

COMPASSION, A NEW MECHANISM TO EXPLAIN NEIGHBORHOOD MUTUAL
AID: CHINA'S PRIVATIZED DANWEI NEIGHBORHOOD VS COMMODITY
NEIGHBORHOOD

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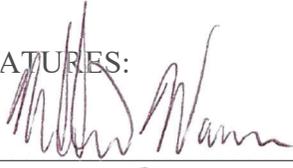
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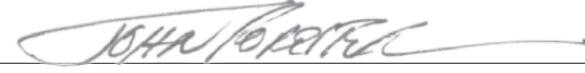
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COMMODITY NEIGHBORHOOD**

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ABSTRACT

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Following the Financial Crisis of 2007, neighborhood mutual aid has become an increasingly crucial means for people in both the Global North and the Global South to obtain what they want and need. This backdrop reinforces the importance of studying the mechanisms influencing the degree of neighborhood mutual aid, as it can inform planners how to promote such a quality. This paper's central argument is that compassion is an understudied mechanism in City and Regional Planning and studying it can inspire innovative methods to promote neighborhood mutual aid. This paper constructs this argument by referring to China's privatized danwei neighborhoods and commodity neighborhoods. Planning literature has established that these two types of neighborhoods tend to have a systematic difference in their degree of neighborhood mutual aid. This paper summarizes their contextual differences, then demonstrates how such variations lead to differences in compassion and, ultimately, differences in neighborhood mutual aid.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kin Long Lei was born in Macau one year before Lisbon handed over the city back to Beijing in 1999. He received his fundamental education at the commercial stream of Yuet Wah College (English Section), Macau. After graduating from Yuet Wah in 2016, he went to the Bartlett School of Planning, University College London, to pursue his undergraduate education in Urban Planning, Design, and Management. The program was directed by Dr. Elisabete Cidre throughout Kin Long Lei's three years at the Bartlett School. After obtaining his undergraduate degree in 2019, Kin Long Lei continued his Planning education by joining the Master of Regional Planning program at Cornell University. Prof. Mildred Warner is both Kin Long Lei's faculty supervisor and exit project chair at Cornell. It is under Prof. Warner's supervision that Kin Long Lei finishes this paper

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Section 1: Introduction

Neighborhood mutual aid refers to the non-market exchange of goods and services between individuals who do not belong to the same household but to the same neighborhood (Williams & Windebank, 2000). Planning scholars have a long tradition of studying neighborhood mutual aid and its equivalent concepts. They do so by researching its higher-order concepts such as social capital (see, e.g., González Rivas, Beers, Warner & Weber-Shirk, 2014; Meyer, 2013; Nguyen et al., 2016) and social cohesion (see, e.g., Bradley, Chen & Tang, 2020). This essay suggests that it is now time to single out neighborhood mutual aid and study it specifically, as it is becoming an increasingly critical issue for planners in the Global North while remaining crucial in the Global South.

In the Global North, austerity has become more prevalent since the Great Recession of 2007. Consequently, budget cuts have severely retrenched government's capacity in many parts of the Global North. It makes people there increasingly switch to market and non-market exchange, of which neighborhood mutual aid is a form, to obtain what they could previously get from the government. Additionally, aging population is becoming increasingly prominent. As a manifestation of that, the size of the population with a weakened functionality is enlarging (see, Warner, 2018). It thus becomes imperative for the planning activity there to become more enabling in order to boost up people's falling functionality (Warner, 2018). To achieve this purpose, a greater enabling informal network, which includes neighborhood mutual aid, plays a core role (see, Warner, 2018). In short, because of the continuous austerity and aging population, people's living standard is becoming increasingly contingent on neighborhood mutual aid in many parts of the Global North. This increases the need for the planners there to seriously think about how to promote neighborhood mutual aid.

Meanwhile, neighborhood mutual aid continues to be vital in the Global South, which is often characterized by a weak government welfare system and a less developed

market economy. These qualities make people there less able to rely on the government and market exchange to fulfill their needs and wants, thus frequently leaving non-market exchange as the primary way to do so.

