

THE CRISIS OF NEOLIBERALISM AND URBAN GOVERNANCE

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Abstract: Since the economic crisis in 2008, neoliberalism, as the main means of governance in Western countries and cities, has also been fundamentally challenged. These political and economic failures are finally manifested in the governance of urban space. This article will start with the case of the expansion of neoliberalism, analyze the short-term and long-term political and economic crisis consequences brought about by neoliberalism through the practical experience of urban space governance at home and abroad, and discuss the governance and challenges of retreat space in different spatial scales around the world. The problem of neoliberalism does not only exist in Western countries. In the Internet age and the trend of globalization, the accumulation of capital is causing a crisis on a global scale. Asian countries and China must also think about how to deal with the crisis and explore the path of post-neoliberalism. Development path. Finally, in the discussion of retreat space from the global to the local, the article reflects on the global flow of neoliberalism as a global urban governance policy, and thinks that it remains to be seen how to go beyond the limitations of neoliberalism in terms of post-political cities. Therefore, the transformation of Chinese cities towards post-neoliberal governance requires the courage to get rid of the urban governance discourse produced by the Anglo-American social context, and construct theories and practices that conform to the local social context.

Keywords: Neoliberalism; Crisis; Urban governance; Post-regulation city; Chinese characteristics

1 THE EXPANSION AND CRISIS OF NEOLIBERALISM

After World War II, Western countries led by the United States established fiscal and monetary policies dominated by "Keynesianism", which effectively increased the economic growth of developed capitalist countries in the 1950s and 1960s. However, due to the decline of profits in the industrial sector, the strengthening of international competition, the large number of unemployed people and inflation, and the failure of the "Bretton Woods" system, the relationship between large-scale production and large-scale consumption was destroyed, and Keynesianism was affected by various Doubt and pressure [1]. In the end, the oil crisis in the 1970s triggered a serious economic crisis in Western countries, and Western countries began to transform various sectors of domestic society by expanding market mechanisms, implementing privatization, and relaxing market controls. The principles of free competition and commercialization, national policies and political plans Obviously, it has shifted from the "Keynes welfare state" model to "neoliberalism" [2].

In the decades since, the neoliberal model has had a wide-ranging and far-reaching impact on global society, with mixed reviews. After 2008, Western capitalist countries were in the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression in the 1930s. Banks and financial systems were on the verge of bankruptcy, credit markets froze, stock values fell by more than 50%, and major industries (such as the US auto industry) faced Huge pressure, personal and family wealth evaporated, unemployment soared[3]. Neoliberalism is walking on thin ice, and the economic crisis has gradually transformed into a global governance crisis, such as the political crisis caused by the bankruptcy of Iceland and Greece, as well as a series of world political events such as the Brexit referendum. From the financial turmoil to the challenges of global government governance, these political and economic crises are finally manifested in the reconstruction of urban space. This article will start with neoliberal urban governance, discuss the retreat space governance and challenges caused by the neoliberal crisis, and reflect on how Beyond the limitations of neoliberalism, seek the direction of urban governance in our country, in order to cope with the advent of the post-neoliberalism era.

Beginning in the 1980s, with the help of the power erupted by the crisis of capitalism, the concept of neo-liberalism swept the world. This force reshapes the political and economic structure of the world based on the principle of the capital market, emphasizing the reconstruction of the market, individual freedom, and national governance, in an attempt to allow capital to flow freely around the world [4]. The emergence and expansion of neo-liberalism is due to the fact that it starts from the assumption of economic rationality of "neoclassical economics" and attempts to restore the neoclassical laissez-faire policy to deal with the crisis of economic stagnation brought about by "mosaic liberalism"; Second, affected by the political situation after World War II, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the success of Chile's neoliberal economic experiment, countries and international organizations led by the United States began to vigorously promote neoliberal economic reform policies, such as the so-called "shock therapy" [1,4,5].

