

Exploring the obstruction and relief of land acquisition and relocation policy implementation based on the mutual adaptation model

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Abstract

Whether the implementation of public policy is effective or not depends to a large extent on the degree of adaptation of the policy subjects (policy implementers and those affected) to the goals or paths and their results. As a kind of public policy involving a large number of evicted households, the eviction policy should strive to realize the unity of public and individual interests, but in the current situation, there are still some obstacles in the implementation of this kind of policy by the policy implementers. Based on McLaughlin's Mutual Adaptation Model, this paper analyzes the practical considerations of mutual adaptation between policy subjects in the implementation of local demolition policy in Jiashan County, Zhejiang Province, taking the case of land expropriation and demolition as a case study, and summarizes the obstacles of unequal status between the two sides due to the asymmetric information between the two policy subjects, as well as proposes the introduction of a third party to make up for the shortcomings.

Keywords

Public policy, mutual adaptation model.

1. Introduction

Since the reform and opening up, China has promoted the rapid development of urbanization through the implementation of the small town development strategy, the construction of development zones and township enterprises, etc. In 1978, the number of cities in China was only 193, with a total urban population of 170 million, accounting for only 17.9%; while by 2022, the number of cities in China will reach 684, with a total urban population of 910 million, accounting for 65% of the total urban population. By 2022, there will be 684 cities in China, with a total urban population of 910 million, accounting for 65% of the total. The advancement of urbanization inevitably involves the issue of land requisition and relocation: whether it is the local urbanization of rural areas or the renovation of old urban areas, land requisition and relocation cannot be avoided in order to realize the harmony of the construction pattern and to seek sustainable and high-quality development of the local area.

In order to adapt to the new situation and solve the problem of difficult land acquisition, demolition and relocation, China's policy makers have continuously adjusted and introduced relevant policies: the "Regulations on the Administration of House Demolition and Relocation" was introduced in 1991, and the "Regulations on the Expropriation and Compensation of Houses on State-owned Land" was introduced in 2011. However, to this day, there are still a number of obstacles to the implementation of policies, and the grassroots level is still a major obstacle. Adjustment between policy implementers and those affected by policies has become one of the most important paths to solving these problems.

2. Basic points and logic of the mutual adaptation model

The origin of the Mutual Adaptation Model can be traced back to the 1970s, when M. McLoughlin, a professor of education and public policy in the United States, proposed the Mutual Adaptation Model in his 1976 article "Mutually Adjusted Policy Implementation". McLoughlin argued that successful policy programs depend on successful policy implementation, and successful policy implementation depends on the success of behavioral accommodation between both policy implementers and policy recipients. The theory was proposed by McLoughlin in his study of the structural reform of education in the United States at the time, on the basis of which McLoughlin applied the method from the concrete to the abstract, explaining the process of mutual adaptation between the policy implementer (organization or personnel) and the affected on the goals and means. He believes that this is a dynamic equilibrium process, and that the effectiveness of policy implementation depends on the degree of mutual adaptation between the two.

2.1. The basic points of the mutual adaptation model

This theory contains four elements, namely, policy implementers, policy affected persons, environmental factors, and interactive debugging and feedback.

First, for the element of policy implementers, policy implementers utilize policy resources and take positive actions to transform policy concepts and goals into concrete reality. In the mutual adaptation model, the policy implementer also continuously adjusts the implementer's values and goals according to the needs and perspectives of those affected, so as to choose a better implementation method and achieve a mutually beneficial effect. In addition, the subjectivity of the policy implementer plays a major role in the process of policy implementation, which can have a greater impact on the effect of policy implementation and the implementation of policy goals. At the same time, the ability, cognitive degree and subjective will of the policy implementers may directly affect the policy implementation effect.

Secondly, as far as the policy affected people are concerned, the goal of the policy is embodied through the affected people, whose behavior and needs directly affect the achievement of the goal. In the Mutual Adaptation Model, the policy implementation affected person and the policy implementer are in the process of mutual adaptation, the affected person will feedback and consult their own interests and needs to the policy implementer, and the policy implementer will consider the affected person's needs and views and make debugging and change, which is a two-way communication process, and both parties are in an equal position in this process.

