organize and implement special training for e-commerce talents, organize activities such as e-commerce lecture halls and elite training for e-commerce talents, coordinate and arrange 60 million yuan to realize 100,000 e-commerce talents training plan in 3 years; arrange 2 million yuan	Infrastructure dimension, governance of production relations	Bureau of Finance, Bureau of Economic and Social Affairs, Bureau of Education, Bureau of Human Services, relevant vocational

	special funds for high-end talent training every year; introduce e-commerce executives and core technical talents from leading enterprises		education institutes in City C
2	Preparing for the construction of a wholesale e-commerce logistics and warehousing centre	Infrastructure dimension, spatial governance	Town and Country Planning Department
3	Creation of an e-commerce financial system and credit system; 10 million yuan interest-bearing loan; development of "preferential investment merchant eligibility criteria for the Jiangling Village e-commerce village	Infrastructure dimension, governance of production relations	Financial Services Authority
4	Improve the construction of the main road, create an electric park and build an "electric street"	Infrastructure dimension, spatial governance	Town and Country Planning Department
5	Implementing the "fiber-to-the-home" project, with full coverage of "4g wireless signal + wired broadband"	Infrastructure dimension, spatial governance	Economic and Information Technology Bureau, China Telecom, China Mobile
6	To provide counterparts with guidance on business registration and application for registered trademarks; to publicize laws on intellectual property protection and to investigate and combat infringement	Infrastructure dimension, governance of production relations	Commerce and Industry Bureau
7	Promoting cooperation with Germany, Austria and Africa and hosting international study tours	Regional division of labour, governance of	City Government

		production relations	
8	Create an integrity fund, and develop the "C-town will lead the first village of e-commerce integrity convention", "will lead the village of e-commerce credit system information collection, rating management, online shop star selection interim measures	Infrastructure dimension, governance of production relations	Commerce and Industry Bureau, Financial Services Bureau, Economic and Information Technology Bureau
9	Organising study trips for e-commerce tenants	Regional division of labour, governance of production relations	E-Commerce Office
10	Strengthening publicity through official media such as CCTV and Southern Daily News and receiving overseas study tours	Regional division of labour, governance of production relations	Office of Electronic Commerce, Municipal Bureau of Culture, Radio, Film and Television

On the basis of the construction of the e-commerce village in Jiangling Village as the main body, in 2015, City C launched the "8610" action plan⁵, proposing to build an e-commerce industrial park in Jiangling Village, increase the training of e-commerce talents in Jiangling Village, and expand the policy support for Jiangling Village to the whole city.

In order to better implement the support policies, the e-commerce office was

⁵ "8" is the construction of an e-commerce model will lead the village, the formation of a team of advisers, the creation of an e-commerce institute, the preparation of the establishment of an e-commerce business school, the introduction of the city's e-commerce development plan, the development of work implementation plan, the introduction of supportive policies, the preparation of industrial funds; "6" is to create six agglomeration areas. The "6" is to create six clusters, namely the Jiede Cluster centered on the Jiangling Village, the Zhongde Cluster with cross-border e-commerce as the direction, the Airport Cluster based on express logistics in eastern Guangdong, the Puning Cluster with a focus on the garment and medicine industry, the Rongcheng Cluster with a focus on neighborhood characteristics, and the Blue City Cluster with the jade culture industry as the carrier; "10" is to carry out 100,000 e-commerce talents Big training.

directly set up in the former site of the village-owned primary school in Jiangling Village, and a comprehensive service centre was built in Jiangling Village to "set up six platforms, including the management service department, planning and construction department, investment and cooperation department, talent work department, financial service department and association service department" to provide administrative approval for e-commerce construction, communication technology services, financial support, project negotiation, talent introduction and training, membership services, brand building and other one-stop services (B-9). Through its presence in the village, the e-commerce office frequently organised research activities to investigate the needs of various e-commerce entities and introduce corresponding policies in a timely manner (Secretary A).

In general, the C municipality has set up an e-commerce office to co-ordinate the resources of various departments, focusing on spatial governance and the cultivation of e-commerce production relations in the Jiangling Village, embedded to a certain extent in the e-commerce production relations of the Jiangling Village, and aiming to build a connection between the local production network of the Jiangling Village and the regional production network. In terms of spatial governance, the E-COMMERCE OFFICE has taken the lead in providing road and communication network infrastructure improvements and logistics construction for the village to smooth out the information and logistics system of the village and open up connectivity with the domestic market; in order to create a model for the village and elevate it as the 'face' of the regional network, the E-COMMERCE OFFICE has built a In order to create a model for Jiangling Village and elevate it to a "spokesperson" for the regional network, the E-COMMERCE OFFICE built a signboard for Jiangling Village, "C City Jiangling Village E-Commerce Village", and built a landmark "E-Commerce Theme Park" (Figure 5-2) to improve the living facilities for Jiangling Village while establishing a logo for external publicity; and its village site was repaired at the former primary school site and a comprehensive service centre was built to provide The village site has been renovated from the former primary school and a comprehensive service centre has been built to provide space for the future offices of the village committee.



Figure 0- 2 Jiangling Village sign (left) and theme park (right)

On the cultivation of production relations, the e-commerce office required the development of "corporatization" of e-commerce households in Jiangling Village, regulating business registration and other business practices; through cooperation with the city's vocational education institutes or well-known universities in China, inviting lecturers into the village to train e-commerce talents and providing municipal financial subsidies. E-commerce office provided subsidized loans to individuals who started e-commerce in Jiangling Village. E-commerce office also developed an e-commerce rules for the village, and popularised the protection of intellectual property rights and other relevant legal knowledge.

In addition, the e-commerce office has become an important connection point for attracting national resources. Relying on the municipal platform, the e-commerce office actively used official media and government channels to attract national and even international attention, which has attracted domestic and foreign governments, enterprises and scholars to come for research and investigation. Meanwhile E-commerce office became the main channel for the village to seek provincial financial funds, and applied for a number of special subsidies.

Through the governance of the space and production relations by e-commerce office, the village has attracted more and more villagers and entrepreneurs from the province to carry out e-commerce, gradually creating a clustering effect, fostering a local e-commerce network, generating a new governance organization, i.e., the industry association. And under the connection of the e-commerce office, resources beyond the village and town scale flowed into Jiangling Village, greatly promoting the development of e-commerce in General Village. And under the direct presence of the municipal government in the village governance, the governance of the township government and the village committees has been activated as a result.

(3) Translations of the town government

The C municipality has set up an e-commerce office to support the village, activating the township's governance network for the Jiangling Village.

(i) Interesement

The C town government actively cooperated with the C municipal government's "e-commerce first village" initiative, defining it as an important way to “build a 'famous e-commerce town, a new high-speed railway town', promote the town's economic development, enhance employment, increase financial revenue and social harmony”, and “to "match the goals of the city leaders” (Director Luo). Municipality C and Township C shared two main interests. The first is that the C town government was under the jurisdiction of the municipality and has included the construction of e-commerce in the Collar Village in its performance appraisal. The second is that the township needed to develop new industries. And maintain social harmony. As the traditional food processing and plastic processing industries in C town has been in decline, the economic development was backward, the population was outflowing, leading to the financial difficulty. Therefore, it was urgent for township to develop new industries. And at that time, the village was a famous “problem village” social contradictions, facing the pressure of protest. Therefore, promoting the development of e-commerce in Jiangling Village and forming an e-commerce industry agglomeration was conducive to achieving the town's economic development, employment enhancement, financial revenue, and social harmony.

In addition, the development of e-commerce helped town C to create a special town. According to the Notice on Arranging the Costs for the Creation of Provincial Special Towns in the Development and Reform Sector of Northwest Guangdong, city C was able to obtain special funds for the creation of special towns, providing special financial support for town C

On the basis of the administrative system management, promoting the development of e-commerce in the village met the needs of the government of town C. The city government of C has mobilised the town government and the town government has actively cooperated with the municipal action to vigorously promote the construction of an e-commerce village.

(ii) Enrollment and mobilization

In line with the C municipal government, the town government has set up a leading group for e-commerce in the village (hereinafter referred to as the "e-commerce department"), which consists of the Party and Government Office, the Organization and

Publicity Office, the Comprehensive Social Security Management Office, the Economic Construction Office, the Social Affairs Office and the Agriculture Office, with the department leader being appointed by the municipal government as the leader of the relevant department. The head of the department was appointed by the municipal government as the head of the relevant department.

The e-commerce department took on relatively few functions compared to the many tasks coordinated by the e-commerce office (see Table 5-2).

Table 0- 2 Arrangements for the work of the Township of C for the Jiangling Village. 2013-2018

Year	Job Description
2014	Investing in the expansion of the village road in Jiangling Village and completing the site selection for the kindergarten in Jiangling Village.
2015	Accelerate the building of the e-commerce cluster at the core of Jiangling Village, focusing on improving the quality and grade of e-commerce products; focus on strengthening e-commerce supporting services, speeding up infrastructure construction, building high-quality primary schools, e-commerce kindergartens, public rental housing and other supporting facilities; strengthen the construction of the Jiangling Village e-commerce association, setting an example of e-commerce development in Jiangling Village; strengthen the construction of integrity systems, improve the credit system of Jiangling Village e-commerce, and build a unified and open credit information platform
2016	With the new impetus of the e-commerce circle in Jiangling Village being named as the provincial e-commerce demonstration base, promoting "one base, two competitions and three projects" to create a "university" of e-commerce without walls; supporting cross-border e-commerce online shops in Jiangling Village to cooperate with domestic and foreign enterprises, through the standardized The company will also support the cooperation of cross-border e-commerce online stores with domestic and foreign enterprises, integrate into the overseas retail system through standardized "overseas warehouses", experience shops and distribution online shops, organize e-commerce exhibitions, and create an "Internet +" town.
2017	Improving the Jiangling Village e-commerce cloud exhibition hall, implementing the full wireless WIFI coverage project in Jiangling Village and launching the "Jiangling Village e-commerce launch" project

2018	Continuously expand the "Jiangling Village Electric Business Circle" and strive to promote the development and growth of the "electric business economy"; improve the Jiangling Village Electric Business Release Project to further expand the influence of the electric business circle and enhance its core competitiveness
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In the area of governance of production relations, the main responsibilities of e-commerce department were research and demand, communication and coordination, regulatory enforcement and improvement of network facilities.

First, research demands. Referring to the e-commerce office, the e-commerce department learnt about the demands of e-commerce households and villagers through visits by village cadres and seminars.

However, during this period, the research of the e-commerce department was mainly to cooperate with the research activities of the e-commerce office, to form a complement to the research of the e-commerce office, to collect data, and to feed back the situation of the Jiangling Village to the e-commerce office.

Secondly, communication and coordination. The e-commerce department has also taken on the communication and coordination function of assisting the village to declare projects to higher levels for approval.

The e-commerce department provides direct earmarked funding applications for Jiangling Village. At the same time, because the village was changed to an administrative village, the link between the C town government and the village changed from an indirect link to a direct link.

Third, supervision and implementation. The e-commerce department was mainly responsible for industry supervision and policy implementation of the e-commerce industry, regulating the development of the industry and implementing industry policies. In terms of supervision, the e-commerce department conducted occasional spot checks on products to regulate product quality. (Director A). Also, the department cooperated with the municipal government to regularly promote legal. In terms of institutional implementation, the e-commerce department was responsible for the implementation of the e-commerce office network facilities to improve the production of governance policy content, such as the implementation of "WIFI full coverage project" and other projects.

In terms of spatial governance, the C township government was mainly responsible for implementing the e-commerce office spatial governance measures and supervising

the construction of the space in the Jiangling Village. First, the implementation of municipal-level spatial governance measures.

According to Table 5-2, the spatial conditions for the industrial development of the village were improved by implementing the expansion of village roads, the construction of a new kindergarten and a theme park to improve living facilities. And *"the funds for these projects were mainly allocated from the C municipality's coffers, and the town was responsible for implementing the matters handed over by the DTO" (Director A)*.

The second is to supervise the construction of space in the village. This mainly involved investigating and dealing with illegal and uncontrolled construction in the village and maintaining environmental hygiene. *"Because many outsiders formed factories and self-built houses to open online shops with high rents, some villagers built additional houses illegally, and the town will come down from time to time to check" (Secretary A)*;

In addition, the town government of C was also responsible for docking and receiving higher and external study groups to introduce the development of the village of Jiangling (Secretary A; Director A). The town government was less involved in the specific development of the e-commerce industry in the village of Jiangling.

Generally speaking, the C township government mainly carried out spatial governance in the construction of e-commerce in Jiangling Village, mainly focusing on improving living facilities and investigating and dealing with illegal construction, while the governance of production relations focused on researching demands, communicating and coordinating, and regulating enforcement. For this reason the C township government, relying on municipal finance, belonged to the role of implementing the municipal government's policies in the construction of e-commerce, and played a similar role as a channel for the implementation of the spatial and production relations elements introduced by some governments.

(4) Translation of market actors

The development of e-commerce production relations in Jiangling Village cannot be produced without the participation of multiple market players. By forming an e-commerce office, the C municipality translates e-commerce entrepreneurs, local industries, external e-commerce platforms and telecommunication and communication enterprises, involving all four in the production relations of Jiangling Village, and building a complete e-commerce network system.