After the 1990s, neoliberalism has risen to a supranational rule system. At this stage, the country no longer needs to abdicate, but instead needs to build and consolidate a normalized neoliberal political system, integrating neoliberal governance techniques and rules Institutionalize and practical experience, and spread to the world with the help of international institutions such as the "World Trade Organization" (WTO) and the "International Monetary Fund" (IMF), trying to reduce the barriers to the movement of capital across borders, open the markets of other countries, and supply The global operation of capital accumulation [5,6]. For example, after the Asian financial crisis in 1997, international institutions (IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, United Nations, etc.) not only did not review the problem of neoliberalism, but believed that it was necessary to establish a complete set of bankruptcy law system in line with international practice, so as to In response to similar financial crises in the future, but in fact, with the support of hedge funds and the IMF's outrageous deflationary policies, the Asian financial crisis caused a large amount of funds to flow into the US dollar, while the United

States further established Wall Street in the form of "predatory accumulation". International financial dominance has also brought amazing asset values to the rich in the United States[4].

Under the construction of neoliberal rules, capitalist countries represented by Wall Street, the US government, the IMF and the World Bank are the biggest winners, but the logic of capitalism is eternal expansion, endless capital accumulation and continuous Seeking profit-seeking growth, such growth is accompanied by "predatory accumulation" of capital and "uneven geographical development" [4,5]. From this, we can also understand how the geographical scope is defined in the context of neoliberal expansion. For example, the so-called "East Asia" region is only a part of the territory and scene of the global expansion of the Wall Street financial center. Therefore, some Western scholars believe that neoliberalism has gone beyond the scope of economic policy and has become a powerful ideology, following market logic, encouraging growth-oriented economic policies, supporting privatization and advocating streamlined government and deregulation, allowing greater autonomy and power for local governments and elites, became the basis of capitalist globalization policies [6].

Under the neoliberal philosophy of believing in market principles, putting growth first, and encouraging competition, when the capital accumulation in a certain place continues to increase, coupled with the development of science and technology, the improvement of production and labor efficiency, resulting in an increase in the production of goods, capitalism must be This "excess" production spreads to other regions of the planet, where new markets are established to absorb the "excess" production. In other words, the "over-accumulation" crisis of capital and the internal contradictions of spatial production are transferred to other regions and markets by means of "spatial fix", thus making capital "safe" Continue to grow, and with the continuous circulation and circulation of capital in cities around the world, urban space is also expanding and reconstructing in an unbalanced manner [5,7].

It is not difficult to see that such a way of geographical expansion projects idle capital to other parts of the world, and the accumulation of capitalism is only a temporary response to the economic crisis; At that time, it will turn around to compete fiercely with the existing capitalist countries and markets, thereby exacerbating the capitalist crisis of over-accumulation, and a wider economic crisis will occur, such as the 2008 world financial credit crisis.

It can be said that in the context of neoliberalism and globalization, due to the geographically expanding and fixed characteristics of capital, every metropolis wants to absorb more capital and consumption, urban space or urban region (urban-region) It has gradually become the driving force of the global economy and the experimental field of neoliberal policies [2,8]. British scholar Bob Jessop pointed out that although neo-liberalism appears at different levels, "true neo-liberalism" is mainly reflected in urban governance policies[9]. The process of neo-liberalization has fundamentally changed the dynamics of urban internal space reconstruction. The city government has an urgent pursuit of rapid economic development and tax revenue growth, and actively participates in the process of globalization, leading to the constant pursuit of economic growth. "Entrepreneurialism" (entrepreneurialism) government emerged [10].

Take the neo-liberal urban policy in the United States as an example. The core of its governance is to cancel the social security provided by the government, and instead emphasize increasing the competitiveness of individuals in the market. The specific policies include: ①replacing social welfare security with personal responsibility; ②public housing Privatization; ③Employment policy emphasizes the cultivation of individual skills and abilities to find their own way out; ④Emphasis on the partnership between the government and enterprises; ⑤The government retreats from daily intervention to only intervene in times of crisis, and the market operates freely in normal times [11]. This kind of urban governance emphasizes market-oriented, government and market as a "partnership-based" form, because this can effectively improve the city's competitiveness and achieve the goal of economic growth [9], but this It is also the key to many social problems.