Furthermore, as far as the implementation environment is concerned, policies are formulated in order to adapt to the development of the social environment, and policies should rely on the development of the environment and make adjustments to adapt to specific environments with the changes of the environment. The policy implementation environment is an important factor affecting the implementation of policies and the achievement of policy goals. The implementation environment includes the natural environment and the social environment, and in the process of policy implementation, both the natural environment and the social environment exist in reality and have a practical impact on the process of policy implementation and play a role in the effective implementation of policies and the effective achievement of policy goals.

Finally, in terms of interactive debugging and feedback, the debugging strategy between the policy implementer and the affected person as well as the feedback of the affected person is an important content and way to reach the set goal, and the interactive debugging of the two coordinates and adjusts the interests of both sides, the implementation method, the policy demand, etc., in order to reach the policy goal, and at the same time, it also pays attention to the feedback of the affected person, who, as a target group, has a certain degree of policy feedback

reflecting the effect of policy implementation. As the target group, the feedback of the affected people to a certain extent reflects the effect of policy implementation, so the interactive adjustment and feedback of policies are important factors affecting policy implementation in the model of policy mutual adaptation.

2.2. Logical Identification of Mutual Adaptation Model

First of all, the needs and instillation between the policy implementer and the affected person are not exactly the same, based on the common interests of both parties in the policy, each other need to explain, negotiate, compromise, etc., to amend the position, in order to determine a mutually acceptable way of policy implementation. Secondly, policy implementers and those affected are on an equal footing, and this theory changes the traditional theorists' insistence on a single process of "ordering from the top" to a two-way process of information exchange, emphasizing both the output of policy outcomes and the input of suggestions from those affected by the policy. Thirdly, the policy implementer's goal and policy tool elasticity, policy implementation is mainly affected by the interaction between policy subjects, subject and object, the input and output of information, the use of resources, and so on, so the policy implementer in the face of changing policy environment, should maintain a high degree of vigilance, in terms of the goal, the means and so on, to make corresponding adjustments, in order to cope with the changes in the external environment. Fourth, policy implementation emphasizes the construction of communication mechanisms, because policy implementers and policy affected are in an equal position, in this case, communication is particularly important. The democratization of the participation path should ensure the participation weight of the policy object and the expression of their own interests, and the interactive and effective communication mechanism can make both sides of the opinions better expressed.

2.3. Evaluation of the Mutual Adaptation Model

Based on the basic points and logical identification, this paper refines that the policy implementation mutual adaptation model has three advantages: First, from the perspective of the interests and needs of the affected parties, the two sides need to have a conflict of interest or contradiction in the manifestation of the reality of the implementation process with the help of the mutual adaptation model can be very good to reflect the public opinion and aspirations. Secondly, the mutual adaptation model needs to build a two-way communication and exchange process, at the same time, the policy implementer and the affected person are on an equal footing in the two-way communication, so this situation has changed to a certain extent the previous one-way communication of the "order from the top to the bottom", which highlights the advantages of the model. Thirdly, the mutual adaptation model comprehensively considers the influence of the policy implementation environment, analyzes the challenges and difficulties in the process of policy implementation in an all-round way, and reveals the actual influence of the policy implementation environment on transforming the policy, i.e., the mutual adaptation model can only be applied in the policy implementation with elasticity possibilities, otherwise it will fall into the space of no adjustment, which is also the core content of the model. While explaining the advantages, it is not difficult to find that the mutual adaptation model does have some defects, for example, the conditions of implementation are very strict, and the mutual adaptation model requires that the policy implementer and the policy affected parties are on an equal footing, so as to communicate and exchange ideas. If power is only unilaterally advanced, it is difficult to implement the model correctly. However, in real life, it is difficult for the two parties to be on an equal footing. On the one hand, the information between the two parties is asymmetric; on the other hand, the two parties are not equal in terms of resources. This makes it easy to fall into the dilemma that the model is difficult to be implemented correctly or the progress of adaptation is slow.

Based on this, the application characteristics of the model are summarized: the Mutual Adaptation Model is a top-down model, which emphasizes the formation of a good adaptation between the policy and those affected by the policy through policy changes or fine-tuning in the implementation of the policy, and is suitable for the scenarios in which the grassroots make concessions between changes and compromises in the implementation of the policy, or the scenarios involving the interests of a specific group of residents being affected. Examples include: building demolition, land occupation, and land expropriation. Thus, this paper analyzes in depth the practical considerations of this model through the case of adaptation between the government and the petitioners of demolition and relocation.