(i) Intersement

For e-commerce entrepreneurs, local industry enterprises, external e-commerce platforms and logistics enterprises, and telecommunications and communication enterprises each have their own interests to consider. For e-commerce entrepreneurs, start-up capital and talent are what they need and want to increase their income through e-commerce (e.g. Feng; Xiao Ting, Qiao Feng); local industries want to expand their sales through e-commerce and improve production and sales, while the entry of external industries also provides e-commerce households with more. For external e-commerce platforms such as Taobao and Jindo, the increase in e-commerce shops is conducive to growing their platforms, and in 2013, Ali Group vigorously promoted the "Taobao Village" recognition initiative, placing emphasis on discovering and cultivating "Taobao villages" nationwide. The C municipality's "e-commerce first village" initiative has created an e-commerce foundation for the village, expanding its influence and attracting the entry of e-commerce platforms such as Taobao, while the growth of e-commerce promotes the development of the express delivery industry, in line with the interests of logistics enterprises; at the same time, e-commerce relies on a fast network with many potential users and there are financial subsidies for fibre-optic coverage, which is in line with the interests of the telecommunications industry.

In the common interest, the C municipality has taken on the role of resource importer by developing a number of policies and absorbing members into the E-COMMERCE OFFICE to draw in e-commerce entrepreneurs, local industries, external e-commerce platforms and telecoms and communications companies into the Jiangling Village, growing the network of productive relationships in the Jiangling Village.

(ii) Enrollment and mobilization

a. E-commerce entrepreneurs

For member-based e-commerce entrepreneurs, the Office of Electricity Business has reduced the start-up costs for e-commerce businesses through the many support measures in the first sub-section, attracting villagers and outsiders to come and start their own businesses, while the e-commerce households that have started their own businesses have also attracted friends and relatives to come and start their own businesses through their own social networks, which are part of a network of e-commerce households as the main actors that will unfold on 5.3. At the same time, in order to mobilise more people to come and carry out e-commerce activities in the village, the E-COMMERCE OFFICE has set up a "spokesperson" for the network of e-commerce production relations in the village by guiding the establishment of the

Jiangling Village Ecommerce Association.

According to the "Opinions on Strengthening the Construction of Industry Associations (Chambers of Commerce)" issued by the municipal government of C in 2012, industry associations take on the role of leading the development of industry aggregation, representing the interests of the industry, self-regulating the industry, undertaking the transfer of government functions, and evaluating and supervising the government (Document A-1). Under the guidance of the municipal government and the C town government, the "C town e-commerce association" was established in 2013 in the village of Jiangling, and was renamed the "C city Jiangling village e-commerce association" in the national "e-commerce to the countryside" campaign in 2015 (hereinafter referred to as "Jiangling village e-commerce association"). "(hereinafter referred to as the "Jiangling Village E-Commerce Association") (Mr. Feng).

The Association was formed under the guidance of the government and became the "spokesperson" for the village's e-commerce activities, enhancing its external voice; and the Office of Electricity Business incorporated the Municipal Electricity Business Association into it, directly guiding the establishment of the Association (Secretary A; Brother Feng). As the "spokesperson", the Jiangling Village Electric Association was initially established with the financial support of the Electricity Business Office, and actually assumed the role of training, organising electricity business activities, docking external resources and researching and feeding back the village's electricity business situation. In terms of e-commerce training, the E-COMMERCE OFFICE is responsible for introducing and funding the city's vocational colleges and nationally renowned universities, and is hosted by the Jiangling Village Ecommerce Association, which regularly conducts training for Jiangling Village's e-commerce talent and cultivates e-commerce talent for Jiangling Village. In terms of e-commerce activities, the Jiangling Village E-Commerce Association relies on financial support and regularly organises activities such as the selection of "e-commerce figures" and "Double Eleven" promotions, electing the "Twelve Lohan" e-commerce entrepreneurs of Jiangling Village. The Association also acts as a "spokesperson" for external publicity, representing the village in unofficial activities, such as attending the China Taobao Village Summit in 2014 and 2020, helping the village to gain the title of "Taobao Village" in China. Taobao Village" of China (Secretary A; Brother Feng). In terms of connecting with external resources, the Jiangling Village E-Commerce Association is responsible for hosting external study groups, and also organises occasional visits by

the village's e-commerce households to learn from advanced experience; at the same time, the E-Commerce Office introduced other industries through the "Association-Association" approach to enrich the products sold in Jiangling Village. *"The e-commerce association was responsible for docking external industrial resources, acting as a 'spokesperson' and negotiating cooperation with other associations to attract other enterprises to land in Jiangling Village" (Feng).* In terms of research and feedback, although the C-town government also came down to conduct research, more often than not it was the Jiangling Village's E-Commerce Association that conducted the research and gives feedback to the E-Commerce Office on the development of e-commerce. *"At that time our (an important) duty was to research member units and other e-commerce households in the village to understand what they lacked, we would summarise and give feedback to the (municipal) government, and they (the municipal government) would then provide us with relevant support, repair fibre optics and provide great help to our village" (Peak).*

Generally speaking, the Jiangling Village's Ecommerce Association, established under the leadership of the C municipality, is in a "top-down" position. On the one hand, the Association is the "face" of the village's e-commerce network, and through the Association, the Office injects external resources into the village's e-commerce households; on the other hand, the Association reflects the village's situation directly to the Office and promotes the improvement of systems and facilities.

b. Local industry players

Will lead the village to clothing e-commerce, but in order to avoid homogeneous competition, at the same time play e-commerce to C city traditional industry to enhance the role of driving, C city government to introduce multi-industry enterprises, promote will lead the village e-commerce and C city industrial resources docking, and through the industry associations to achieve Enrollment and mobilization of local industry enterprises. c city government to e-commerce, metal materials, plastic materials, textiles and clothing and shoes and other associations into the e-commerce office. The industry associations were promoted to introduce leading industry enterprises directly in the village, and by 2014, the metal materials, plastic materials, textile and clothing and footwear industry associations were fully stationed in the village, providing villagers in the village with diverse wholesale sources of clothing, jade, ceramics, hardware and stainless steel, and footwear (B-8). Despite the presence of enterprises

from multiple industries in the village, the village eventually formed a pattern of "mainly garment wholesale industry with other wholesale scattered around the village" due to the advantages of low entry barriers, rapid style updates and simple production in the garment industry (Field 1 observation, Acheng, Xinjie). From this perspective, the resources imported by the C municipality through the various industry associations are ultimately determined by the industry's own characteristics and are the choice of the market, while the manufacturers see e-commerce as an important channel to expand their sales.

c. External e-commerce platforms and logistics companies

The e-commerce office has improved the infrastructure of General Village by improving the warehousing and logistics base, repairing roads and supporting the logistics system to attract Ali Group to enter General Village. In 2015, the C city government issued the "deepening cooperation with Alibaba to promote e-commerce to the countryside work plan". The e-commerce office established a regular communication and liaison mechanism with Ali Group in charge, i.e. Ali Group sends professional management and operation personnel, introduces logistics enterprises and helps build a logistics team system. Municipality C also established a partner training mechanism with the Ali Group, which assists the e-commerce office in providing a systematic e-commerce training system and professional staff support. Through the Ali Group's publicity platform, the E-commerce Office built the village into the "Top Ten Taobao Villages" to enhance domestic and international visibility (A-12; A-13). The partnership between Municipality C and Ali has laid an important foundation for the development of e-commerce in Jiangling Village. Since then, with the emergence of new e-commerce platforms such as Jingdong and Pinduoduo, these platform enterprises all entered the village one after another with reference to the established system, enriching the village e-commerce platform and providing diversified sales channels for e-commerce households in the village. (Secretary A, Feng).

d. Telecommunications and communications companies

The C municipality has taken advantage of the fact that state-owned enterprises are part of the same system to include the three telecommunications and communications enterprises, China Telecom, China Mobile and China Unicom, into the E-COMMERCE OFFICE, providing the three state-owned enterprises with facilitated financial support

and also facilitating the follow-up of the "village to village" and "fibre to the home" projects. "and other projects, forming an assessment mechanism. *"In less than a year at that time, basically every household in our village had broadband access to the internet"* (Fanke). In the role of the E-COMMERCE OFFICE, the network facilities in the village of Willow have developed rapidly and a 3-year broadband all free offer has been given to the E-COMMERCE OFFICE households to facilitate the E-COMMERCE OFFICE business.

In general, the municipality sees e-commerce construction as an important tool to promote the city's industrial transformation, translating e-commerce into a three-dimensional project construction, relying on the formal administrative system to turn the "mobile" resources of the region into resources for e-commerce construction in the Jiangling Village, and implementing spatial governance and governance of production relations for the Jiangling Village, embedded in e-commerce production relations. The town government becomes the executor of the docking resources, not directly translating e-commerce, but translating the municipality's e-commerce construction project, embedded in administrative relations and to some extent dis-embedded in e-commerce production relations, and implementing spatial governance of the Jiangling Village in a similar way to the project system.

4.2.2 A network of actors dominated by village committee: limited activation of village-level governance

In 2013, in order to facilitate the construction of e-commerce in Jiangling Village, the C municipality applied for the independence of Jiangling Village from Taiyao Village to become an administrative village; the main body of village governance in Jiangling Village was changed from the original villagers' group (economic association) to the village committee; the head of the villagers' group was upgraded to the "one-shoulder" position of secretary of the village party organisation, head of the village committee and head of the village collective council. The newly established village committee inherited the functions of land and building violations, health and fire fighting and propaganda from the village groups, and added military functions. The location remained the same, a small two-storey building in the same place.

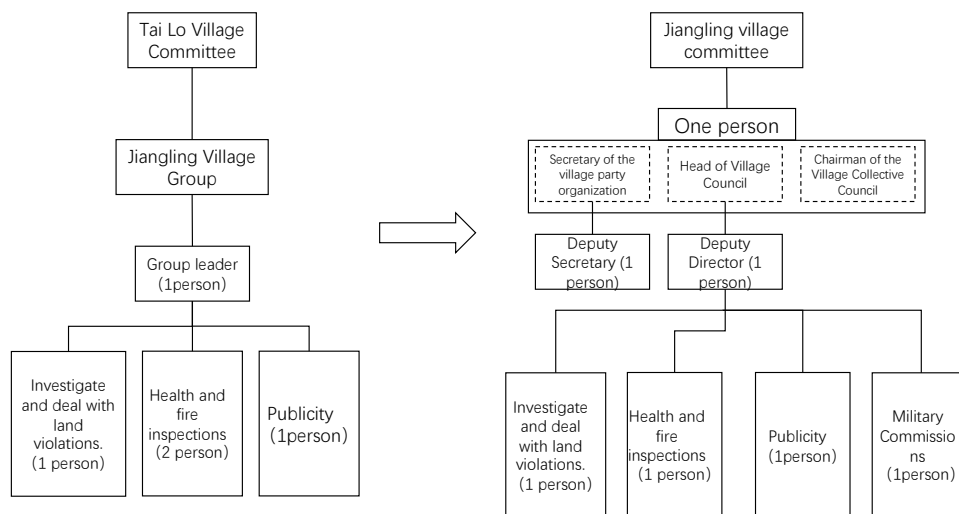


Figure 0- 3 Changes in the organization of village governance in Jiangling Village

The establishment of the village committee has reshaped the village governance organisation of the village, and with the promotion of the construction of the e-commerce village, the functions of the village committee have also been activated to participate in the development of e-commerce, building their own network of actors. However, unlike the government-dominated actor network, the network of the village committee is relatively homogeneous and is composed of "village committee and villagers", which is a relatively independent actor network and is in a relatively weak position.

(1) Problematization

Similar to the definition of the "e-commerce first village" initiative by the C township government, the village committee see it as a solution to the long-standing problems of lack of pillar industries, idle land and factories, population exodus and social conflicts in Jiangling village, which can promote the economic development of Jiangling village and solve the employment and income problems of villagers, thus reducing the existing social conflicts (Secretary A, Huang Lao, Xu Lao). Although the attitude of the village committee is to strongly support the construction of e-commerce, it is difficult to function on its own due to the lack of collective economic income.

Village committee income mainly comes from three pieces, respectively, collective land rental income, financial allocations and health fees. Due to the transfer of collective land in the village, land income is meagre and it is difficult for the village committee to participate in the distribution of income from electricity, independent of

the village's electricity production relationship Although the construction of electricity in the village of Jiangling has received direct financial support from the municipal government for talent training, these funds do not go through the village committee but are arranged through the Jiangling Village Electric Association.

There is also a sanitation fee for e-commerce households, which is collected roughly once a year at around 100 yuan for a shop, and probably brings in around 60,000 yuan to the village committee (Secretary A); and the bulk of the income of the village committee relies on special funding support from the higher government for the villages, which supports the daily expenses of the committee.

The per capita regular income of the village committee is only about 3,000 yuan per month, far below the per capita income of more than 5,000 yuan for the e-commerce households (Feng, Secretary A). Although the e-commerce training was held at the abandoned primary school in the village, which belonged to the village collective, the village collective did not receive rental income from it under the slogan of "free e-commerce training".

In general, due to the lack of a pillar village collective economy and land, the village committee of the Jiangling Village did not obtain direct income from e-commerce throughout the construction of e-commerce, and thus from this aspect, the village committee were both independent of the productive relationship of e-commerce and relatively independent of the special financial support for the construction of e-commerce at the beginning of the construction of e-commerce. As the infrastructure investment in e-commerce construction is co-ordinated by the higher government, the village committee do not have to contribute much to the process of action, and as the ECBO is directly stationed in the village to guide the work, the specific work of the village committee on e-commerce village construction is actually defined as "actively cooperating with the government", in a kind of dependence on the higher government, "suspended" in the village, They are in a state of dependence on the higher government and "suspended" in the village.