Against the backdrop described, it is vital for community planners in both the Global North and the Global South to understand the mechanisms influencing neighborhood mutual aid, as such an understanding can enable them to devise strategies to promote neighborhood mutual aid. What this essay attempts to do is to demonstrate that compassion can be a new mechanism that can influence mutual aid, and thus it deserves more attention in the field of City and Regional Planning.

As Section 3 in this essay details, many mechanisms already exist explaining why the degree of neighborhood mutual aid would change. Each of the existing mechanisms can inspire solutions to boost neighborhood mutual aid. For instance, according to Bradley et al. (2020), people always have the motivation to engage in neighborhood mutual aid as long as the mutual aid may protect them from future risks. As inferable from that, if people have more time and money, they will naturally become more active in helping their neighbors. Therefore, a more generous public welfare system may help boosting a weak neighborhood mutual aid, as it gives neighbors more time and money to help each other.

Despite already having many explanatory mechanisms, it is still meaningful for Planning scholars to explore new mechanisms. This is because the mutual-aid-promoting methods our existing Planning knowledge inspires tend to incur substantial costs of certain types. Taking the above solution about strengthening the public welfare system as an example, it contains considerable financial costs, which can be unaffordable for governments with a tight budget. Therefore, there is not yet any universally applicable solution, with universal here in the suitability sense. Thus, community planners need to have the knowledge about more mechanisms to foster mutual aid. Doing so will allow them to identify more methods to nurture neighborhood mutual aid, thus expanding their toolbox. An expanded toolbox increases the possibility that planners can find the tool more suitable

to the specific context in their jurisdiction. A notion called compassion can potentially be a new mechanism that well serves this purpose of expanding planners' toolbox.

Compassion is initially a Buddhist concept. Psychologists develop it into a psychological description of how a human being would instinctually react when witnessing others' suffering. It suggests that one would go through a chain of natural reactions that are altogether named compassion, which results in an altruistic motivation to help relieve the sufferer's suffering. Thus, compassion can be a cause of neighborhood mutual aid. However, some factors can interrupt the process of compassion to reduce the degree of altruistic motivation formed. These factors can therefore be the reasons behind the fall in neighborhood mutual aid.

Compassion pays more attention to how human mentality changes and how to influence such changes – it focuses on the inner side of people. By contrast, most if not all the existing mechanisms explaining mutual-aid changes follow the structuralist approach conventional to Planning, which focuses on how external conditions influence human behavior – it focuses on the interaction between the external environment and people. Therefore, angle of the compassion mechanism is unconventional to Planning. Such unconventionality makes the compassion mechanism full of potential to offer innovative insights about how to boost neighborhood mutual aid. This is why it is particularly meaningful to explore the compassion mechanism even when existing Planning literature has already established considerable explanatory mechanisms.

There are already some pioneering works to incorporate the notion of compassion into Planning issues (e.g., Forester, 2020; Lyles, White & Lavelle, 2017). However, to my knowledge, there is not yet any attempt to understand neighborhood mutual aid from the lens of compassion. This essay takes up this pioneering task by demonstrating that compassion can be a new mechanism to explain the changes in the degree of neighborhood mutual aid. This essay does so by conducting a case study to compare the contextual differences between commodity neighborhoods and privatized danwei neighborhoods in

China. Privatized danwei neighborhoods are characterized by a high degree of mutual aid, while the opposite holds for commodity neighborhoods. By comparing the contextual differences between these two neighborhood types, this essay demonstrates that the weaker mutual aid in commodity neighborhoods is predictable in the logic of compassion. This conclusion in turn supports the proposition that compassion is a plausible mechanism causing the difference in mutual aid between these two types of neighborhoods.

This essay chooses these two neighborhood types in China as case study examples because there seems to be a consensus that privatized danwei neighborhood has a greater mutual aid than commodity neighborhood does (see, e.g., Forrest & Yip, 2007; Miao, Wu & Sun, 2019). Meanwhile, as the legacy of the socialist era, privatized danwei neighborhoods have attracted substantial academic documentation (e.g., Tana, Chai & Liu, 2012; Chai, 2014; Peiling, 2013). The same is true for commodity neighborhoods (e.g., Li, 2003; Zhu, Breitung & Li, 2011; Chen, 2016). A likely explanation of why commodity neighborhoods enjoy substantial academic attention is that they only re-emerged in urban China in 1982 (Baidu Baike, 2019) but have quickly grown to become the major type of housing. The rich documentation means there is abundant background material supporting this essay to study the causes of the difference in their respective degree of mutual aid.