Under the influence of neoliberal urban policies, urban space continues to be neoliberalizing (neoliberalizing space), which accelerates the mobility of capital, employment, and public investment in the process of urban space reconstruction, and solidifies backward welfare reforms and The polarization of the labor market [6]. The typical phenomenon of the uneven distribution of these urban space resources is the phenomenon of spatial polarization, as well as the fragmented urban living space, such as the emergence of gentrified communities (gentrified community) [12], and the power of capital and class that it brings has a great impact on cities. The result of spatial reconstruction—the poor are excluded from the living space of the middle class, and can only live on the edge of the city. No matter how neoliberalism claims to be progressive, neoliberalized cities cannot conceal the development status of social division, uneven resource distribution and spatial imbalance.

2 CHALLENGES OF NEOLIBERAL URBAN GOVERNANCE: TAKING RETREAT SPACES AS AN EXAMPLE

In the context of neoliberal expansion, capital has been able to flow between different geographical spaces and borders through the force of globalization. The result is that regional scales that are meaningful in one period may not be meaningful in another period. Structural problems of uneven geographical development [5]. Therefore, in the process of globalization, as the industrial structure of some cities and regions changes, it will inevitably cause some cities, regions or communities to decline. The most direct reflection of these declines is the retreat space left by the migration of population and capital. Such as abandoned industrial plants, old residential areas, or forgotten settlements, etc. These retreat spaces have become an important challenge for neoliberal urban governance, involving structural issues of neoliberal urban governance, including the state, society, and market The cooperative relationship between the central and local governments, as well as the scaling politics and power relations between the central and local governments and between different local levels [9, 13]. In the following, we will explore the issue of neoliberal urban governance from the perspective of retreating spaces at different scales from global to local.

2.1 Shrinkage of Neo-Liberalized Urban Areas

From the perspective of "spatial repair" theory, capital must rely on the expansion of space to alleviate the crisis of accumulation, and capital must continue to flow and restructure in geographical space[7]. Further, neoliberalism is not a fixed final state, but represents a process of social and spatial transformation driven by the capital market, that is, the process of neo-liberalization [14]. On the other hand, in the process of global flow of capital, it is necessary to construct a "space of flows" with the global scope as the basic network, which in turn facilitates the complex formation of each "space of places". Competition and cooperation, when some cities cannot enter the global network in the global economic competition, there will be a development gap between these cities and those urban areas that have successfully entered the "flow space", and thus face the crisis of decline, especially those Cities based on a single industry or economic sector [15, 16].

Taking developed industrial countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States as examples, under the promotion of neoliberal policies and globalization, as well as countries such as Asia and Latin America actively integrating into the process of globalization and neoliberalization, capital began to gradually transfer from advanced countries to developing countries, the ensuing technology and labor force began to transfer and reorganize on a global scale, which in turn led to large-scale economic structural transformation in these old industrial cities in Europe and America, which is the so-called de-industrialization process, the globalization of capital, technology and population flow Many cities that rely on a single industry and economic sector cannot occupy a place in the existing international competitive environment, thus leading to the shrinkage of cities or regions, such as the "rust-belt" (rust-belt) and Youngstown (Youngstown) in the United States.) and other cities and regions[17, 18]. The shrinkage of these urban areas has resulted in large areas of decayed built-up areas and retreat spaces (including a large number of abandoned or illegally occupied buildings), and more importantly, economic transformation is often accompanied by structural crises, resulting in high crime rates and serious Social issues such as population aging and local crises [19].

These issues are closely related to the outbreak of the crisis and the transformation of the role of the neoliberal state and government. The governance of neo-liberal countries is based on the principle of the market, focusing on enhancing competitiveness, and creating an "excellent corporate environment" to shape the best environment for capital accumulation. However, the state has not left the market, but the way of intervention has changed [5]. When Western neoliberal countries face the problem of neoliberalized metropolitan or urban area decline and contraction, they mainly start from two aspects. One is investment and cooperation, trying to improve the environment for capital accumulation and The purpose of stimulating the local economy, but it often produces more social problems; the other is the regional "rescaling" (rescaling) and the transfer of power (devolution/empowerment), the country tries to integrate different scale regions (Such as various cross-border and cross-regional free trade areas, or regional integration within a country), to promote cooperation between cities and regions in the region to deal with the uneven geographical development in the region[13, 16,20-23]. But are these means of governance really effective, and can they be applied to cities and regions outside the Anglo-American society?