(2) Translation of villagers

(i) Interestment

Electricity business office in the village directly introduced and publicised a variety of support policies, forming a direct incentive to villagers, bypassing the village committee, which formed a synergy with villagers in the construction of e-commerce without the need to motivate and mobilise pairs of villages.

The village has a culture of business, and under the government's preferential policies, villagers have spontaneously entered the e-commerce network. Without mobilisation, the main role of the village committee in the construction of e-commerce is to "maintain stability", and the villagers are in the role of "being maintained".

As for the specific content of "stability maintenance", Secretary A and Huang, a former village cadre, pointed out that the main functions were "inspecting health and fire safety" and "investigating and dealing with illegal construction".

For the village committee, inspecting health and fire safety and investigating and dealing with illegal structures are considered to be part of "stability maintenance" because they need to implement the inspection results of the higher government and deal directly with villagers, which is prone to conflicts and "not conducive to stability"; at the same time, due to the historical lack of governance at the village level, land and other unfair matters have not been properly resolved, and villagers have opinions about the village committee.

Originally, "health and fire inspection" and "illegal construction investigation" are part of the daily management activities, but in the countryside, due to the kinship of "villagers", it is not conducive to carry out the work, and may even bring about conflicts in the neighbourhood. This can even lead to conflicts in the neighbourhood, thus turning it into a "stability maintenance" task for the village committee. On the other hand, the villagers also want to maintain stability in the development process, so they hope that the village committee can maintain stability from a fair perspective (Xinyuan, Fanke, Huang, Xiao Liu).

In addition, as the village of Jiangling became an independent administrative village from the village of Tai Liao, the administrative matters that were previously under the jurisdiction of the village of Tai Liao were transferred to the village committee of Jiangling, which also play a "**service**" role to the villagers.

The "services" provided by the village committee to the villagers are focused on administrative functions, and the villagers receive tangible benefits for the convenience of doing so.

In general, the village committee share a common goal with villagers in the construction of e-commerce, namely to promote village economic development through the development of e-commerce, but due to the lack of collective village income, various special funds for e-commerce have not passed through the village committee, and the village committee actually undertake the "stability maintenance" and "service

However, due to the lack of collective income and the fact that all earmarked funds for e-commerce do not go through the village committee, the committee are actually responsible for "maintaining stability" and "providing services". However, to manage the entire village of more than 3,000 people, it is difficult to rely on the seven members of the village committee alone. The village committee need the participation of villagers to provide assistance and help the village committee to achieve their functions of "maintaining stability" and "service".

(ii) Enrollment and mobilization

a. "Stability" based on village and formal relations

In order to achieve better "stability", the village committee rely on two main methods: the village elders and formal relations with the higher authorities.

For the "health and fire inspection" work, the village committee by contacting the village respected elderly, ask them to help patrol, *"on the one hand, they are willing to usually more free, happy to participate in the village affairs, we also asked them to come to help patrol; and they are our village of the elderly, more prestigious We ask them to come and help us with our village affairs. (Secretary A)*

At the same time, the village committee also make villagers aware of the importance of hygiene and fire fighting through regular door-to-door publicity and by organising lectures for the elderly (Field 2, A Secretary, Huang Lao).

The other is to use the formal relationship with the government to convince villagers. As the village committee are under the management of the town government, the requirements for health and fire protection are set by the government, and the village committee also reduce villagers' resistance by clarifying their responsibilities.

It can be said that good hygiene and fire fighting is what villagers are willing to see and belongs to the governance of the public space domain. On the one hand, the village committee manage the hygiene and fire fighting of villagers through the villager elders with their village relations; on the other hand, they use the formal relationship with the government as a bottom-up measure to resolve the conflicts arising from hygiene management and achieve good governance of the public space of Jiangling Village.

For the "investigation and handling of illegal construction", the village committee are carried out by the secretary and the village cadres in charge of land and building violations, relying on the formal relationship with the government to supervise. However, as the unauthorised building is related to the stability of the villagers' private

house bases, the interests involved are relatively deep, and the villagers believe that it is their own business, and that other people's involvement in it is a private matter that prevents them from building their houses. Due to the presence of the municipal government in the village, there were therefore fewer instances of unauthorised construction in Jiangling Village between 2013 and 2018, when the village committee dealt with less unauthorised construction work (Secretary A).

b. Rely on government projects and e-commerce development to replenish young administrative staff

During the construction of e-commerce in Jiangling Village, the E-COMMERCE OFFICE was stationed in the village to handle administrative matters such as business registration for e-commerce, while livelihood matters such as civil affairs, social security and maternity were left to the village committee. Due to the large population under management and the need for a digital office, the village committee needed young people to enter the position of village clerk to take on the day-to-day administrative functions (Secretary A, Fanke). However, due to the lack of income, the village committee cannot afford to pay the salaries of these people, so they are mainly subsidised through the government's "village seedling" scheme and the village's collective land income of 6,000 yuan.

These clerks are mainly from returning young people from the village, who come partly because of family mobilisation and enthusiasm to serve their hometown, but more so to gain an extra income.

The development of e-commerce has created a wave of entrepreneurship in the Jiangling Village. It has become a major source of income for the villagers, and as the income effect generated by e-commerce takes a certain process, it has become a material basis for supporting the young villagers to participate in the work of the village committee, supplementing the lower wages given by the village committee. But with the development of individual e-commerce, these villagers in turn eventually left their positions as clerks in the village committee to work full-time on e-commerce.

In general, the village committee are not embedded in e-commerce production relationships and do not have access to income distribution from e-commerce, which leads to a situation where the village committees are in a perennial rotation of administrative service workers to the villagers.

c. Formation of the members of the village committee

After discussing the changes in the functions of the village committee in the course

of the e-commerce construction, there is another issue that needs to be addressed, namely the impact of the e-commerce construction on the composition of the village committee' teams. The first village two-committee team was succeeded by the previous villagers' group of Jiangling Village, which produced a new village two-committee team in 2016, serving from 2016-2018. By this time, the construction of e-commerce in Jiangling Village had begun to bear fruit, and e-commerce had become a pillar industry in Jiangling Village, but villagers who started their own e-commerce businesses did not participate in the village two-committee team.

Will lead the village to establish a network of e-commerce production relations, the return of young villagers to change the rhythm of life, and the village two committee office hours, plus the village two committee does not benefit directly from the development of e-commerce, and local e-commerce production relations in a state of disconnection, and thus the new village two committee did not absorb fresh blood into, but by the village middle-aged and elderly villagers into the team, the reasons for two:

The prestige of the elderly and the material base of the middle-aged became the basic conditions for the creation of the village committee, and when asked whether the village committee came from local clan power, villagers familiar with the history of the village said that it has always been the village "Huang, Xu, Huang, Fan" four surnames together, who have time to go, mainly the elderly (Fan Ke, Huang Lao (Fan Ke, Huang Lao, Xu Lao, Feng)

The village committee have long been independent of production relations and have no source of income making the composition of the village committee not fundamentally changed by the construction of e-commerce, with no fundamental change in governance capacity and inequities occurring from time to time (Secretary A, Fanke). At the same time, the higher government is concerned about the situation and tries to make changes to this in order to meet the needs of the regulated development of e-commerce. 2016-2018 the secretary is the director of the legal office appointed by the higher town government to strengthen the legal system of the village committee.

In general, because they are not directly involved in the operation and construction of e-commerce production relations, the transfer of collective village land makes it difficult for the collective economy to obtain income distribution from the development of e-commerce. This has resulted in the villagers not being closely connected to the village committee and no fundamental change has occurred as a result of e-commerce development.

(2) Translation for e-commerce households

(i) Interesement

The village committee have a limited common interest in the e-commerce households, focusing on the common interest of "developing the hometown" to carry out activities for the e-commerce households (Secretary A), and the actions of the village committee towards the e-commerce households are still based on "cooperating with government actions". In the context of the development of the e-commerce economy, the village committee have the function of "economic development" for the e-commerce households, in addition to "maintaining stability". Similar to "stability maintenance", the village committee have their own definition of the role of "economic development", specifically the village committee define their role as "supervision" and "The village committees define their role as 'monitoring' and 'advocating', which forms the basis of their dealings with the traders.

(ii) Enrollment and mobilization

As the village committee are not directly involved in the construction of e-commerce, the "supervision" and "advocacy" of e-commerce households is mainly carried out by the village committee, relying mainly on public information boards and other spaces in the village.

In the area of 'advocacy', the

The village committee' advocacy for the e-commerce households mainly focuses on legal advocacy, and the way it is done is mainly through pasting legal posters and other means. *"We mainly stick (posters) in their shops, on advertising boards, to achieve an advocacy purpose."* (Secretary A)

In terms of "supervision", the task of the village committee is to cooperate with superiors to carry out product inspections and investigate counterfeit and substandard products, *"the superiors to check we will cooperate with the past inspection, but this situation is less, because the village is so big, you do counterfeit and substandard, others know, they will not find you take goods."* (Secretary A)

It can be argued that the role of the village committees is limited in relation to the e-commerce households, and because honesty plays an important role in the business network, the direct network of productive relationships of the e-commerce households becomes an important social structure binding individuals, which makes the role of the village committees diminished among the e-commerce households, although the mobile population has increased with the development of e-commerce, but the village

committees do not need to worry about problems.

In this respect, it can be seen that the village committees are not directly involved in the governance of e-commerce production relations, but are embedded in the e-commerce network, and their 'advocacy' of e-commerce households is carried out through spatial arrangements. The relationship between the village committee and the e-merchant households is a discrete one, taking on the role of spatial maintenance.

4.2.3 Networks of actors, mainly e-commerce households: building the foundations of productive relations

The network of actors built by the e-commerce households became the new production relations in the Jiangling Village. twelve young people who returned to the village from Guangzhou in 2013 were the first to set up e-commerce businesses, using their own houses, buying goods from wholesalers in Guangzhou and using computers to open their own shops to sell to the city, only participating in the circulation link in the e-commerce production relations, showing that the two ends of production and consumption are outside the village (Figure 5-4), the network of actors is relatively simple, and the Each e-commerce household is independent of the other, with little communication (Feng). With the development of the "E-commerce First Village" initiative, the various support policies of the E-COMMERCE OFFICE have injected rich external resources into the village, attracting more and more villagers to return to their hometowns and the inflow of foreign villagers, and the network of e-commerce actors has become rich, building up complex production relations, which in turn affects the basis of governance changes in the village.

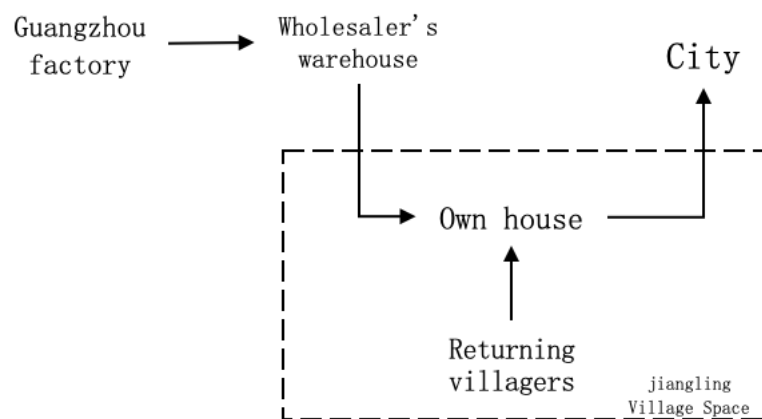


Figure 5- 4 E-commerce production relations in the Jiangling Village in 2013
(1) Problematization

The construction of the electricity business in Jiangling Village has attracted a group of villagers who do electricity business to return to their hometowns to start their own businesses. In the view of the returning villagers, the construction of the electricity business provides a low-cost path to start a high-income business.

From this aspect, it can be seen that government support has provided start-up capital for returning e-merchants in Jiangling Village, helping returning entrepreneurs to complete the "capital accumulation" of the transition from retail to wholesale, and villagers have defined e-commerce construction as an important path to low-cost entrepreneurship and a way to boost their income.

At the same time, the government's vigorous support campaign in 2013 also attracted outsiders to open shops in the Jiangling Village, which, in their view, provided a low-cost environment for starting a business on the one hand and a way to earn a high income on the other.

In general, the first group of returning and foreign e-commerce entrepreneurs in 2013 defined the construction action of e-commerce in Jiangling Village as a way to start a low-cost business with high income, an important way to solve poor employment, difficult living and achieve a good life, and flocked to Jiangling Village, opening more than 300 online shops (Feng) by the end of 2013, becoming key actors in building a network of e-commerce production relations.

(2) Translations for various types of actors

(i) Interesement

The main network of e-commerce households involves three pairs of relationships: the relationship between the first e-commerce households and the new entrepreneurs, the relationship between the e-commerce households in the Jiangling Village and the introduced enterprises, and the relationship between the e-commerce households and the non-e-commerce villagers in the village. Unlike the government and the village committee, the common interest on which the three pairs of relationships are based is profit.

The relationship between the first e-merchants and new entrepreneurs is that the success of the first e-merchants in making "money" in e-commerce attracts more entrepreneurs to enter, and because e-commerce operates on the Internet, the new entrepreneurs are mainly young people.