This essay does not intend to argue that compassion is the major cause of a weaker mutual aid. Nor does it attempt to argue that as long as we optimize the conditions for compassion, the degree of neighborhood mutual aid will definitely rise – the degree of mutual aid is likely to be the net effect of all the mechanisms, and the over-optimization of certain conditions for compassion may reduce the effectiveness of other mechanisms in generating neighborhood mutual aid. What this essay intends to prove is that compassion can be one of the causes behind the rise and fall of neighborhood mutual aid.

This essay follows the following structure: Section 1, which is this section, justifies why neighborhood mutual aid in itself is an object significant to study and why it is meaningful to explore the compassion mechanism. It also introduces the approach by which

this essay demonstrates compassion can explain the change in the degree of neighborhood mutual aid. Section 2 describes the context of its case study example – the privatized danwei neighborhood and commodity neighborhood in urban China. Section 3 summarizes some existing mechanisms explaining the change in the degree of neighborhood mutual aid. The fourth section provides a more detailed conceptualization of compassion. The fifth section is the most important section; it identifies the contextual differences between privatized danwei neighborhoods and commodity neighborhoods. It elaborates how such differences reduce the strength or/and frequency of compassion and mutual aid in commodity neighborhoods. The sixth section concludes this essay. It also points out three questions that Planning scholars and practitioners need to solve before we can apply the knowledge of compassion to promote neighborhood mutual aid. The final section ends this essay by introducing the ideas of some possible methods to promote neighborhood mutual aid based on the compassion mechanism.

Section 2: Context of Case Study Example

This essay continues by introducing the context of its case study examples: the privatized danwei neighborhood and commodity neighborhood in urban China. The household registration system, or hukou, divides the land in China into two categories – urban and rural. Since the late 1950s, most neighborhoods in urban China had become danwei neighborhoods (Chen, Jing, Man & Yang, 2013). A danwei is a public-sector institute that provided jobs, cheap rentals, and many other daily necessities to its members (Bjorklund, 1986). Most danweies had their own housing to accommodate their members, which is what danwei neighborhood means (Bjorklund, 1986). In the socialist era, most people in urban China were a member of a danwei (Bjorklund, 1986). For instance, in 1978, 95% of urban workers lived in a danwei neighborhood (Hazelzet & Wissink, 2012). This explains why the majority of neighborhoods at that time were danwei neighborhoods.

A high level of mutual aid was typical in danwei neighborhoods. One explanation is that danwei residents worked, lived, and socialized together. When summarizing the arguments of early sociologists such as Ferdinand Tönnies and Georg Simmel, Hazelzet and Wissink (2012) suggest that people tend to form a more robust social network if they often undertake these activities together. This reveals why there usually existed a high level of mutual aid within each danwei neighborhood (Miao et al., 2019). Also, according to Jin, Zhou, and Gao (2010), it was typical for danwei to intentionally promote social interaction between its members. This can be another explanation for the high level of neighborhood mutual aid in danwei neighborhoods.

The economic reform of China in 1978 is a significant turning point for the danwei neighborhoods since it is the year when the central government began marketizing urban housing. 1994 was a critical year for this urban-housing marketization movement. In that year, the State Council issued the *Decision on Deepening Urban Housing System Reform*, which encouraged danweies to sell their residential apartments (i.e., the units in danwei

neighborhood) to their existing tenants at a discounted rate (Zou, 2020). This document marks the beginning of the privatization of danwei properties (Zou, 2020). As a result, by the end of the century, privatized danwei neighborhoods had replaced public danwei neighborhoods as the mainstream neighborhood type in most parts of urban China (Zou, 2020; Chen et al., 2013).