Taking the five municipalities directly under the central government in Taiwan (Taipei City, New Taipei City, Taichung City, Tainan City, and Kaohsiung City) as examples, some scholars discussed the role of scale politics as a neoliberal governance tool in the face of the crisis of capital accumulation, and pointed out that Taiwan's In the face of the crisis of excessive capitalism accumulation, the logic of administrative divisions towards global urban and regional governance is used as the basis of political rationality, and through means such as upgrading, merging and upgrading of counties and cities, merging into municipalities, etc., to seek solutions to the crisis of capital accumulation However, there are many contradictions and conflicts in the logic of Taiwan's political and economic development and the process of redefinition of local overall allocation funds. Pushing towards a long-term and ever-changing state of uneven geographical development [23], not to mention the re-scaling of the country through the adjustment of administrative divisions, and the construction of metropolitan urban areas of the five capitals, the regional development can be naturally integrated to achieve The strategic objectives and conception of competitiveness construction [24]. Some scholars believe that strengthening cooperation between urban regions to maintain market competitiveness in globalization is a dangerous assumption, because although urban regions emphasize cooperation and complementarity, competition and power inequality between cities within the region also exist, for relatively disadvantaged cities in urban areas, they may face the crisis of urban decline, after all, neo-liberal urban governance still takes the market as the core principle[16].

In conclusion, neoliberalism, as the main governance tool of the modern state, seems unable to fundamentally solve the global-to-local retreat space governance, but instead deepens the uneven development of geographical space on a global scale in the context of globalization, and the neoliberal urban various social issues in the region. In this way, it is not difficult for us to understand that before the global economic crisis in 2007, about one-sixth of the world's cities (with a population of more than 100,000 people) were in a state of shrinking population and space [25].

2.2 Urban Regeneration under the Corporate Government

Although the neoliberal state (central government) responds to urban problems arising from the process of global industrial restructuring through investment, "rescaling" and power transfer, local governments are undoubtedly the ones who directly face these problems. Under the influence of neoliberalism opposing state intervention and advocating individual freedom and market supremacy, the governance of local governments has also undergone changes. First, the focus of urban management has shifted from managerialism to entrepreneurialism; second, urban functions have shifted from collective production and consumption The third is to emphasize the public-private partnership business model to reduce the market risk of private enterprises; the fourth is to make market-oriented planning goals an important means of urban governance.

In the urban governance of neo-liberalism, the central government transfers downward or gives local governments greater power and autonomy. On the one hand, it justifies the role of the state, and on the other hand, it tries to fully mobilize the local identity and development initiative.[26]. From this point of view, urban governance will become to deal with the

relationship between the three major groups of local government (power), market (capital) and society (voters). Under the logic of corporate urban governance, “new The choice of “free regime” must be to give priority to improving urban competitiveness, so the so-called urban governance has become a city alliance mechanism that is dominated by the market and the “partnership” between the government and the market [9, 10, 27].

One of the main strategies reflected in this governance logic to solve the problem of urban decay is to propose large-scale urban redevelopment plans in the early industrial areas and inner cities, loosen restrictions on land development, provide incentives and temptations, and use private enterprises in a public-private partnership. Capital development capabilities are used to lead the city towards a competitive spatial restructure, and to maintain or create its own advantages in the increasingly fierce urban competition [10,26]. The British urban renewal in the 1980s and 1990s took real estate development as a "supply-side" model, using the development and upgrading of infrastructure to attract global investment (cooperation), but it deepened social inequality and Poverty, especially in neighborhoods in urban centers such as London and Liverpool [28].

The essence of urban governance in European and American countries is fully revealed in the process of urban renewal, and private developers have gained greater power in shaping urban landscapes[29]. Although, in the neoliberal urban governance of East Asian developmental countries, the state (government) has shown a more important leading role[30,31], but under the governance logic of entrepreneurial local government, the governance of urban retreat space is also the same. It is regarded as a part of local economic growth and participation in global competition. In order to create a good business environment and promote capital accumulation, local governments constantly adjust their own spatial forms and urban policies, thereby creating an urban development environment that is in line with capital flow. The market oriented urban renewal strategy has further deepened the uneven distribution of social space resources, causing more social contradictions and problems.