For the relationship between the electric merchant household and the introduction of enterprises, mainly contains the relationship between the electric merchant

household and the production enterprises and express enterprises. As a platform connecting the national market, e-merchants are able to help local producers sell their products and open up the circulation, while e-merchants do not need to buy goods from overseas and are able to buy goods directly nearby to reduce logistics costs; at the same time, the rise of e-merchants has led to an increase in the volume of express delivery, creating profits for express delivery enterprises, while the presence of express delivery points also provides convenience for e-merchants to express their goods. As a result, e-merchant households and the introduction of enterprises constitute an alliance of interest, which becomes an important basis for cooperation between the two (Feng, Qunfeng, Xiao Liu, etc.).

For the relationship between the e-commerce households and the non-electric villagers in the village, this pair of relationships mainly involves the relationship between the e-commerce households and the old factory owners, the villagers who have built their own houses and left the elderly behind. The first is the relationship between the e-commerce households and the old factory owners. With the government's financial support, the first batch and the new e-commerce households have been carrying out wholesale business, the villagers' homestead self-built houses can hardly meet the inventory requirements and need special warehouses to store goods, the waste factory buildings are therefore reused, and under the government's subsidy, the old factory owners renovate their own waste factory buildings and rent them out to the e-commerce households in exchange for rent, the profit from the e-commerce development share.

Similarly, the common interest of unused villagers in self-built houses and e-commerce tenants is based on rent. Not all e-commerce entrepreneurs are brave enough to start a wholesale business straight away due to the large amount of stockpiling and capital required for wholesale. These e-commerce households take their goods from wholesalers to start their own retail e-commerce business, thus they do not need much space, and at the same time, in order to reduce the distance they have to travel to get their goods, they prefer to rent unused self-built houses in the Jiangling Village, which also brings rental income to the villagers in their own village (Fan Ke, Xinyuan, Ting).

At the same time, the prosperity of the electric household business has absorbed many young labourers, attracting young people from outside to return to their hometowns and improving the living conditions of the elderly left behind in the village, *"there is someone to accompany them and the family income is also higher"* (Huang

Lao).

In addition, although not explicitly mentioned by the interviewees, according to the author's participatory observation, the main body of e-commerce in Jiangling Village is dominated by Chaoshan people, and the foreign population is mostly composed of people from the Chaoshan cultural circle.

In general, the development of a network of e-commerce actors, mainly e-commerce households, has a broad base of common interests, and in the shared interest of "profit" and the improved livelihoods it brings, will lead the village e-commerce households to rapidly transform their external and internal resource advantages and develop a large e-commerce production relationship.

(ii) Enrollment and mobilization

According to the aforementioned, the Office of the Electricity Business on the spatial governance of the Jiangling Village laid the groundwork for a smooth road logistics system and convenient Internet facilities in the Jiangling Village, and the financial support of subsidized loans, talent training, and legal norms solved the problem of start-up capital and talent pool for the construction of production relations.

On the basis of government support, the first batch of e-merchants took advantage of the accumulated number of early customers and the "zero cost" capital advantage to seek to rent special sites for large-scale storage of goods to achieve direct access to goods from the Guangzhou factory, in order to reduce the original "Guangzhou wholesale - will lead the village retail" The old factory owner returned to the village to use the "three years free space rent" support subsidy fund to transform the old factory into a wholesale warehouse and rent it at a low rent to the first e-commerce tenants and the introduction of express logistics companies.

With the first batch of electric merchant household size bigger, income to enhance, their relatives, friends inside and outside the village through the township, kinship and geo-relationship network to obtain information into the village to carry out electric business activities, in the initial lack of customer sources, the new entry of electric merchant households choose to rent villagers to build houses, to the first batch of electric merchant households to take goods, and gradually formed the village will be the internal "wholesale - retail" The "wholesale" distribution network is distributed to cities across the country by logistics companies such as "Four Way". The "wholesale department" of electric merchants and logistics enterprises are concentrated in the old factory clusters, and the "wholesalers" form a "physical wholesale + retail e-commerce

online shop" model; while The "retail department" is scattered in the residential areas of Jiangling Village, forming a specialised model of "retail online shops". By 2014, the village had formed more than 300 physical online wholesale shops and more than 3,000 online shops (A secretary). And in the will Jiangling Village of e-commerce production relationship, the final consumer links in various cities across the country, in clothing as the leading product conditions, consumer preferences become the basis for the choice of clothing of the electric merchant households, "wholesalers" based on Taobao and other e-commerce platform on a variety of "traffic explosion"⁶ clothing, the design pictures and clothes in kind will be sent to the factory "imitation" custom-made, by changing the brand label way to transform, and then the "retail department" through the way of trial sales, to " The "wholesale department" is responsible for grasping the market demand and the "retail department" is responsible for sales. The "wholesale department" is responsible for grasping market demand and the "retail department" is responsible for sales. Under the professional division of labour, the new villagers and foreigners become either "wholesalers" or "retail merchants" according to their own financial situation. With the further expansion of the sales scale, and the resources of C-city production enterprises brought about by the presence of various industry associations under the guidance of the Office of Electricity Business in 2014, the "wholesale department" of the electricity merchants transferred the production end to local factories to further reduce logistics costs, "self-production and self-sales, saving intermediate costs" (Xiao Liu). Since then, the Jiangling Village has formed a pattern of production relations with production in the city, distribution-circulation within the village and consumption in the city (Figure 5-5).

⁶ The term "traffic explosion" refers to the high volume of sales, communication and sales generated in a short period of time.

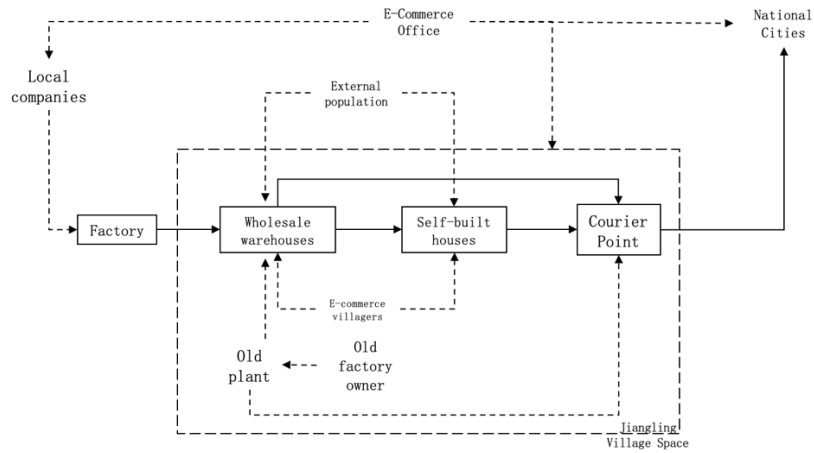


Figure 5- 5 E-commerce production relations in the early stages of construction in the Jiangling Village

In the specific operation, the village and the city's production factories operate through a combination of formal relations organised by the E-COMMERCE OFFICE and a geo-network. The e-commerce households establish commercial cooperation by signing formal contracts with the factories, building trust in the geo-network of the same Chaoshan cultural circle, avoiding the emergence of counterfeit and shoddy products, and spontaneously providing business services such as credit and low-cost financing (Huang); and with the national urban consumer market through The formal relationship with the national urban consumer market operates through a formal relationship with the e-commerce platform, where the rules for opening and using e-commerce shops are governed by the rules of the platform, and where consumers are contacted through a 'customer service' that is under the formal system of regulation of the platform. In the "distribution-circulation" aspect of the village, the e-merchants rely on internet platforms such as Wechat and networks of acquaintances to transform external production resources and market information into local resources, and to avoid market risks.

The network of acquaintances between the "distribution-circulation" e-merchants plays the role of price promotion, credit guarantee and financing support, and through the extensive establishment of a network of "wholesale - retail" distribution relationships based on the geography of Chaoshan, the " The "wholesale department" beared all the market risks associated with choosing the wrong style, blocking most of the market risks for the "retail department", while the "retail department" helped it to absorb the goods by selling the "wholesale department's" goods. "The 'retail'

department helps to absorb the risk of unsold goods through the sale of goods from the 'wholesale' department. In addition, through participatory observation, the authors found that the various e-commerce entities exchanged information on market "hits", business techniques and ways to expand their sales through evening snacks and other activities at the end of the night. At the same time, both the "wholesale" and "retail" departments were family-based businesses, inviting friends to help, and friends and relatives are willing to come and help because they can make steady money and learn about e-commerce in practice. They were also willing to learn about e-commerce in practice, with a view to opening their own online shops in the future (Xuan Mei, Ah Cheng and Ah Yi).

As a result, the network of acquaintances in the village's e-merchants has taken on the role of information exchange, business support and credit guarantee, providing price, capital and sales facilities for the various e-merchants in the "distribution-circulation", and nurturing new e-merchants in the "learning by doing" process. At the same time, the relationship between the villagers of the village and the former factory owners is revitalised, and a new relationship between the villagers and the foreign population emerges, forming a "factory owner/landlord-tenant" relationship.



Fig. 0- 6 Map of wholesale stalls in Jiangling Village

With the depletion of old factories and self-built houses, the land resources of Jiangling Village could not meet the increasing demand for e-commerce shops, and with the introduction of city-wide support policies such as the "8610" plan in 2015, the original support policies were no longer limited to the jurisdiction of Jiangling Village, and the e-commerce production relationship in Jiangling Village began to expand to the surrounding villages, forming a larger The village's e-commerce production relations

began to expand to the surrounding villages, forming a larger agglomeration (Figure 5-7). The surrounding villages, with more land resources, and their old factory owners transforming their factories into larger wholesale warehouses, have attracted some of the e-commerce households in Jiangling Village to move, deepening the ties between Jiangling Village and the surrounding villages and forming an integrated "wholesale - retail" network of interlinked businesses. The municipal government has built a regional logistics and warehousing wholesale centre and production factory at the junction of the village and the surrounding villages, providing centralised logistics and production supply services, resulting in a trend towards spatial integration between the village and the surrounding villages. At the same time, with the expansion of the "wholesale department" in the village, some wholesalers have begun to seek to open their own factories in the vacant land around the village to achieve the "integration of production and marketing", both for the village's "wholesale - retail". However, unlike the traditional garment and textile industry, the factories built by the e-merchants themselves are small in scale, mainly choosing to rent small-scale industrial land to build factories, or to use larger residents' self-constructed houses to build textile "small workshops". In general, the outward expansion of the Jiangling Village as it became large in 2015 has strengthened the spatial and productive ties between the Jiangling Village and the surrounding villages, with a tendency for village boundaries to blur and merge with each other.

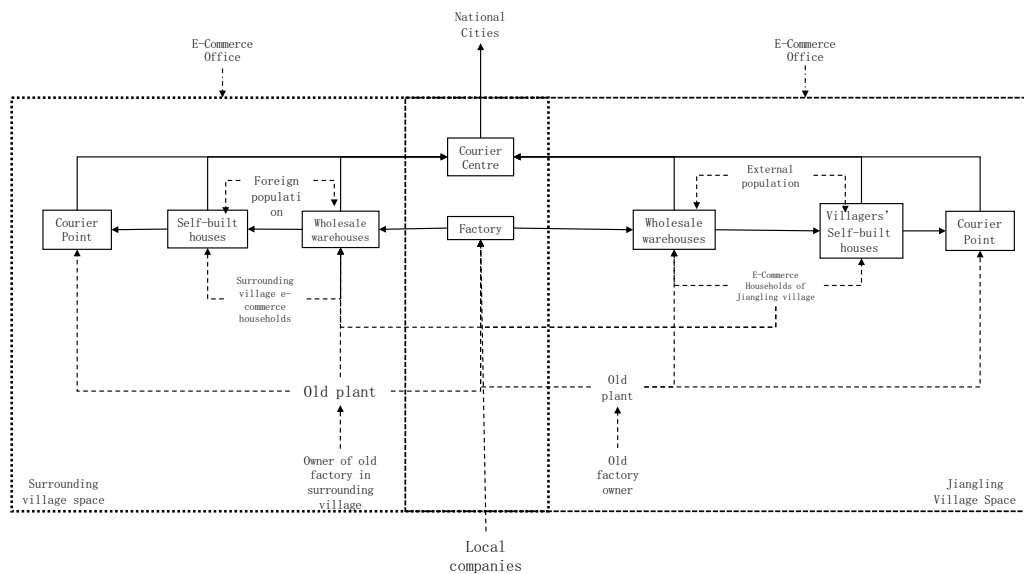


Figure 0- 7 E-commerce production relations in the Jiangling Village after it has reached scale
In summary, the e-merchants in the village have translated e-commerce into a

network of profit-oriented production relationships that rely on networks of acquaintances. The e-commerce production relationship in the village has evolved from 'distribution' to 'distribution-circulation' to 'production-distribution-circulation', with the first e-merchants taking advantage of the resources introduced by the government and The first e-merchants used the resources introduced by the government and the network of acquaintances to gradually expand the "wholesale - retail" distribution and circulation chain and extend it to the production chain, gradually blurring the boundaries between villages; while the final consumption chain is in the city, the operation of the entire production relationship is influenced by the national urban consumption market, whose consumption preferences and scale determine the product design and sales of the e-commerce industry in Jiangling Village. production and sales. As a result, the network of e-commerce production relations in Jiangling Village is characterised by urban demand, a network of acquaintances, a "wholesale department" as the core, and the spontaneous and decentralised development of e-commerce households.

(3) Implications for governance

Unlike the more intuitive influence of the government and village committees' networks of actors on governance, the network of production relations constructed by e-merchants has a more indirect yet fundamental impact on village governance through the 'wholesale - retail', 'factory owner/landlord - tenant', 'government - e-merchant' and 'government - tenant' economic relations that trigger changes in social relations and spatial and temporal structures, "The economic relations of the 'government-entrepreneur' trigger changes in social relations and spatial and temporal structures.