2002 marks the beginning of a new era for the neighborhood landscape in urban China. China's entry into the World Trade Organization in that year stimulated the economy of urban China. This subsequently increased the demand for housing in urban China, as the urban residents demanded new housing when they became wealthier. The higher salary in urban areas also attracted an increasing number of rural-urban migrants (Zou, 2020). The surging demand for housing in urban China resulted in housing shortage (Zou, 2020), which attracted for-profit developers to rapidly build up a type of neighborhood that had largely disappeared in China since the late 1950s – the commodity neighborhood, which is built explicitly for for-profit sale on the market. Since then, the commodity neighborhoods gradually joined the privatized danwei neighborhoods to be the mainstream neighborhood types in urban China.

However, in contrast to the privatized danwei neighborhoods, which maintain a high level of mutual aid among their residents as inherited from the socialist era (Miao et al., 2019), the newly built commodity neighborhoods often report a low level of mutual support. For instance, the study on Guangzhou by Forrest and Yip (2007) shows that 40% more residents in the privatized danwei neighborhoods helped their neighbors in the past six months than their counterparts in commodity neighborhoods did. Meanwhile, 67% more residents in the privatized danwei neighborhoods received help from their neighbors in the past six months. Using the data from the Shanghai Urban Neighborhood Survey, Miao et al. (2019) also concludes that the residents in commodity neighborhoods believe less that they can receive help from their neighbors, when being compared with the result in privatized danwei neighborhoods.

Section 3: Existing Literatures About the Causes of the Changes in the Degree of Neighborhood Mutual Aid

This essay now turns to summarize the mechanisms influencing the degree of neighborhood mutual aid that existing Planning literature has already discussed. There does not yet exist much literature about neighborhood mutual aid in China. For the limited literature available, laying down the factual foundation for future research is what it primarily does. Therefore, the focus of the existing literature is mainly the assessment of the degree of mutual aid in different China's neighborhoods and the features of these neighborhoods (e.g., Liu, Wu, Liu & Li, 2016; Forrest & Yip, 2007; Li, Zhu & Li, 2012). The mechanisms explaining how the changes happen are not yet explored. Meanwhile, the studies based on the US and Europe have accumulated considerable knowledge about the mechanisms behind the changes. This section summarizes these mechanisms, theorized mainly based on the American and European context, into three perspectives.

The perspective of common suffering and public welfare

By summarizing Karl Polanyi's article *El sistema económico como proceso institucionalizado*, Herrera-Pineda and Ibáñez-Gijón (2016) suggest that one can receive the items he/she needs and wants from three exchange networks – reciprocal, redistribution, and mercantile. The action of reciprocity matches with the definition of neighborhood mutual aid (see, Herrera-Pineda & Ibáñez-Gijón, 2016). Therefore, this essay directly takes the discussions about reciprocity to understand neighborhood mutual aid. Developing from this conceptualization about the three exchange networks, a neighborhood with common suffering and a public welfare system deficient in addressing such suffering can be where mutual aid prospers (Herrera-Pineda & Ibáñez-Gijón, 2016). This is because the existence of the common suffering means people cannot obtain what they need from the mercantile network, while a deficient public welfare system means they cannot fulfill their need from

the redistribution network either. Thus, they can only rely on the reciprocal network (Herrera-Pineda & Ibáñez-Gijón, 2016). Such reliance incentivizes people to invest in building up their reciprocal network. Mutual aid is the manifestation of this investment.

Bradley et al.'s article (2020) is one of the few China-focused materials trying to understand the cause of the variation in neighborhood mutual aid. In their literature review, Bradley et al. acknowledge that, regardless of whether it is in China or not, the strength of the public-welfare system can impact the degree of neighborhood mutual aid. However, they suggest that the direction of such an impact is disputable. This is because a deficient welfare system would simultaneously insert two effects on neighborhood mutual aid, each operating in an opposite direction. They suggest that one motivation for neighbors to help each other is that they want to construct a reciprocal network to buffer future risk. A robust public welfare scheme may discourage mutual aid because it provides the neighbors with higher security, thus making it less necessary for them to build up the reciprocity safety net. This is how the crowd-out effect reduces mutual aid when the public welfare is generous (Bradley et al., 2020). However, a robust welfare system can also give people more time and money to construct the reciprocal network. Accordingly, it can encourage the growth of mutual aid – this is how the income effect improves mutual aid when the welfare policies are robust (Bradley et al., 2020). The opposite would be true for both effects if the public welfare system becomes weaker instead of stronger. How a strong or weak public welfare scheme would impact neighborhood mutual aid is dependent on the balance of the crowd-out effect and the income effect. However, what this essay can comfortably conclude from these scholars is that the existence of common suffering and the strength of public welfare can explain the change in the degree of neighborhood mutual aid.