2.3 Gentrification of Community Revitalization

The decentralization of urban governance in neo-liberal countries has prompted local governments to actively participate in local economic development. Facing the economic decline in urban centers and the decline of old communities, the central government’s subsidies to local governments have continued to decrease, forcing local governments and the private sector to actively participate in local economic development. Capital establishes partnerships to attract and retain the urban population, especially the middle class with higher spending power. At the same time, as real estate prices fall due to declining population size and increased abandoned/retreat spaces, free market-driven public-private partnerships to regenerate decaying urban neighborhoods can both attract and retain the middle class and This is the basic principle behind gentrification[12], and it is also the embodiment of class differences and social inequality in living space.

In Western neo-liberal countries, although the phenomenon of gentrification has promoted the improvement and upgrading of the urban material environment, the adjustment of industries, and the growth of the urban economy, it has also led to the fragmentation of urban space, the disintegration of community networks, class differentiation, and the gap between the rich and the poor. A series of problems such as exacerbation. To solve these complex social problems, it must be clearly recognized that the traditional state-society relationship has been weakened, society can no longer be regarded as a whole, but dispersed into competing individuals and organizations, and society is no longer the main field and goal of government strategies And the object, the community has become a space place managed by the government, an object of policy and the main object of urban governance [32,33].

Therefore, neo-liberalism advocates a bottom-up urban governance strategy, transfers part of the state's right to community governance to the community with the community as a unit, and uses community mobilization to build local consensus and promote community residents to actively participate in local governance. Public affairs and development to fill the governance failures of the state and the market[9], such as the Blair government's "Third Way". After Blair's New Labor Party came to power in 1997, the urban revitalization policy proposed by the government used the community as a tool for urban renewal. In order to achieve the purpose and effect of neoliberal governance, the government established SEU (social exclusion unit) and other institutions to Encourage and stimulate the regeneration of retreated communities, and redefine poverty, transfer poverty, a structural failure of capitalism, to factors such as internal community and personal knowledge deficiencies, combined with the discussion of personal morality and responsibility, trying to use a bottom-up approach To solve the thorny problems that the government does not want to deal with, the government does not provide and implement relief, but guides and regulates the behavior of social organizations and individuals within a limited scope[28]. But for the local government, the result is almost the same. The discussion of the community is more about the modification of the management procedure, which is to reconstruct the power relationship between the local government and the community under the premise of ensuring the power of the central government. These policies did not abandon the principle of the market, but hoped to guide the market into the regeneration process of the community. The profit-seeking nature of the capital market has exacerbated the marginalization of these impoverished communities, and instead caused more injustice and lost the original Development opportunities [28].

The urban regeneration strategy oriented by cultural creativity is even more dangerous. It uses culture and creativity to cover up capital’s transformation of local social and spatial attributes. Global consumer culture transforms local uniqueness into commodities, constructing cultural consumption fields and symbolic values. Monopoly land rent in order to further promote capital accumulation, attract tourists and middle-class consumer groups, and achieve the so-called community revitalization purpose, but the result of this urban governance strategy combining entrepreneurialism and neoliberalism has not changed urban development as a whole However, these cultural and creative jobs and creative classes are regarded as a symbol of middle-class taste, creating a false bohemian agglomeration effect and becoming a community The leaders of gentrification[34,35] not only dismantled the local culture, but also changed the original social space attributes.

In the urban regeneration process of community revival, we can find that whether it is urban regeneration oriented by land development, revitalization policy by means of community building, or community revitalization and urban regeneration oriented by cultural creativity, these are based on The market-based neo-liberal urban governance, which emphasizes globalization, is still unable to resolve the relationship between capital in justice, efficiency, and cities. Not only does it fail to solve the original social problems, but it increases and deepens social problems. Urban regeneration or community The phenomenon of gentrification in the revival is the best proof.