(i) Spatial and temporal compartmentalisation and extension

The e-commerce production relationship in the village revolves around the physical wholesale shop, which connects production factories upwards and "retail" and consumer demand downwards, thus creating a spatial and temporal compartmentalisation and extension of the village.

In terms of space, physical wholesale shops rely on old factories to achieve "Enrollment and mobilization" of other e-commerce tenants and external resources. As the development of township enterprises in Jiangling Village was more concentrated before 2013, the old factories left behind were concentrated in the northern area, and the development of e-commerce promoted the transformation of the old factories, forming a concentration of physical online wholesale shops in the north and the

southern The development of e-commerce has driven the transformation of the old factory, forming a zone of physical online shops in the north and a residential area in the south (Figure 5-8, top left); and for the convenience of logistics, this area has been built with tarmac roads by special government funds for e-commerce, and has been uniformly "dressed" and "connected to the city" (Feng); while in the residential area in the south, cement roads have been used mainly for the purpose of the village's committee to build a new township. In the southern residential area, concrete roads were mainly hardened by the village committee through funds earmarked for "village construction", resulting in a different village landscape (Figure 5-8, top right and bottom left). At the same time, with the expansion of the 'wholesale - retail' distribution network, villagers are using their own houses and outsiders are renting unused villagers' houses to set up shops, and shop signs can be seen everywhere in the residential areas, and e-commerce is beginning to extend to the residential areas (Figure 5-8, bottom left and right).

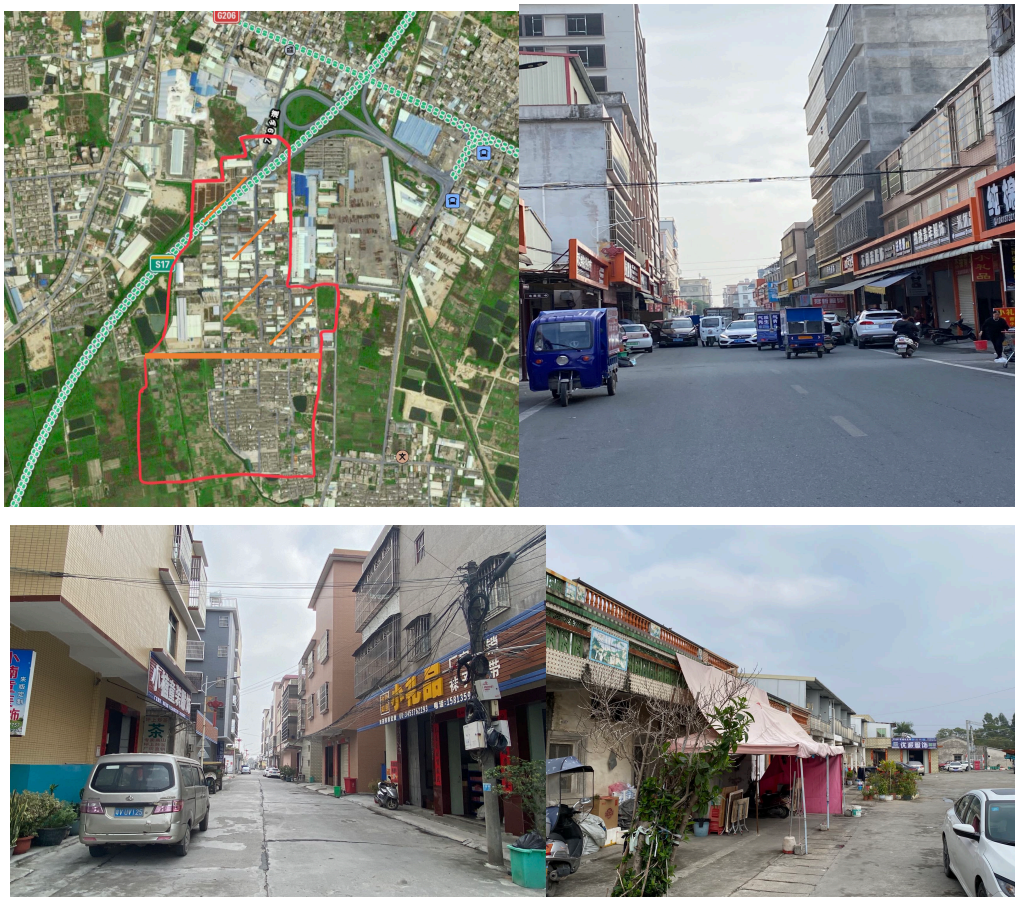


Figure 5-8 Layout of the Jiangling Village (top left), with the physical wholesale area of the Jiangling Village (top right) and the residential area (bottom left and right) in the same section

In terms of timing, e-merchant households establish e-merchant production

relationships with profit as the starting point, and as the consumer market is in cities, they need to cater to urban demand, with the entire network operating with urban demand as the guide. The urban population's online shopping time is concentrated in the evening, for example, the 2018 Taobao data report shows that urban consumers' online shopping time is concentrated after 9pm⁷, and in order to achieve the platform's same-day mailing promise, e-merchants have formed a time routine of shipping and customer service in the evening, resting in the morning and stocking in the afternoon, with 4pm to 5pm being the "wholesale-retail" peak trading period, with the physical wholesale areas showing a busy schedule not unlike the residential areas (Figure 5-8 top right and bottom left). At night, on the other hand, the physical wholesale shops are still busy, while villagers in the residential areas gradually enter their rest time, showing a temporal separation in physical space; at the same time, as the actors targeting the "Enrollment and mobilization" of e-commerce households are mainly young people, young villagers show a clear separation from older villagers in terms of the rhythm of their lives, and also with the working hours of the village committee. The mismatch between the working hours of the village committee and the rhythm of life of the young and the old has led to a situation where, despite the return of young people, they do not communicate much with the elderly and have little contact with the village committee.

It can be argued that the establishment of e-commerce production relations oriented to urban demand has created a 'city within a village' in the physical wholesale area of the village, creating a uniform 'urban' landscape in which people live a life in line with the rhythm of urban consumption, with a certain fragmentation from village level. The people in it live a life in line with the rhythms of urban consumption and are somewhat disconnected from village governance.

(ii) Change in social relations

Although the 'city within a village' is separated in time and space from the villages in the residential area of the village, the e-commerce production relations within it are reshaping the social relations of the village, mainly in four aspects: the disintegration

⁷ Taobao Data Report 2018:
https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzAwNTQ5ODA1NA==&mid=2651340544&idx=1&sn=3f26cad1237dc89beca4d8443f8ac77c&chksm=80e72aa9b790a3bfd8493c07d383945523022cac6f3ff29e03959a97d13b3edd41555cf49f78&scene=27

of the village ties, the change of 'old and new nobility', the emergence of new governance organizations and the increase of harmony among the villagers. The main aspects are the disintegration of village relations, the change of "old and new nobility", the emergence of new governance organisations and the increase of harmony among villagers.

Firstly, the establishment of the e-commerce network has dismantled the original village relations. Before the establishment of the e-commerce village, the original village relations were supported by traditional culture, with the majority of villagers being elderly and characterised by a distinctive pattern of disparity and traditional patriarchy (Secretary A, Huang Lao, Xu Lao). With the involvement of more and more young people returning to their hometowns and the foreign population in the e-commerce sector, the traditional culture-based "wholesale - retail" distribution relationship and "factory owner/landlord - tenant" profit-sharing relationship have replaced the traditional culture-based The villagers' daily interactions are gradually focused on the exchange of experiences to improve the operation of e-commerce shops (Xiao Liu, Xiao Ting, Sister Ting, Brother Ting); under the distribution and profit-sharing relationship, the pattern of differential order is weakened, and although the network of acquaintances is the basis for the operation of the e-commerce production relationship network, the size of sales becomes the basis for the proximity of the relationship. *"(I) only familiar with one or two stalls, because selling their goods sells well is generally operating cooperation, just give you cheaper or something, only say when you sell his goods sell well, he will pay attention to you and you make friends, otherwise are taking the goods and go" (Xiao Liu).* In this respect, the network of acquaintances transcends the village boundaries and tends to homogenize from poor order. At the same time, the convenience of setting up e-commerce shops and the 'Enrollment and mobilization' based on shared profits and networks of acquaintances as a means of 'Enrollment and mobilization' have led to women coming to the forefront, participating in household decision-making and management, and even setting up independent online shops, as the traditional patriarchal system gradually disintegrates (Xuan Mei).

Secondly, the construction of e-commerce has facilitated a change from the "old to the new". The establishment of the "wholesale - retail" distribution network has enriched a group of young e-merchants, who have become the "new rich" in e-commerce, replacing the "old rich" of factory owners such as the original food

processing factories (Secretary A). Despite the emergence of the "new rich" in e-commerce, the original factory owners received huge rental income from the "factory owner-tenant" relationship, and did not appear as operators "living behind the scenes" (Xiao Liu). "(Xiao Liu).

Thirdly, the government-led establishment of the e-commerce association village became a new governance organisation in the Jiangling Village. For the first time, an e-commerce association, a social organisation with urban characteristics, has emerged in the village. With government funding, the e-commerce association mainly undertakes the functions of connecting to external production resources, organising training for human resources and receiving visits from superiors, but is not established by the e-commerce households themselves and is independent of the e-commerce production relationship network. As a result, with the establishment and maturity of the "wholesale - retail" distribution network, each e-commerce entity began to independently connect to external production resources, and relied on its network of acquaintances to nurture new e-commerce youths in the practice of "learning by doing", with the e-commerce association gradually becoming a full-time external hospitality. The association has gradually become an organisation dedicated to external hospitality. At the same time, although the association was given a coordinating function to avoid unhealthy competition within the village, it played little substantive role as the entire e-commerce production relationship was based on profit and a network of acquaintances (Feng). Overall, the emergence of the e-commerce association has also led to the emergence of a new governance organisation with modern characteristics in the Jiangling Village.

Fourthly, the construction of e-commerce has improved the harmony of the villagers. Every household in the village has been "memberised" in a network of acquaintances as part of a network of e-commerce production relationships. In the context of distribution and profit-sharing relationships, e-commerce youths seek to reduce or set aside land disputes between their original families in order to stabilise their operations and maintain good business relationships; at the same time, the increase in family income from e-commerce and the mobility of business premises also weaken land disputes. The mobility of the business premises also weakened land disputes, and on the common basis of profit, villagers' elders were less likely to enhance their family income through land conflicts, choosing to moderate their relationship to maintain their e-commerce operations, and villagers' harmony increased (Clerk A). The return of villagers and the rise in household income also boosted villagers' enthusiasm to

participate in public affairs, with a significantly higher proportion of votes obtained in the elections of the village committee, etc. (Secretary A).

(iii) Renewal of quality concepts

The government's training of talents and the regulation of e-commerce platforms have contributed to the improvement of the quality of young villagers and a change in their outlook.

In terms of quality enhancement, the talent training organised by the E-COMMERCE OFFICE popularised legal knowledge and internet knowledge to e-commerce villagers, enhancing their legal and technological literacy. At the same time, the complex rules set by e-commerce platforms and the frequent penalties and property rights protection issues faced by e-commerce households have forced e-commerce villagers to learn about platform regulations and intellectual property protection laws to avoid fines, while the complex rules for promotions set by e-commerce platforms and the changing consumer preferences in cities have forced e-commerce villagers to learn about business through the internet and other means to improve their business skills (Xiao Liu, Xiao Ting, Ah Cheng). With the network of acquaintances, the villagers form a "helper effect" and the overall quality is improved.

In terms of conceptual change, due to the close connection between the e-commerce platform and the city, as well as the popularisation and improvement of internet facilities in the Jiangling Village, the e-commerce villagers are gradually exposed to information that is in line with the city, and there is a shift in the concept of life, consumption and fertility.

It can be seen that the flow of information brought about by the construction of e-commerce has contributed to the renewal of young villagers' attitudes, while the training of villagers by the new e-commerce industry has improved the overall quality of villagers, who have accepted the rules and legal system of the "city" and gradually "urbanised" in terms of their attitudes and quality.

4.2.3 Summary of this chapter

This chapter elaborates on the construction of a government-led governance network, the activation of a village-based governance network and the process of constructing productive relationships by e-commerce households, revealing the transformation of spatial governance and the reasons for it.

Firstly, there is a loose association of the Jiangling Villages with the higher levels of government. This transformation This change is based on a formal system of linking heterogeneous networks of actors by the municipal government. By setting up the OPP for the "e-commerce first village" initiative, the municipality has unified the definition of the actions of the various actors and given them the function of spatial and production relations governance. At the same time, however, due to the divergence of interests and the de-embedding of production relations, the town government's governance is focused on spatial governance, and the linkage with the villagers and e-commerce households in Jiangling village is suspended in a state of discontinuity.

Second, the limited activation of the main body of village-level governance. In the construction of the electric business, the village committee function change, from the previous check health and fire single function, into "stability", "service" and "economic development" triple function. At the same time, a new village level governance body, the Jiangling Village e-commerce business association, has emerged. However, this activation is limited. The village governance subjects are disembedded in the construction of actor networks in the production relations of the e-commerce and the members absorbed in the translations are misaligned with the production relations. This leaves the village committee in practice in the role of spatial maintenance, maintaining only the spatial landscape within its jurisdiction and not engaging in the governance of production relations across jurisdictions. This further results in the village self-governance subject becoming an executor role for the municipality's policies.