3. Case Analysis of Land Acquisition and Relocation

3.1. Typicality and representativeness analysis of the case

Jiashan County belongs to Jiaxing City, Zhejiang Province, located in the core area of the Yangtze River Delta city cluster, is one of the top 100 counties in the country in terms of comprehensive strength. In 2001, Jiashan County, Zhejiang Province, Weinan Village of part of the land was approved by the Zhejiang government expropriation, involving the demolition and relocation of 59 households, in the process of relocation, the village appeared 11 demolition and relocation of households to sign a total of offensive and defensive alliance, and the "Jiashan the first difficult" Xiongjia seven years of petitions, to the local construction, the implementation of the policy of obstruction of the outstanding, the problem is obvious. The case is typical and representative.

3.2. Case background

In 2001, the Zhejiang provincial government approved the expropriation of Jiashan County Weinan Village part of the land, this expropriation involves a total of 59 households demolition and relocation. 2005, the county relocation command mobilized these 59 farmers demolition and relocation, to 2006, most of the demolition and relocation of households in accordance with the policy provisions of the completion of the relocation, but the remaining 11 demolition and relocation of households refused to demolition and relocation. In order to resist the demolition, the villagers of these 11 households signed a treaty, jointly promising never to make concessions, but under the accommodation of government staff, finally only Xiong Haifeng's family refused to relocate until the Xiong's family was forcibly demolished and relocated in 2007.

3.3. Practical Considerations of the Adaptation Process

In the case there were three mutual debugging, which appeared in the persuasion stage of demolition mobilization, the petition stage of the demolished farmers, and the stage of signing the agreement. Among them, the mobilization stage of demolition and relocation is mainly the adaptation between the policy implementer and the policy affected; the petition stage is the adaptation between the petition department and the demolition and relocation petitioner; and the signing of the agreement stage is the adaptation between the deputy director of the Bureau of Letters and Visits and the Xiong family.

3.3.1. Policy Implementers and Policy Affected Persons

The first accommodation occurs in the persuasion stage of the demolition and relocation mobilization, which takes place mainly between the government and the demolition households. At this stage, the government, as the policy maker and implementer, formulated and implemented the land acquisition and demolition policy out of public interest considerations. Its considerations are reflected in the government's intention to promote urban and rural development through scientific planning of the expropriated land, to attract

investment through the development of concentrated and contiguous land as industrial land, and to increase the government's financial revenue by granting the land. Those affected by this phase of the policy are the 59 local farmers who have been evicted. Land acquisition and eviction means that villagers facing eviction will lose their homes, and for the evicted families who have been living in the countryside for a long time, the eviction will even deprive them of the basic conditions for their survival, so most villagers show their willingness to resist the eviction and eviction, and there is a game between the government and the evicted families. The disagreement at this stage lies in the difficulty of determining the point of equilibrium between the interests of the two sides: the government wants to complete the demolition in the most economical way, while the demolition households want to do their best to protect their own interests. Public and private interests, public and private rights are often in sharp confrontation or even conflict in the process of policy implementation. In the face of this situation, government staff and the 59 local evicted households revised their positions through communication, negotiation and compromise in an effort to find a balance of interests. With the joint efforts of both sides, 58 evicted households decided to relocate after more than a year. However, the Xiong family was not satisfied with the government's compensation agreement, believing that the agreement did not achieve the balance of interests they had in mind, and even harmed their own interests, so they did not give the staff any room for maneuver, and the two sides of the policy stalemate, and ultimately, the Xiong family's forced demolition of the end of the implementation of this policy. Therefore, this stage of adaptation was successful overall, because all 58 demolition households agreed with the government and completed the demolition, while Xiong Haifeng's family did not agree with the government, but was also forced to demolish, in terms of the results of the county government's demolition work was successfully completed, and the public policy towards the end. However, in the last kilometer of policy implementation, the government did not complete the communication and coordination work with the Xiong family, and even made the Xiong family feel that they were not respected by the government staff, and were humiliated, and the relationship between the two sides has been in a state of tension for a long time. It is also due to the lack of effective coordination between the government and the Xiong family in this link, the county's number one problem gradually arise.