The perspective of trust between neighbors

Building on the perspective described above, Herrera-Pineda and Ibáñez-Gijón (2016) incorporate the idea of trust to explain the rise and fall of neighborhood mutual aid.

They suggest that the intensity of mutual trust within a neighborhood determines the intensity of neighborly reciprocity. Reciprocity only arises when the degree of mutual trust reaches a certain level (Herrera-Pineda & Ibáñez-Gijón, 2016). Ostrom (2010) echoes this proposition in her article which elaborates her explanatory model of an individual's choice of action when facing a social dilemma. Ostrom (2010) suggests that there are three immediate determinants of whether a social dilemma can rest at an optimal equilibrium: (1) the trust between people that each other would reciprocate, (2) people's reputation of being trustworthy that they would reciprocate, and (3) people's acts of reciprocity. Meanwhile, the reputation and trust factors are the immediate determinants of whether one would undertake a reciprocal act (Ostrom, 2010).

According to Herrera-Pineda and Ibáñez-Gijón (2016), trust is further contingent on four factors: social closeness, physical closeness, mutual awareness, and socio-economic symmetry. In addition to weakening reciprocity by reducing trust, socio-economic asymmetry can also weaken reciprocity by discouraging the weaker side from asking for support. The weaker side performs these abstentions in order to maintain their independence (Wenger, 1990). Therefore, this essay can confidently infer that the absence of these four factors can also explain a low level of neighborhood mutual aid.

The perspective of family

In her study about the senior population in Wales, Wenger (1990) suggests that the magnitude of one's social network with kin affects his/her degree of neighborhood mutual aid. Wegner (1990) proposes that if one has a weak kin social network, he/she would be more proactive in undertaking mutual-aid actions. He/she may do so in the hope of building a more robust neighborly social network to compensate for the low level of support from his/her kin. Accordingly, if most people in a neighborhood have a weak social network with their kin, there will be many parties devoting to acts of neighborhood mutual aid. Thus, a strong neighborhood mutual aid can be expected.

Wegner (1990) adds that such a compensation effect would be even more substantial if the individuals are used to receiving a high level of support from their kin. This is because if they are used to a high level of support from kin, they will continue to seek a high degree of support from others despite their kin no longer providing it. They would thus turn to their neighborhood and become even more proactive in mutual aid, in the hope to obtain more support from their neighbors. Therefore, a strong kin social network of the members of a neighborhood or a weak kin social network in the past can be an explanation of the weak mutual aid within a neighborhood.

Section 4: Conceptualization of Compassion

Compassion is a process of natural human reactions when one witnesses the suffering of others. This essay summarizes compassion as a process consisting of four steps after synthesizing different conceptualizations of compassion, and especially the followings: the five-step definition by Goetz and Simon-Thomas (2017), the three-component definition by Jinpa (2015), Cameron's idea about the internal practice of emotion regulation (2017), the summary by Roeser, Colaianne, and Greenberg (2018) which suggests compassion has five basic components, and Batson's empathy-altruism hypothesis¹ (2017). Each of these conceptualizations on its own may not entirely conform with this essay's conceptualization. For instance, only Cameron (2017) explicitly suggests that compassion includes the second element of our conceptualization, which is the cognitive act of balancing competing goals (see the later paragraphs for the details). This essay comes up with its specific conceptualization after going through two steps. Firstly, it cross-examines the cited literature to extract the components of compassion which their authors believe as necessary for the flow of compassion. Secondly, it examines the compatibility of each component extracted with the conceptualizations of other authors cited. This essay only incorporates a component if it is compatible with other cited authors' conceptualization. The conceptualization that possesses much authority but is left out in this essay is the four questions that Nussbaum (2013) believes one would ask himself/herself during the process of compassion. Footnote two explains why this essay does not fully incorporate Nussbaum's conceptualization.

In the conceptualization of this essay, the first stage of compassion is affective empathy. It is a sad emotion for a sufferer that one experiences when he/she witnesses the suffering of that sufferer. It is an emotion that arises without any cognitive judgment. It is important to note that the sadness here is for the object, not by the object (Batson, 2017).