Thirdly, is a change in the social form of the village space. The process of building e-commerce has led to an important transformation of the village into a 'city in a village', a change in social relations and a renewal of quality attitudes. The reason for this is that the economic relations of 'wholesale - retail', 'government - e-merchant' and 'factory owner/landlord - tenant' have led to changes in social relations and spatial and temporal structures. The first is the deepening of urban mobility in the e-commerce production relationship in the Jiangling Village. The e-commerce households in the village have formed an e-commerce production relationship in which "production-distribution-circulation" is within the village and "consumption" is in the city, and urban consumption needs, habits and concepts enter the village through the e-commerce production relationship, while the distribution link of "At the same time, the e-merchants have gradually turned the villagers and land members of the surrounding villages into part of the "wholesale - retail" relationship network, blurring the

boundaries between the village and the surrounding villages. Second, the introduction of external resources by the municipal government. The municipal government's spatial planning and training of personnel has contributed to the spatial transformation of the village and the renewal of personnel quality. Thirdly, the influence of the profit-sharing relationship in the e-commerce production relationship. In the construction of e-commerce production relations, the "wholesale - retail" and "factory owner/landlord - tenant" profit-sharing relations are formed between villagers and between villagers and foreigners, and more and more people are absorbed into the e-commerce production relations on the basis of profit as a common interest. This gradually replaces the traditional culture-based village network, resulting in a change from the "old to the new" and easing the tensions caused by the original land disputes.

4.3 The completed General's Village: towards a network of separation and fragmentation

In 2018, as the construction of e-commerce in Willow Village reached maturity, the Office of E-Commerce withdrew from Willow Village and the various support policies expired one after another. Jiangling Village then entered a period of e-commerce autonomous development. In this period, the municipal government-led "e-commerce first village" action turned into the individual action of Jiangling Village's e-commerce households, and the OPP built by government disappeared, leading to heterogeneity of problematisation, plurality of interests, diversity of enrollment and mobilization, and the fragmentation of the network of actors. Government, village committees and e-merchants moved from a loose association of "three networks under one roof" to a separate and divided state of "three networks in parallel".

4.3.1 Withdrawal of the municipal government network and separation of the town government from the Jiangling Village

In the discussion in Chapter 4.2, the township was in a network of governance dominated by the C municipality, with the administrative system under the municipality's leadership, employment promotion and financial increase forming an important basis for the township to actively cooperate with the municipality and to exercise limited governance over the Jiangling Village within this network. However, with the withdrawal of the municipality, this network disintegrated and the town government gradually became less connected to the village and even separated from the village.

(1) Divergence of problematisation

According to the foregoing, the definition of the construction of the e-commerce village in town C is dependent on the municipality's action, focusing on the use of the "e-commerce first village" action to improve the town's overall economic, employment and financial situation. the definition of the action by the village committee was dependent on the town government and the municipality, "cooperating with the higher

government The definition of the initiative by the village committee was dependent on the town and municipal governments, and was "in line with the higher level of government", with a focus on improving the income of the village residents. After the withdrawal of the municipal government from Jiangling Village, the town government's definition of the development of e-commerce in Jiangling Village shifted from being the "first village in e-commerce" to building a "special town". The village e-commerce was regarded by the town government as an important method of the "characteristics of the town" (Director A). For the committee of Jiangling Village, after the "e-commerce first village" initiative, the villagers' income had already been raised in the initiative, and the development of e-commerce was no longer a "must" for the committee of the village. Instead, it was integrated into the daily administrative work schedule of the village (Secretary A). For the e-commerce households in Jiangling Village, the withdrawal of various support policies has led to the disappearance of the low-cost entrepreneurial advantage, and the e-commerce households saw e-commerce development as a stable way to increase their income (Xiao Liu, Adong, Xinjie).

This shows the heterogeneity between the town government and the village committee and e-commerce households in the re-problematisation of e-commerce development after the withdrawal of the municipality.

(2) Lack of common interests

According to the foregoing, the mutual interests of the township and the e-commerce development of the Jiangling Village were based on the administrative system, employment enhancement and financial revenue. After the withdrawal of the municipal government, indicators such as performance appraisals of e-commerce was withdrawn and returned to regular indicators such as employment rates, and the basis of the administrative system disappeared. (Director A). The e-commerce production relationship constructed by the e-commerce merchants spontaneously absorbs the residents of the town into the business, and the e-commerce merchants in the villages spontaneously absorb and promote the employment, and the town government is thus detached from the e-commerce production relationship, which has less direct effect on the employment. Most importantly, the development of e-commerce in Jiangling Village had not resulted in a direct benefit to C town's revenue enhancement.

First, the pillar industry of C town is still the traditional food processing industry, while the main product of the electric business in the village of Willow is clothing, which has little effect on the transformation and upgrading of the food processing

industry.

Second, the taxation system for e-commerce online shops is inadequate, making it difficult to obtain substantial tax revenue and weakening fiscal revenue expectations.

Thirdly, the town of C was officially identified as an e-commerce town in 2018, and the special subsidies for the creation of e-commerce towns ended, transforming the development of e-commerce in the Jiangling villages from "project-based" management to day-to-day administrative management (Director A).

As a result, following the withdrawal of the municipality, the town government no longer had an obvious common interest with the village committee and the e-commerce households in the Jiangling Village. Therefore, the support from C town government diminished.

(3) Governance network separation

After the completion of the "e-commerce first village" initiative, the e-commerce department of town C was then disbanded, and the town government assigned the governance of the Jiangling Village to different departments, such as the Party Administration Office, the Organisation and Publicity Office, the Comprehensive Social Security Administration Office, the Economic Construction Office, the Social Affairs Office and the Agricultural Office. The township government's governance of villages has changed from "block" to "line" management, with daily work in the villages of the generals shifting to inspections of unauthorised building works, sanitation and fire fighting. As a result, the township government's function of governing production relations has disappeared, and the township government no longer acts as a "conduit" for the introduction of municipal resources.

Specifically, firstly, the number of researching the development of e-commerce in the village will be reduced. At the same time, due to the withdrawal of municipal financial support, the town government was unable to provide substantial support to the village, while its frequent research activities aggravated the village committee in the reception of support. Therefore, the village committee had a negative attitude towards the town government's research activities. Due to the lack of municipal financial support, the town government's support for providing talent training and financial subsidies was limited, and the e-commerce households had a less positive attitude towards the town government's research activities (Fan Ke, A Yi and Wang Cheng).

Secondly, the withdrawal of the municipality has reduced the communication and coordination function of the town government. The dissolution of the e-commerce

department and the departure of the municipality's hangers-on reduced the communication and coordination of the C township government with the municipality, while the weakening of the municipality's publicity and the reduction of incoming study tours reduced the frequency of communication and coordination. *"It was very lively at the time (before 2018), but later on there were slowly not many study tours coming, so they engaged themselves"* (Huang Lao).

Thirdly, the regulatory enforcement function is weak. After the withdrawal of the municipal government and the expiration of the support policy, the town government did not need to implement the e-commerce support policy and regulate the requirements of the industry. According to the aforementioned, one of the interestements for the town government to cooperate with the municipal government was "financial revenue". However, due to the imperfections of e-commerce tax laws, the township government had difficulty in obtaining tax revenues from the e-commerce industry, and has gradually reduced the frequency of its supervision and staff allocation, leaving it to develop on its own. *"Basically, they are doing it on their own, we are not doing anything."* (Director A)

In terms of spatial governance, without financial support from the municipality, the township government of C no longer invested directly in improving the production and living facilities in the village (see Table 6-1), and the village committee raise their own funds. The township government's spatial governance of Jiangling Village concentrated on regulating illegal construction, as well as occasional inspections of health and fire protection (Huang Lao).

Table 0- 1 2019-2021 Township C government work arrangements for Jiangling Village

Year	Job Description
2019	Take the Jiangling Village e-commerce village as the strategic fulcrum and core area of the e-commerce town, promote the integration and development of traditional industries with the Internet, construct an e-commerce ecosystem and a "dual-innovation" base, and create a whole industry chain of e-commerce; improve the construction of the big data service platform of the Jiangling Village, regularly release data, and further improve the visibility and influence.
2020	Through the regular release of data through the will-Jiangling Village big data service platform, the visibility and influence of the e-commerce featured town will be further enhanced.

2021	Promote the improvement project of the appearance of the village; expand the ecosphere of the industry chain of the village, promote the construction of an e-commerce business incubation base, establish a gathering area for the integration and development of human, logistics, capital and information flows, extend the development of tertiary industries such as catering, distribution, hotels and bed and breakfast, expand urban-rural employment and entrepreneurship, promote urban-rural integration and the allocation of factor resources; focus on building two characteristic boutique villages, Tangwang and Jiangling.
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In general, the township government of C was detached from the network of e-commerce production relations in Jiangling Village, from which it did not directly receive tax allocations, and relied on the municipal government's governance network to exercise production relations governance and spatial governance over Jiangling Village. However, after the municipal government withdrew, the previous production governance gradually disappeared and the governance of Jiangling Village by the township government of C gradually shifted to a single spatial governance. Therefore, when the outbreak of the new crown epidemic broke out in 2019, faced with the plight of a contracting domestic consumer market and stagnant e-commerce development in Jiangling Village, the town government did not have any substantive measures to promote e-commerce. Instead, the town government implemented governance over Jiangling Village in terms of spatial movement control of people and the setting of nucleic acid points, with governance appearing spatialised.

4.3.2 Embedding in national e-commerce production networks: separation of e-commerce households from "local"

For the town government, the spatialisation of governance emerged after the withdrawal of the municipality. And for village committee, it was both de-embedded in the network of e-commerce production relations in Jiangling Village and outside of the government-dominated governance network. Before and after the withdrawal of the municipality, its functions did not change significantly, focusing on spatial governance functions, i.e., administrative services and advocacy in spatial governance. The

fundamental reason for this phenomenon is the contradiction between the "flow" of e-commerce production relations in Jiangling Village and the "local" of governance that has emerged since the withdrawal of the municipality, i.e. the separation of the network of three actors as a result of being embedded in the national e-commerce production network.

(1) Separation of actor networks

(i) Definition of the problem and differentiation of interests

After the withdrawal of the subsidies, the main consideration for the e-merchants in the village was to capture the national consumer market's preference for creating "pop-ups" through the e-merchant platform in order to increase the visibility of their shops and sales revenue. For this reason, the size of the national consumer market was the basis for their actions. From this perspective, the definition of problems and interests of e-merchants did not come from a 'local' perspective, as they aimed at the national consumer market, and spatial constraints such as administrative boundaries did not affect their starting point for action. However, for town government and village committee, their definition of e-merchant development and interests were based on local economic and social development, focusing on spatial governance within the administrative jurisdiction, with clear local spatial boundaries.

(ii) Differences in enrollment and mobilization

According to the foregoing, the cost of starting an e-commerce business was low, and a computer and rented premises were all needed to join the "wholesale - retail" distribution network, to enter into e-commerce production relations, and to move to larger premises as the scale of sales of the outlets expands. Therefore, for e-commerce households, sales revenue, rent and site size were the basis for their choice of premises, and their spatial action logic presented "no fixed place" characteristics. Their scope of activity gradually broke through the administrative boundaries of the Jiangling Village, and tended to integrate with the surrounding villages and surrounding towns, with a distinct "mobility". However, for the town government and the village committee, their governance actions followed the spatial logic of "fixed places", and they were responsible for the governance within their jurisdictions, which had a fixed "local" character, resulting in the town government, the village committee and the e-commerce households working separately.

Due to the differences in the logic of spatial action, the resources absorbed by the three were significantly different. For e-merchants, the land, talent, information and

capital were all 'flow'. The e-merchants drew on their own social networks established in e-commerce production relationships to expand the 'wholesale - retail' distribution relationships, and to provide labour for garment production, increasing the mobility of populations. The e-commerce actors provided financial support to each other based on the credit of their networks in a common production relationship, helping new entrants to complete their initial capital accumulation, creating a 'bandwagon effect' and a hell-free access to capital. More importantly, e-merchants acted on the basis of e-commerce platforms, accessing information from the national consumer market via the internet and using their networks of acquaintances to spread it further across administrative regions, making information highly mobile.

As for the town government and the village committee, after the withdrawal of the municipal government, the resource elements in their governance network are local and relatively fixed. In terms of land, the town government and the village committee only govern the land and buildings within their jurisdictions, which were fixed within the administrative boundaries. In terms of personnel, the town government relied on the administrative personnel within its jurisdiction, while the village committee of the Jiangling Village relied on the village sages and the elderly for governance, which was still based on the network of village relations and was clearly local in nature. In terms of funding, the various financial resources allocated by the town government from the higher government were only arranged within the jurisdictions. Meanwhile, in terms of information, the township government and the village committee were faced with local daily life, and the target of governance was the residents within their jurisdictions, providing them with administrative services. For this reason, the information in the governance network was highly local, and less involved in internet governance.

In general, e-commerce households were highly "mobile" in terms of spatial action and resource use, and the network of production relations broke through local administrative boundaries to flow and extended freely. But town governments and village committees were highly "local" in terms of spatial action and resource use, and their governance networks were confined within administrative boundaries and were misaligned and separated from e-commerce production relations. The town government and village committee were highly "local" in their spatial actions and resource use, and their governance networks were confined within administrative boundaries and were misaligned and separated from e-commerce production relations. The withdrawal of the municipal government and the failure of the previously less involved district

governments to have a substantive role, and the absence of a cross-regional governance body, had further led to problems such as fragmentation of regional governance, differences in digital transformation and a lack of capacity to respond to market crises.