3.3.2. Letters and Visits and Relocation Petitioners

Since 2006, Xiong Haifeng and his daughter have petitioned the relevant government departments several times, and after receiving replies from the relevant departments, they proposed a review, and after the review, they proposed a re-examination. 2007 and 2008, the municipal government and the Provincial Department of Land Affairs respectively made a final composite opinion on the petition, supporting the review, replying to the opinion, and explicitly informing that the petition had been finalized. China's "Regulations on Letters and Visits" clearly stipulates that: after the petition is finalized, if the petitioner still use the same facts and reasons to petition again, the relevant departments will no longer accept. Although in accordance with the legal procedures, Xiong Haifeng petition case has been closed, but in fact the Xiong family related issues have not been truly resolved, so this petition case has also become a local backlog of letters and petitions, the Xiong family father and daughter to maintain the status quo, continue to petition. As a result, the two parties in this phase of the adjustment from the original "policy implementers and demolition and relocation of households" into the "letter and petition departments and petitioners".

Although the implementation of the policy of land expropriation and demolition has long been declared over, but due to the process of land expropriation and demolition policy implementation has exposed the coordination failure due to the imbalance of the interests of the policy subjects, resulting in the negative effects of the policy of the drawbacks of the significant, so the government, whether out of the maintenance of social stability

considerations, or to protect the interests of the public point of view, the government should be in response to the petition incident corresponding to respond to the incident. Due to the great disparity of strength between the two policy subjects in the game, the petitioner can only keep investing time and energy to maneuver with the other subject, and because of this, the petitioner keeps putting forward new demands to seek more benefits for himself. Due to the inefficiency of the Petition Bureau and the difficulty in determining the balance of interests between the petitioner and the Petition Bureau, the time for both parties to adjust continues to lengthen, and the difficulty of adjustment at this stage is greater compared to the first time, and intensifies as time goes by.

3.3.3. The Deputy Director of the Bureau of Letters and Calls and the Households Being Forcibly Demolished

The deputy director of the Bureau of Letters and Calls changed his attitude from one of toughness to one of respect for the consistent working philosophy and style of government employees, and this change in attitude led to the deputy director of the Bureau of Letters and Calls gradually establishing a friendship with Xiong Haifeng's family. In addition, the director of the Bureau also put the two sides on an equal footing to communicate effectively about the petition, and the Xiong family's attitude gradually softened over the course of many exchanges. Not only that, the Director of the Bureau of Letters and Calls also gave a lot of help to the Xiong Haifeng family during the petition period, and eventually gained the trust of the Xiong Haifeng family, and the two sides made adjustments on the petition, demolition and relocation matters. The result is: Xiong Haifeng family's request did not exceed the original scope of the government, but within the policy flexibility to reach an agreement, the case lasted seven years, to the Xiong family signed a cease and desist agreement.

Fourth, the implementation of the demolition and relocation policy obstruction

Based on the above case analysis, we can find that the Mutual Adaptation Model has theoretical guiding significance in updating the whole process of policy implementation at the grassroots level in China, which gives the policy implementers certain paths to guide them, but in the application of the practice, there are still some dilemmas, the most important of which is the inequality between the policy implementers and the policy affected parties in the actual status, and the asymmetric information is the main reason for this dilemma.

The concept of "information asymmetry" first appeared in the field of economics, which refers to the market activities of the participants have the market specific transaction signals are not equal: some of the participants have much more information compared to the other part of the group, and the part of the group that has more information, often through this advantage to pursue their own economic interests maximization, and even go so far as to maximize the economic benefits of the group. The part of the group with more information will often use this advantage to pursue their own economic interests to maximize, even at the expense of the interests of others, because of this, the information asymmetry is easy to cause the lack of efficiency of the operating mechanism, and even make the transaction into a failed situation. With the intersection and integration of disciplines, this concept also applies to the field of public policy, which is usually manifested in the fact that information asymmetry hinders the benign interaction between policy implementers and policy participants, resulting in the difficulty of policy implementation or adjustment in high efficiency.

The unequal status of policy implementers and those affected by the policy is also related to the benchmarks of public policy and the concepts of policy implementers, i.e., fairness, efficiency, justice, and freedom. Fairness means that policy implementers should treat all those affected in a consistent manner, and if this is not the case, it will be difficult for policies to be flexible; efficiency is mainly concerned with the time frame for implementation by policy implementers; and freedom and security are related to the boundaries between public and private rights,

which can only be adjusted slowly in the process of policy implementation. However, the inequality in actual status will result in the arrogance of staff, and in serious cases, the reputation of the government and its credibility will be affected. Based on the Xiong Haifeng petition case, it can be found that the vast majority of policy affected people are not talking about the road, but because the government staff is difficult to put the affected people into the same status as their own dialogue, thus revealing a lack of respect for the staff and abandon the original intention of the staff, in which case, it is difficult for the policy affected people to seek a psychological satisfaction, which will impede the policy in the positive direction of the efficient implementation of the policy.