¹ Batson (2017) suggests that the empathy-altruism hypothesis is what many scholars call compassion. Thus, it is appropriate to refer to how Batson conceptualizes the empathy-altruism hypothesis when conceptualizing compassion.

Sadness by the object is not an emotion that makes the person enter the next stage of compassion. The following example distinguishes sad for and sad by: if A suffers and B dislikes that suffering thus feels sad, B is sad by A's suffering; if B feels sorry for A and becomes sad, B is sad for A's suffering.

What follows is the cognitive act of balancing competing goals. One would envision and compare the impact and contribution to his/her goals if he/she helps the sufferer. If there is a net contribution, he/she would naturally enter the next stage of the process of compassion with the same degree of empathy formed in the first stage. However, if there is a net impact, he/she would intentionally suppress his/her empathy. The larger the net impact, the greater the suppression. However, people can have different capacities in regulating his/her empathy. Therefore, the extent to which one intentionally suppresses his/her empathy level depends not only on the net impact of helping the sufferer; it also depends on one's ability to control his/her empathy.

Next is the cognitive analysis of the suffering. In this analysis, one would implicitly ask himself/herself three questions²: is the suffering serious³? Is the sufferer suffering innocently (i.e., she/he is not suffering because of her/his own fault)? Am I able to relieve that suffering? If the answer for all three questions is affirmative, one will proceed to the fourth stage.

² Nussbaum (2013) suggests that there are four questions that one would ask himself/herself throughout the process of compassion. Only two of the three questions this essay lists above belong to those four questions of Nussbaum. They are: (1) whether the suffering is severe, and (2) whether the suffering is the sufferer's own fault.

According to the theory on the emotional database (Ekman & Ekman, 2017), Nussbaum's third question (whether the suffering is something I have encountered) is a question of whether one can form empathy in the first place. Thus, that is a question relevant to whether the person witnessing the suffering can enter the first stage of compassion. Therefore, this essay does not believe Nussbaum's third question is a question one would ask himself/herself at the stage of cognitive analysis.

Regarding Nussbaum's fourth question (if the sufferer someone I have invested in a lot), as Nussbaum recognizes, it is a question determining how much empathy one will form toward the sufferer. Therefore, this essay does not believe it is a question one would ask himself/herself in the cognitive analysis stage either.

³ Batson (2017) suggests that one's perceived seriousness of others' suffering depends on three factors. Firstly, it is the number of dimensions of wellbeing being damaged by the suffering. Secondly, it is the perceived size of the damage. Thirdly, it is the perceived importance of that damage on the sufferer's overall wellbeing.

In the fourth stage, one will form a motivation to help relieve the sufferer's suffering. The larger the empathy remains after the second stage, the larger the motivation would be. It should be noted that the motivation formed is oriented toward the sufferer. In other words, the ultimate goal of that motivation is to relieve the suffering of the sufferer, and nothing else. Accordingly, the motivation which compassion generates has an altruistic nature (see, Batson, 2017). Analytically, the process of compassion ends when such altruistic motivation arises. Whether one does actualize that motivation does not affect our judgment on whether the person has gone through the process of compassion (see, Jinpa, 2015). If one does act to relieve the suffering of the object, we call that action kindness (Jinpa, 2015). Kindness is thus an action motivated by compassion and is essentially a unilateral altruistic provision of goods and services without expectation of return. Therefore, when a high proportion of residents in a neighborhood feel compassion for thus perform kindness to their neighbors, there will exist bilateral altruistic provisions of goods and services between neighbors. This essentially constitutes non-market exchanges of goods and services between neighbors, which is what neighborhood mutual aid refers to. This is how compassion can be a source of neighborhood mutual aid, via first generating kindness.

It should be noted that the kind acts (i.e., compassion-motivated acts) can generate positive influences other than relieving the object's suffering. For instance, kindness may gain the kind person good reputation. However, it does not affect the fact that the action is compassion-motivated, as long as the only ultimate goal of the motivation generated is still to relieve the object's suffering – other interests are only the by-product (Batson, 2017). Having additional benefits does not change the nature of compassion and compassion-motivated action.