(2) Results

(i) Fragmentation of regional governance

The spatial flow and extension of the e-commerce production relations network has spontaneously created an e-commerce cluster that spans town C and the next town, town A, gathering four or five villages, including the village of Jiangling. During the period of e-commerce construction, the municipality regarded it as an "industrial park", co-ordinating district and town resources for cross-regional spatial governance and governance of production relations; after the municipality withdrew, the e-commerce "industrial park" in Jiangling Village actually became independently run by each town and village, with each village and town following the The spatial governance (A director, A secretary) is achieved according to administrative boundaries. Due to the "mobility" characteristics of e-commerce production relations, in the actual governance, each town and village is basically in a laissez-faire state of e-commerce governance, not regularly investigating and dealing with illegal construction and health and fire fighting in their respective jurisdictions, presenting a fragmented state of governance.

This fragmented state is also reflected in the allocation and use of financial funds for ECB and ultimately in the heterogeneity of the landscape. During the period of e-commerce construction, financial support for e-commerce and financial investment in infrastructure improvement was co-ordinated by the E-COMMERCE OFFICE; when the E-COMMERCE OFFICE withdrew, the e-commerce support funds were withdrawn in parallel until 2020 when the municipal government carried out a landscape enhancement project and a new round of 10 million yuan of e-commerce financial funds was distributed to town C and the neighbouring town A of the Jiangling Village for the renewal of signboards for various physical wholesale shops. Due to the concentration of the e-commerce industry in Jiangling Village, of which Town C received RMB 6 million and Town A received RMB 4 million, the two towns used the funds to design and construct independently, ultimately presenting a very different landscape.



Figure 6- 1 Difference between the landscape enhancement project in Jiangling Village (left) and the neighbouring village (right)

Finally, due to the "mobility" of the e-commerce villagers, their concepts of consumption, lifestyle and rhythm of life are in line with those of the city, while the village committee and the village elders are still characterised by a "local" traditional culture in these three areas, and there are differences between them. This has resulted in the young e-commerce villagers being less involved in the public affairs of the village and less in contact with the village elders and the village committee, and when it comes to collective affairs that require joint funding, it is mainly the owners of the old factory who pay the lion's share, while for the young e-commerce villagers, the village committee persuade them through contacting the village elders and through kinship and village relations. The elders of each electric family to mobilize young villagers to donate. *"Like the previous donation to repair the road, we are mobilising the elders of each family to persuade their (e-commerce) young people to those factory owners who are generally more active and older"* (Secretary A). Moreover, the logic of daily life in the village still follows the "local" traditional culture of operation, so that the former e-commerce "newcomers" have a low voice in the village. *"The villagers usually go to the village (two) committee or the elderly, they are more persuasive"* (Feng).

(ii) Digital transformation differences

The e-commerce production relationship is based on the Internet, and is highly connected to the city's information, with each e-commerce household communicating closely with the city, such as online customer service communication, e-commerce platform selection, contacting Hangzhou design and photography, etc. The information is highly "mobile", and each information mainly comes from the city. In this production relationship, each electric merchant has already mastered various Internet skills in their daily life, such as using the e-commerce platform to analyse sales growth, analyse

firefighting "big data", etc., and have a wealth of electronic devices, such as computers, tablets, PS5 game consoles, iwatch, etc., their face of the degree of information and electronic information The level of information and electronic information they are confronted with is basically the same as city life. At the same time, the daily business activities of each e-commerce household are carried out through the online e-commerce platform, and villagers have developed their own online platform for wholesale and retail services such as JP0663, which will be launched in 2020 and gradually extended to other villages, with obvious digital empowerment.

In contrast, the digital transformation of the administration of the town and village councils has lagged behind. As mentioned in the previous sub-section, town and village governments and committees face a "local" daily life, with information production concentrated within their jurisdictions and a low volume of information handled. For example, in 2020, under the Guangdong digital village construction initiative, the committee of the village will be equipped with self-service document processing equipment, ID cards and other information connected to the provincial system, but in practice, still handled by the administrative staff of the committee of the village, equipped with the machine basically unused. *"First, it is not good, sometimes it will die; second, the processing of things is very simple, on the ID card those, with the machine also have to teach them how to use, we will still use the previous computer government system manual operation and reporting data"* (Fan Ke). In addition, in the digital economy thinking, compared to the e-commerce households, the town government and the village committee also have a certain lag, *"this (Internet) aspect is certainly more clear to them (e-commerce households), we are actually responsible for the administrative before the municipal government's a goal is also said to e-commerce construction to lead the government digital transformation of services, they are certainly ahead of the curve"* (Director A).

In this respect, the difference between the "mobility" of the e-commerce households and the "local" nature of the town and village councils has led to a difference in the progress of the digital transformation of the two, with the digital transformation of the private sector leading the digital transformation of the government.

(iii) Weak response to market crisis

As mentioned in the foregoing, the town government and the village committee are disconnected from the e-commerce production relationship, failing to derive tax revenue and collective income from it, coupled with fragmentation of governance and

lagging digital transformation, the e-commerce households in Jiangling Village had to cope alone with being caught in a bitter battle after the national consumer market contracted due to the new crown epidemic at the end of 2019. Compared to Guangzhou, Hangzhou and other cities of clothing e-commerce, will lead the village clothing product quality is poor and lack of original brand, in the epidemic faced a sharp decline in sales, some e-commerce business difficulties in the dilemma; coupled with the emergence of new live channels, and will lead the village of e-commerce households lack of relevant talent and knowledge, is in the city of e-commerce online shop competition in the underdog. Faced with a lack of funding and talent, and in the absence of municipal financial support, it is difficult for the town government and the village committee to use free financial funds for talent training and financial support, and each e-commerce household can only hope for the recovery of the national consumer market.

In terms of specific responses, according to the author's participatory observations, the e-merchants mainly relied on their networks of acquaintances to exchange customer service methods to boost sales, but in practice the results were poor and in a constant process of "trial and error"; at the same time, wholesalers also relied on their networks of acquaintances to give appropriate "retail department At the same time, wholesalers also rely on their network of acquaintances to give appropriate concessions to the "retail department" to tide them over.

In general, local e-commerce production relations in the village are embedded in the regional economic network, with the urban consumer side determining the "production-wholesale-retail" activities in the village. In the absence of a cross-regional governance body, the e-commerce industry in the village was unable to cope with the market crisis brought about by the epidemic, and relied only on the network of acquaintances in the e-commerce production relations network to weather the storm.

4.3.3 Spontaneous development within local resource constraints: the slow renewal of e-commerce production relations

As discussed in Chapter 5, the municipality, a cross-regional governance body, imported a wealth of external resources into the village and nurtured a large number of e-commerce talents, facilitating the rapid establishment and development of e-

commerce production relations in the village, forming a complete "production-wholesale-retail" network in less than three years, and rapidly evolving e-commerce production relations. After the withdrawal of the municipal government, the e-commerce industry entered a phase of purely spontaneous development, relying on local resources and networks of acquaintances to slowly renew production relations.

(1) Demise of the Jiangling Village Electric Association

In the discussion in Chapter 5, the Jiangling Village Ecommerce Association is somewhat decoupled from the Ecommerce production relationship, relying on municipal finance to operate and mainly providing functions such as talent training, and after the withdrawal of the municipal government and its support funds, the Jiangling Village Ecommerce Association gradually disappears in terms of talent training, research and feedback, and organising activities, becoming an 'empty shell'.

After the withdrawal of the municipal government's support, the lack of support for the general Jiangling Village electric business electric business village association also ceased to function, and because the general Jiangling Village electric business association independent of production relations, can not get income from it to support the daily work, coupled with the general Jiangling Village in the regional economic network peripheral position, is to provide products for the urban consumer market, can not independently import external resources, and the village resources can not support the training of personnel and other work carried out (Feng) The lack of common interests between the association and the e-commerce households has gradually turned it into a "shell" with only one person left, and it was classified as a problematic social organisation in 2020.

(2) Contraction of the consumer market triggers a crisis of unhealthy competition

Will Jiangling Village electric production relationship network relies on local acquaintance relationship network operation, the size of the urban consumer market to determine the will Jiangling Village electric household profit. When the municipal government was in the village, relying on municipal propaganda power and influence, the introduction of rich logistics enterprises and e-commerce platform for the general Jiangling Village, expanding the national visibility and market, *"at that time is a blue ocean, the government in front of the open road, the market is very wide, do not worry about selling out"* (Lin); and after the withdrawal of the municipal government, the promotion of the general Jiangling Village reduced, turning to Electric households rely on the price advantage to open the market, gradually the price vicious competition

situation (Feng, Xiao Liu, Ting). This situation tended to become more serious after the outbreak of the new crown epidemic at the end of 2019, as the consumer market contracted and local resources in Jiangling Village were unable to provide talent training, live technology introduction and financial support, both the "wholesale department" and the "retail department" became more dependent on selling at low prices to maintain their business. Both the 'wholesale' and 'retail' departments have become more reliant on low price sales to maintain their operations, and the 'retail' department is looking to expand into other low cost products to increase revenue.

In the face of the dilemma of unhealthy competition, the network of acquaintances centred around wholesalers is weak in coordinating unhealthy competition in the absence of a functioning trade association. On the one hand, the 'favours' of the network of acquaintances often result in wholesalers being reluctant to co-ordinate vicious competition between retailers, or to take the initiative to co-ordinate with wholesalers who compete with them.

On the other hand, e-commerce activities are profit-based and are essentially determined by the urban consumer market, limiting the coordinating role of acquaintance networks.

At the same time, as market contraction triggers increasingly fierce competition, acquaintance networks raise the threshold for e-commerce entrepreneurs to enter the generalist village, limiting to some extent the expansion of productive e-commerce relationships.

Therefore, in the face of market contraction, it is difficult for localised networks of acquaintances to effectively provide resource support and expand urban markets, and to coordinate when dealing with internal vicious competition, or even to raise the threshold for starting a business, and to make this situation alleviate, the answer given by the various e-commerce households is basically to hope for the recovery of the external market and for the market to recover after the epidemic (Feng, Wang Cheng, Lin, Xiao Liu, Ting Qunfeng, etc.).

(3) Slow to improve quality and innovation

In the absence of municipal government support, will lead the village of electric households rely on local and surrounding village resources, slowly enhance the relationship between the production of electricity, the quality of innovation is slow.

Firstly, production has been slow to ramp up. Firstly, it is difficult to support mass production in the textile industry due to the lack of labour in the Jiangling Village and

its surrounding villages. *"Like in our village, there are just over 3,000 people, basically doing e-commerce, and generally being able to have one or two factories basically absorbs the labour force"* (Feng). Moreover, in the urban-rural economic network, the Jiangling Village is in a rural peripheral position, with limited attraction to talent, and the recruitment of foreign workers is basically dominated by the city's rural labour force (Secretary A, Feng). Secondly, the accumulation of capital to upgrade production equipment was slow. In the discussion in Chapter 5, the construction of local factories was basically started by wholesalers with their own funds, and further funds were accumulated in the "production-distribution" process. *"When he earns money, he will slowly go to introduce some better equipment, this process is relatively slow, like now I have some good looking Guangzhou side of the style want to take back here to do can not do, because the equipment process can not but compared to the previous has been much better, in the forward slowly develop"* (Wang Cheng). In the absence of large-scale government funding support, local production factories can only rely on their own funds to reproduce to advance equipment renewal, a slow process and fraught with the risk of market failure. At the same time, the training of high-quality industrial workers is slow. Government training for e-commerce talent has quickly created a large pool of e-commerce industry talent, but the cultivation of industrial workers has been slow, relying on factories' own funds and the role of mentorship between masters and apprentices. *"There are some masters who have been doing this for seven or eight years, and he will go and train and bring people to make (better products), and then the whole market process will be higher than before"* (AYI). Finally, the scarcity of land resources constrains production expansion. *"Now there is basically nothing free land in Jiangling Village to support the expansion of production capacity, it should be much better if we can adjust the land to build a unified industrial park"* (Feng).

Secondly, the new technology is slow to update. 2020 saw the national trend of live banding, but in the Jiangling Village, due to the lack of relevant live equipment and experience, live banding only gradually became mainstream in 2022. *"This new technology I also generally fumble on my own, as well as communicate with others, it is very complicated and do not know how to play, slowly fumble"* (Xiao Liu). From this aspect, the birth of new technology is still in the city, will lead the village electricity households independent learning needs a certain time and process, in relying on the network of acquaintances to spread new technology and new experience, new e-commerce sales technology updates slowly.

Thirdly, design innovation is slow. Will lead the village of e-commerce to "wholesale - retail" to start, lack of local clothing and brand design talent, will lead the village of e-commerce through imitation of Hangzhou and other cities to convert the brand and style, lack of original design, often facing intellectual property disputes.

In general, the municipality has helped the Jiangling Village to quickly build a sound network of e-commerce production relations and embed them in the national e-commerce network, but in the absence of local land, talent, capital and labour, the e-commerce production relations are slow to renew in spontaneous operations and weak in responding to crises.

5. Conclusion

In order to answer the two research questions, i.e., “What are the changes in village spatial governance? What are the reasons for the changes after e-commerce has entered one village based on the revelations from case study of the Jiangling village in C city?”, this study takes the case of Jiangling Village in City C as a case study, and takes the impact of e-commerce as a 'flow space' on spatial governance as a premise, and demonstrates in detail the process of building e-commerce in Jiangling Village through the 'translation' process of the network of actors. This study has explored the process and reasons for two transformation, which can be further summarised as follows and form the core conclusions of this thesis.