3 POST-NEOLIBERALISM AND POST-POLITICAL GOVERNANCE TRANSFORMATION

From the discussion of retreat space from the global to the local, we can see the limitations of neoliberalism as a modern national urban governance. On the one hand, neoliberalism encourages the expansion of capital in the global geographical space to alleviate the contradiction of accumulation, but on the other hand On the one hand, the geographical scope of countries and cities is relatively fixed. This contradiction makes countries and cities have to strive to attract more investment to develop themselves. Those cities and regions that cannot occupy a place in global competition will face industrial restructuring and retreat. However, neoliberal urban regional policies and urban regeneration strategies have not really solved structural problems. In the face of urban shrinkage and retreat space governance brought about by industrial restructuring, there is more competition among cities at the regional level than cooperation. Between local governments, the public sector and the private sector often "fix" suitable spaces, public facilities, and urban life by "repairing" old places or spaces, attracting capitalists, middle class, and laborers to stay In specific places (inner cities and old communities, etc.). These urban policies not only did not solve the inherent social problems, but created more problems.

If we want to reflect on why neo-liberalism can flow and practice globally as a kind of global urban governance, we must rethink what the essence of neo-liberalism is. We may not be able to define neo-liberalism accurately, but we can summarize and think about the governance experience and problems of post-neoliberalism: Some scholars continue the perspective of Marxist political economy and the "Regulatory School", trying to find new ways to carry out political and economic laws. Some scholars believe that neo-liberalism is only a manifestation of political forms and the construction of economic and social systems. The combination of these systems and local social context will become a special model different from Western neo-liberalism.

3.1 Post-Neoliberal State Regulation

Marxist researchers regard neo-liberalism as a homogeneous force spreading out from the "Fordist" economic crisis in capitalist countries[1,2,6], which is based on the principle of the capital market Reshape the political and economic structure of the world, and promote the unimpeded flow of capital around the world [4] . Regarding the crisis of neoliberalism, Marxism analyzes the structure and system, pointing out that neoliberalism, an unstable and constantly changing "accumulation regime", may fail at any time (economic crisis) [5], and requires institutional adjustment to form A long-term stable capital accumulation and reproduction system.

Just as neoliberalism was developed in Latin America as an experiment in response to political economic and social reforms, post-neoliberal practices have also unfolded in the political demands of the left after the economic crisis. From the post-neoliberal planning and governance practices of several Latin American countries, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Argentina, it can be seen that they emphasize the regulating role of state intervention in economic development (not state capitalism): The economic growth model, on the other hand, alleviates social problems caused by unbalanced economic development by increasing social welfare expenditures, reducing taxes, emphasizing citizen power and social integration. The idea of post-liberalism in Latin America is mainly to revise the "deregulation" measures of the market in early Latin American countries, trying to find a "middle line" between the state and the market, combining the advantages and disadvantages of both, and reorganizing and balance the power relations among state, market and society [36].

In the face of post-neoliberalism practice in Latin America, European and American scholars seem to be more cautious, and do not want to easily conclude that neoliberalism is the end of social, political and economic regulation[37]. The G20 summit in 2009 reviewed and reflected on financial capitalists and marketism. The consensus among global elites is that in order to alleviate the global economic recession, some necessary fiscal stimulus measures and targeted "readjustment" policies are imminent. However, these The so-called readjustment measures are still discussed around the relationship between state power, market regulation, and local society. The purpose is to recover the economy as soon as possible and restore confidence in the global credit market. thinking". Therefore, the global economic crisis in 2008 is more like a final warning to the global neoliberal order. The signals of these crises will prompt the changes and adjustments of neoliberal policies in a short period of time. scale, and then gradually change the logic, power and relationship of neoliberalism as a whole on a global scale, and there is still a long way to go beyond neoliberalism[37].

The adjustment school highlights the dynamic process of capitalist economic contraction and expansion, as well as periodical crises, and helps us understand the problems of the capitalist market. However, it is precisely because of too much reliance on the analysis of political and economic structures and systems that it is impossible to jump ahead when dealing with financial crises. The de-inherent analytical framework still focuses on the balance and repair between the state, the market and society.