4. Difficulties of the debugging process to alleviate

In order to address the problem of asymmetry of information and the inequality of the actual status of policy implementers and those affected by the policy, it is possible to introduce a third party in the implementation of the policy, such as lawyers, consulting organizations, relief agencies, etc. Such third parties are more likely than ordinary citizens to be involved in the implementation of the policy. These third parties often have more detailed information than the general public, or better reflect their interest in policy implementation, and at the same time, the implementation of the policy does not directly affect the interests of this group, so out of interest considerations (the economic benefits from the client in the commission-agency, or free handling of the case of the value of the reputation, etc.), the third party is often willing to act as an intermediary, to try to realize the actual status of the policy affected people. They try their best to realize that those affected by the policy are equal to those who implement the policy in terms of their actual status, and thus promote efficient mutual accommodation.

4.1. Lawyers

Lawyers, as a group of highly specialized legal service workers, are characterized by their proficiency in law and their ability to provide professional services to members of society through their expertise. In addition, because the lawyer has to deal with the case or learn the relevant legal knowledge accumulated experience, for the case of government staff damage to the bear family vegetable field, and forced demolition of the bear family housing infringement, the lawyer can realize the client's demand, efficiently find a legal and fast way to protect the interests of the infringed, so as to improve the efficiency of the policy implementers and policy affected by the mutual accommodation between the efficiency of the two.

4.2. Rescue organizations

Social assistance organizations often gather a large number of social workers, who play a number of functional roles in social assistance services. For example, social assistance organizations play a powerful function of connecting resources. In assisting the grassroots government, social assistance organizations can help the relevant departments to handle the work of connecting; and in helping the recipients, the organizations can help the recipients to understand and connect with the resources related to social assistance. In this way, they can make up for the asymmetry of information, which results in the unequal status of the policy subjects. In addition, relief organizations also have the function of psychological relief. The vast majority of the policy affected people understand that once the policy is formulated, it is very difficult to change the policy's landing by one's own strength. Take the case of Xiong Haifeng as an example, Xiong Haifeng's family is unwilling to reach an agreement with the government and Xiong Haifeng's family believes that they have not been respected by the government, and they have been humiliated by the link. Then social workers in this case, can help Xiong Haifeng family effectively reduce psychological pressure, so as to continue to maintain a positive attitude

towards life, become an important intermediary to achieve psychological fulfillment of the aid recipients.

4.3. Counseling agencies

Counseling agencies are often composed of experts, scholars and other groups with specialized knowledge, and the counseling agencies they form are usually very comprehensive. Because of their strong specialization, they are more likely to grasp the relevant policy information in the process of policy implementation, and can effectively help policy affected people to make up for the information asymmetry caused by their lack of specialization, thus improving the efficiency of mutual adjustment between policy implementers and policy affected people.

In addition to the introduction of a third party to compensate for the information asymmetry, policy implementers should also consider the disadvantages of the single operation of the power in the actual implementation, such as bringing higher opportunity costs, reputation costs, etc.. Therefore, policy implementers can communicate and adapt with those affected by the policy as much as possible before utilizing the power, so as to alleviate the more complicated and difficult adaptation work at a later stage. In addition, the Mutual Adaptation Model emphasizes the elasticity of the policy and the coordination between the policy implementers and the affected people, so the policy implementers should also pay great attention to the problems reflected in the real implementation process of the policy and make certain adjustments or even changes based on this.

5. Summarization

Mutual Adaptation Model, as a major means of studying policy implementation, has theoretical guiding significance in updating the whole process of policy implementation at the grassroots level in China, and gives certain path guidance to policy implementers, but in the application of practice, the implementation of policies will still be in trouble due to information asymmetry, etc. Although the information asymmetry can't be eliminated fundamentally, through the introduction of a third party and strengthening the coordination between the policy implementers and those affected, it is possible to realize various problems more efficiently and effectively. Although information asymmetry cannot be eliminated fundamentally, by introducing a third party and strengthening the adjustment between the policy implementers and the affected parties, the demands of each policy subject can be realized more efficiently, and the effective implementation of policies can be achieved.

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