First, municipal governments unify the governance practices of town and village governance entities through formal relationships. Firstly, by setting up OPP and relying on formal administrative systems, the municipal government unifies definitions of action and constructs common interests, forming an e-commerce office to translate town governments into e-commerce governance networks. Secondly, the municipal government imported rich external resources through cross-regional relations, and the e-commerce production relations of the general village were rapidly established and expanded. The municipal government imported production resources through industry associations, and lowered the threshold for entrepreneurship in the Jiangling Village by providing public services such as space construction and talent training. At the same time, the municipality promoted the village as a regional industrial park that transcends village boundaries, raising the national profile of the village, expanding the national market, and embedding the village in the national network of e-commerce production relationships. Third, the withdrawal of the municipal government led to the separation and fragmentation of multiple governance networks and the lack of endogenous dynamics of shared governance. After the withdrawal of the municipal government, the e-commerce association of the village died out, and the township government became less connected to the village, changing its governance from one of production relations and spatial governance to a single spatial governance, and spatialising its governance actions, unable to effectively help the village cope with the impact of market contraction.

Secondly, differences in the embedding of production relations have led to the

"three networks in parallel". The entry and exit of municipalities are causes of change in governance, but what is more important is the embedding or otherwise of the various actors in the relations of production. Firstly, the relations of production affect the sharing and differentiation of benefits. The municipal government is financially dependent on the traditional manufacturing, textile and other industries within the C city. Clothing and textile enterprises provide products for the general village e-commerce, and the development of e-commerce promotes the sales of manufacturing enterprises' products. For this reason, the municipal government and each e-commerce subject are co-embedded in the production relationship and have a common interest base. C town is dominated by the food processing industry, and the clothing-based general village e-commerce cannot play a practical transformation role, coupled with the imperfect taxation system for e-commerce. Therefore, C town is disembedded in the production relationship of e-commerce, unable to obtain income distribution, and less common interests with the general village. The transfer of collective village land has resulted in the village committee of Jiangling Village being unable to obtain financial income from the e-commerce industry, with limited common interests with the e-commerce households. The e-commerce association is financially dependent and disembedded in the e-commerce production relationship, and lacks common interests with the majority of e-commerce households. Secondly, the embeddedness of the production relationship determines the governance behaviour and its effectiveness. The municipal government is embedded in the e-commerce production relationship and implements production relationship governance and spatial governance of the e-commerce in the general village. The town government and village committee are disembedded in the e-commerce production relations and concentrate on spatial governance. With the withdrawal of the municipal government, there are spatialisation of governance among them and they are not able to provide substantive support to e-commerce development and to solve the dilemmas. The e-commerce association relies on financial support to implement the governance of production relations, which is embedded in production relations, but after the withdrawal of the municipality its governance of production relations disappears and it became an "empty shell". Thirdly, the embedding of national e-commerce production relations has contributed to the transformation of rural society in Jiangling villages. The e-commerce production relations connect most of the villagers' families with the foreign population, and the logic of profit-oriented action replaces the logic of action of traditional culture, which

lead to the village ties disintegrate. The national marketplace generates "new nobles" in e-commerce, triggering a change of "old and new nobles". The increase in villagers' incomes and the embedding and maintenance of e-commerce production relations have led to a reduction in the original land disputes and an increase in villagers' harmony. Embedded in the national e-commerce network and the close exchange of information with the city, the villagers' quality and perceptions change and move closer to the city. The spatial extension of e-commerce production relations and the role of the urban consumer end in determining the production and distribution end of the village have led to the emergence of a "city within a village", which is a spatial and temporal fragmentation of the village. The spatial extension of e-commerce production relations and the role of urban consumption in determining the flow of production in Jiangling village have led to the emergence of a "city within a village", which presents a temporal and spatial fragmentation within the village.

Thirdly, the "mobility" and "local" contradictions of e-commerce production relations are the root cause of the dilemma of e-commerce development and spatial governance. The first is the contradiction between "mobility" and the "locality" of the subject of governance. As a "flow space", the elements of production relations and their spatial locations are "flow" and not bound by "local" administrative boundaries. However, the governance practice of town government and village committee are mainly the governance of space, which is confined to the administrative jurisdiction. With the withdrawal of the municipal government as a cross-regional governance entity, governance of production relations has become fragmented based on the governance of space, making it difficult to effectively introduce policies to deal with market contraction and lead to the fragment of landscape. Secondly, the contradiction between "mobility" and "local" resources. Although the e-commerce production relationship in the village is "mobile" and embedded in the national e-commerce network, its day-to-day operations are based on "local" resources. Compared to the city, the village lags behind in terms of production technology, design knowledge, internet technology and other resources, and is disadvantaged in terms of consumer markets and human and financial resources, and lacks the 'local' resources to innovate on its own. Based on the informal network of acquaintances of the village's e-commerce actors, the landscape and production relations of the Jiangling village are slowly renewed.

6. Reflection

Based on a network of actors, this thesis examines the process of interaction between multiple actors such as the government, the market and villagers, revealing the changes in governance from the analysis of specific network interactions, addressing to some extent the problem of top-down and bottom-up fragmentation; this thesis also focuses on the impact of regional division of labour networks on e-commerce development and village governance in the Jiangling Village, paying attention to the links between regions and avoiding the problem of examining village governance in isolation; At the same time, this thesis analyses the impact of the historical legacy of the township enterprise period and updates the dilemmas brought about by the risks and challenges of recent years, showing the concrete actions of multiple actors in the macroeconomic structural changes and the changes in grassroots governance they have brought about. It should be noted that although this thesis examines the impact of e-commerce on the governance of Jiangling Village in the context of macroeconomic structural changes, the impact of the adjustment of regional economic policies on the changes in the governance of Jiangling Village is only part of the picture. The development of the digital economy represented by the construction of e-commerce, as an important element of economic development at this stage, has a more direct and profound impact on Jiangling Village, which is an important grasp of rural revitalization and a means for various It is an important tool for rural revitalisation and an important way to channel resources and revitalise rural resources, becoming the mainstream mode of economic activity in the village and generating a series of governance changes. Therefore, it is meaningful to examine the impact of e-commerce on the governance of Jiangling Villages.

At the same time, it is undeniable that this study also has shortcomings, which are summarised in three ways. The first is the lack of historical data. This study attempts to trace the historical basis of the development of e-commerce in Jiangling Village, but due to the lack of village histories and a general grasp of historical information, it can only conduct a limited examination through policies and events at key historical points, combined with interviews with elderly villagers in Jiangling Village, and the lack of details has become a major shortcoming of this study.

Secondly, there is a lack of research scale. In order to conduct an in-depth investigation, the author chose a single village for the case study, focusing on the village scale, whereas the digital economy represented by e-commerce connects urban and

rural areas, and a simultaneous examination of urban and rural areas from the regional scale would be more useful to answer the question of "the impact of e-commerce on governance/the impact of flow space on local governance" in this thesis; At the same time, the author's social status does not allow him to access interviewees at the municipal level, so it is difficult to obtain first-hand information and he has to rely on secondary data for analysis.

Third, the analysis strategy is flawed. In this study, when analysing the government, the village committee and the e-commerce households, the three are considered as subjects with internal consistency, while for the e-commerce households, there are also divergent interests between different e-commerce households, which need to be revealed by tracing the social network of each e-commerce household in detail, and the author's limited energy cannot analyse them in detail; similarly, for the municipal government, the town government and the village committee, the members within them are not entirely aligned in their interests. And for the villagers of the Jiangling Village, they are not included as a whole in the network of governance and the network of e-commerce production relations, which need to be revealed through social network carving, and it is difficult to analyse this with the limited energy and lack of social status of the author, which becomes a major shortcoming.

Despite these three major shortcomings, the author believes that this study is still instructive for future research work.

First, this study observes the emergence of the 'city within a village'. Similar to the concept of 'urban village', the 'village city' is a manifestation of the regional fragmentation of space and time, forming a symmetrical pair with the former; and, unlike the 'urban village', which focuses on urbanisation in the city, the 'village city' can be seen as a product of the urbanisation process in the countryside, contributing to a newer understanding of urbanisation. Unlike the 'urban village', which focuses on urbanisation in the city, the 'village city' can be seen as a product of the urbanisation process in the countryside, which helps to update the understanding of urbanisation.

The second is an exploration of the mechanisms by which the paradox of 'mobility' and 'localness' affects governance. This study briefly explains the relationship between the two through a single case, but there is still much room for exploring the specific mechanisms at play to provide a contribution to the understanding of governance in the digital economy.

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Appendix

1. Information sheet for interviewees

Interviewee Information Sheet				
Serial number	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Occupation
1	Director A	34	Male	Head of Party Building Office, Town C
2	A Secretary	33	Male	Leadership of the village committee secretaries
3	Fanke	31	Male	Villagers
4	New Source	27	Male	Villagers
5	Huang Lao	76	Male	Villagers
6	Xu Lao	76	Male	Villagers
7	Brother Feng	30	Male	Wholesale Electricians (Leaders, Villagers)
8	Brother Lam	34	Male	Wholesale e-commerce (non-villagers)
9	Brother Wong	30	Male	Wholesale e-commerce (villagers)
10	A-Yi	36	Male	Wholesale e-commerce (non-villagers)
11	Wang Cheng	31	Male	Wholesale e-commerce (villagers)
12	Adong	36	Male	Wholesale e-commerce (villagers)
13	Xinjie	26	Male	Wholesale e-commerce (non-villagers)
14	Xiao Liu	24	Male	Retail e-commerce (villagers)
15	Xiao Ting	24	Female	Retail e-commerce (villagers)
16	Sister Ting	27	Female	Retail e-commerce (villagers)
17	Brother Jay	27	Male	Retail e-commerce (non-villagers)
18	The Peaks	24	Male	Retail e-commerce (non-villagers)
19	Qiao Feng	24	Male	Retail e-commerce (non-villagers)
20	Ah Shing	22	Male	Retail e-commerce (non-villagers)
21	Spinster	18	Male	Retail e-commerce (non-villagers)

2. Summary table of literature research information

Serial number	File name	Year of issue
Government Policy		
A-1	Opinions on strengthening trade associations (chambers of commerce)	2013
A-2	Notice on the establishment of a steering group for the creation of the "First Village of E-Commerce" in C	2013
A-3	Notice on the Establishment of the Leading Group for the Creation of National E-Commerce Demonstration City in C City	2013
A-4	City C supports the development of e-commerce incentives in the General Village	2013
A-5	Town C will lead the first e-commerce village integrity pact	2013
A-6	2014 Implementation Measures for Loan Subsidy and Loan Risk Compensation for E-Commerce Enterprises in Tseung Kwan O Village	2014
A-7	Interim Measures on Loan Subsidy for E-Commerce Enterprises in Willow Village	2014
A-8	Interim Measures for Information Collection, Rating Management and Star Rating of Online Shops in the E-Commerce Credit System of Willow Village	2014
A-9	Eligibility criteria for preferential merchant investment in the Willow Village e-commerce village	2014
A-10	Circular on the Implementation Plan for the Regional Pilot Project on E-Commerce in the Industry in City C	2015
A-11	The following recommendations of the Government of City C on promoting the development of electronic commerce	2015
A-12	Notice on Deepening Cooperation with Alibaba to Promote E-Commerce in Rural Areas	2015
A-13	A report on the speeding up of e-commerce service stations to achieve full coverage of the city's rural areas	2015
A-14	Notice on the Issuance of the Method for the Recognition of the Creation of the Model Township (Street) for E-Commerce in City C	2016
Government reports		

B-1	E-Commerce Association Journal	2012
B-2	Cheng Dong in the city's e-commerce promotion site will require to grasp the iron to leave traces of the strength of the construction of e-commerce highlands	2013
B-3	Cheng Dong chaired a meeting to promote e-commerce development	2013
B-4	Municipal government inspection team carries out special inspection of e-commerce	2013
B-5	Cheng Dong to C town special research: full cultivation of e-commerce "first village"	2013
B-6	Exploring the creation of an "industrial interchange" between e-commerce and the local economy	2013
B-7	Accelerating traditional industries to e-commerce	2014
B-8	Building a regional express logistics centre to accelerate the development of the e-commerce industry in City C	2014
B-9	City C's speciality products dovetail with will Jiangling Village e-commerce	2014
B-10	Service centre to be built in C City C to provide 'one-stop' service for e-merchants	2014
B-11	E-commerce is an upgraded version of the real economy	2015
B-12	City Quality Supervision Bureau goes into the village of General to serve the e-commerce enterprises	2015
B-13	City e-commerce training alliance set up the first batch of 52 member units	2015
B-14	C District Industrial and Commercial Bureau: play the role of industrial and commercial functions to support the development of "e-commerce" in the village of Jiangling	2016
B-15	City-wide briefing on e-commerce talent training held in General Electric Village	2016
B-15	General's village transformed by the internet into a "web sensation"	2016
B-16	City C Urban Master Plan (2011-2030)	2017
B-18	Construction of the Willow Village E-Commerce Park is in its final stages	2017
B-19	Launch of the "C City General Village E-Commerce Launch" platform series	2018

B-20	Notice on the Issuance of the Work Plan for the Construction of "Internet+Poverty Alleviation" Characteristic Towns in City C	2018
B-20	City C successfully completes the construction of new rural demonstration areas at provincial level	2018