3.2 Neoliberalism as an Institution

Some studies point out that the so-called "neoliberalism" is just a theory created by British and American countries and scholars to deal with the economic crisis in the West and understand the logic of the global capital market[38]. Inspired by

Foucault's governance theory, these scholars take the governance experience of non-Western cities as an example to reflect on neoliberalism as a product of the special history and culture of Western society from the perspective of micro power, and its role as an effective Institutions (or governance techniques) have been adopted in various other regions and exhibit many unique phenomena and variations [38,39].

Professor Wang Aihua from the University of California, Berkeley believes that neoliberalism should be understood from the perspective of governance, as a technology of government governance, which flows in different (global) political and social contexts, and shows different ways and means. For example, on the basis of maintaining the socialist planned economy and the overall political environment, China uses neoliberal governance techniques combined with reform and opening up policies to introduce and utilize foreign capital and domestic market reforms through the spatial form of "special zones", to promote the rapid growth of China's economy [39]. Thus, neoliberalism is also seen as an institutional practice of global mobility, in which many different (practice) deformations have been produced by different decision makers combined with local social contexts, each with its own uniqueness., such as the discourse on population quality advocated by Chinese society is regarded as a specific form of neo-liberal governance [40].

In response to the post-neoliberal governance transformation, these discussions argue that the interpretation of neoliberalism by Harvey and other Marxist scholars is based on the observation of Anglo-American society and is an important part of the globalization strategy of Anglo-American capitalist countries. It is simplified into a top-down force, an imaginary model that expands outward from the center (of European and American countries). Therefore, they provide us with a new angle and vision [38-40], that is, the so-called "neo-liberalism" is not a global political and economic system, it is an institutional practice that has been acquired in Western society. However, its governance techniques and practices will change according to different social contexts, while post-neoliberal governance transformation recognizes the diversity of development and constructs urban theories with local attributes. Thus, in the discourse of post-neoliberal transformation, whether the regulation school insists on adjusting from existing neoliberal governance, or the institutional theory emphasizes the local modification of neoliberal global flows, we still do not see Effective governance beyond neoliberalism, from the 2008 global financial crisis to the 2016 Brexit referendum, Trump's victory in the US presidential election, Middle East turmoil and continued terrorism, and extreme political forces triggered by European refugee flows, Then to the geopolitical struggle in Asia, etc., these are the facts that neoliberalism still continues to affect us. 3.3 Post-political urban governance as a third way?

Neoliberalism, as the main governance tool of a modern state, makes the current urban development and urban regeneration a city built for investors, rather than the majority of residents who really live in the city, and the purpose of people's real estate investment is not for living, for added value. A small number of people own a lot of real estate, but countless homeless people are homeless, the social space is fragmented, the traditional community is disintegrated, class differentiation and the gap between rich and poor continue to widen. In such a context, the general public loses confidence in the existing (neoliberal) political system, and turns to seek a "post-political consensus" in an attempt to transcend the opposition of different political lines, classes or ideologies in the past[41, 42], hoping to seek other paths of tolerance and win-win. However, the so-called post-political consensus and urban governance can really transcend the limitations of neoliberalism and solve social problems in urban development, or it is just a hegemonic order and practice, becoming a new ruler of power for the state or political elites. system?

In the late 1990s, Blair put forward the "Third Way" political proposition, in order to deal with the social contradictions and dissatisfaction brought about by neo-liberalism, trying to use post-political discourse to break down the traditional boundaries between the left and the right and redefine society democracy. Voters expected that the social state of post-politics would bring revival to their cities, so that poor communities would no longer decline. However, in the practice of the urban revitalization plan carried out later, the government only tried to revise some concepts and management procedures. However, they still did not change the market principles of neoliberalism, but used the community as a policy tool, causing more contradictions and divisions within the community [28].

Blair's post-political commitments have not really escaped neoliberal influences in the UK, but post-political discourse, and community mobilization as a mechanism for urban regeneration that builds local consensus and connects fragmented societies, has become a policy of global mobility and practices, such as Taiwan's "overall community building". These post-political community governance theories emphasize the construction of consensus and the identification beyond political parties. In this context, community residents are expected to actively participate in free and rational communication, and produce common decision-making and knowledge, and gradually achieve self-mobilization and Self-governance to achieve social integration. However, Lin Wenyi and Qiu Shuyi took the community in Taipei City as an example to examine the shaping, transformation and influence of post-political consensus in the process of community mobilization, and pointed out that post-political claims established by emphasizing local consensus and identity may be accepted a priori. The existing socio-economic structure and relationship, the technical rationality and judgment of various experts, lack of reflection and challenge to the existing socio-economic structure and expertism, instead become the object of another kind of cultural hegemony (political and economic elite) indoctrination [43].

After the economic crisis in 2008, the new Conservative coalition government in the United Kingdom still uses post-political concepts to promote urban governance. Compared with the economic development-oriented urban development policies of the 1980s, the Cameron government's urban policies have the shadow of neo-liberalism, especially the uneven distribution of social space caused by market-oriented urban policies is still prominent, but the new government did reflect some "post-political consensus" and appeals in the transformation of urban governance policies and mechanisms, mainly manifested in the restructuring of central power and the reform of the power relationship between local governments and civil society, giving local actions. However, it will take some time for the British government and society to achieve a real post-political state[41].

4 ADHERE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN GOVERNANCE WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

The economic crisis makes us re-examine the nature of neoliberalism, whether it is a form of social, political and economic regulation, or a mechanism that can combine different social systems and cultures. These discussions of neoliberalism, at least let us It is clear that neoliberalism is not a global system and governance means (a good medicine for governing the world). In terms of solving the governance crisis in the process of urban development, neoliberalism cannot provide better than "free market" due to its inherent defects. " or a more effective "third way" of "state intervention," which may even cause many problems on a larger scale.

The crisis of neoliberalism does not only exist in Western countries. In the Internet age and the trend of globalization, the accumulation of capital is generated on a global scale. Asian countries, including China, must also think about how to deal with the crisis and explore the development path of post-neoliberalism, otherwise the crisis of capital will continue to repeat and become more violent, but the political and economic impact of neoliberalism on the world is deeply rooted, and it is not easy to embark on a new path. People's disgust with politics and distrust of the system are not post-political The basis of the situation, the consensus of post-political urban governance is not regionalism and populism [42].

To go beyond neo-liberalism, it is necessary to have a deeper understanding of the connotation of neo-liberalism and the manifestation of social space[35]. As for non-Western countries and cities, China's urban development must also have the courage to break away from the social context of Anglo-American society. The discourse, theory and practice of urban governance, based on its own culture, history and social relations, draws on Western experience, fully considers the impact of policy transfer, and constructs theory and (technical) practice in line with the local social context.

It can be seen from the above crisis that the sustainable development of a country and a city needs to rely on the guidance of the government and the intervention of macro-control, because neoliberalism has not escaped the essence of capitalism, and the capital market does not have the ability to restrain itself. This requires improving government functions and improving the market system. For example, China's national regulation and supervision in response to the Asian financial crisis in the 1990s will help maintain the benign operation of economic development [44].

As Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "If you don't adhere to socialism, don't reform and open up, don't develop the economy, and don't improve people's lives, you can only be a dead end[45]". China's reform and opening policy has been proven to be effective, but reform does not mean complete marketization or laissez-faire, and China's economic and social development cannot go back to the old path of planned economy, and must actively integrate into the global economic system In the process, insist on developing urban governance with Chinese characteristics. One is to treat neo-liberalism scientifically, criticize and absorb neo-liberalism as an economic theory, and use it as a reference for improving and developing China's market economic system[46]; second, the government should regulate and guide the market economy, especially Regarding the distribution of public interests related to urban development, it is necessary to give full play to the advantages of the socialist system, make good use of intervention methods such as urban planning to deal with "market failure", and take into account the fairness and efficiency of urban governance; To overcome the constraints between society and society, give full play to the advantages of party organizations and party members and cadres, fully mobilize the power of urban communities and grassroots self-governance, participate in urban governance, revive communities from both spiritual and material levels, and create a harmonious society.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

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