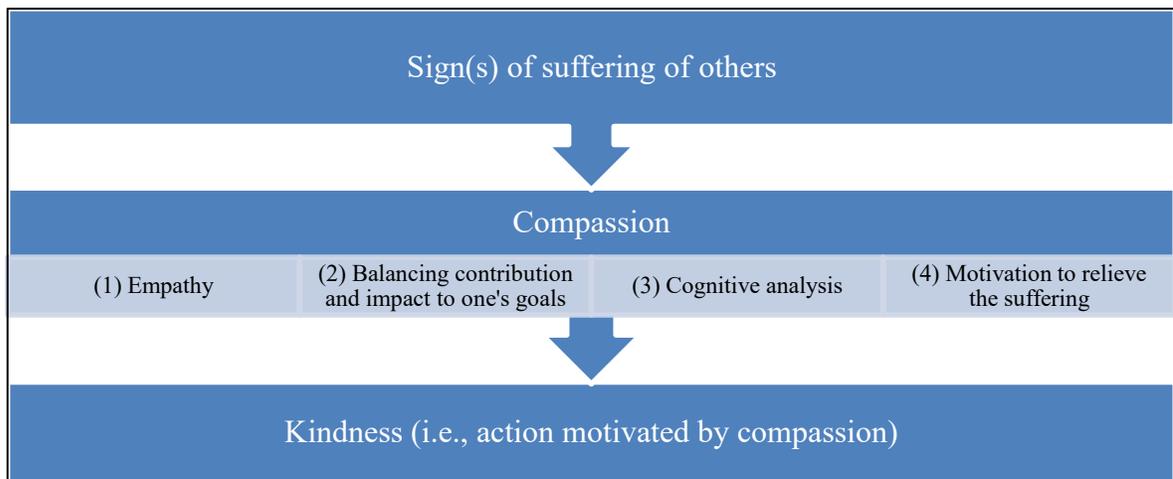


Figure 1: The Cause, Flow, and Outcome of Compassion

There is a critical question to address before we proceed to use the theories of compassion to understand why China’s commodity neighborhoods have a low level of mutual aid: is compassion a natural instinct? The school of psychologists believing compassion is a natural instinct is called the innateist school. In contrast, those who believe that one cannot become compassionate without training are called the constructivist school (Lavelle, 2017). There is not yet a consensus in Psychology about which school is right (Lavelle, 2017). However, this essay argues that our neighborhood-level analysis does not need to enter this innateist-constructivist debate. This is because the psychologist training based on the innateist model has obtained recognized successes when applied to many people, although it may not work for a specific person (Lavelle, 2017). The success is evident when one looks at the growing number of psychological training programs based on the innateist approach (see, Roeser et al., 2018). This result proves either one of the following: either the innateist model is correct, or the constructivist is right but the general environment surrounding most individuals has already trained most of them with the ability to be compassionate. Therefore, from a neighborhood perspective, the disruption to the compassion process, instead of the lack of compassion cultivation, should be the reason behind any low level of compassion.

Section 5: Analysis: Explaining the Weaker Mutual Aid in China's Commodity Neighborhood by Compassion

This section describes the differences between China's commodity neighborhoods and privatized danwei neighborhoods. It then demonstrates how the differences cause a weaker or/and less frequent compassion between the residents in commodity neighborhoods, which in turn leads to a lower level of mutual aid. This analysis functions as an evidence to support this essay's argument that compassion can be a mechanism explaining the rise and fall of neighborhood mutual aid.

Lack of common space

China's commodity neighborhoods are typically constituted by one or a few apartment buildings without common areas for the residents to interact (Yang & Sun, 2010; Deng, 2014). This contrasts with the typical built form of privatized danwei neighborhoods. Danwei neighborhoods were built not only to accommodate its members but also to foster the bonding between them (Chai & Zhang, 2009; Tana et al., 2012). Thus, privatized danwei neighborhoods tend to incorporate the design of common spaces (Yang & Qian, 2018). In other words, by architectural design, China's commodity neighborhoods tend to discourage neighborly interaction, while privatized danwei neighborhoods typically do the opposite.

The lack of common areas can weaken the level of compassion between residents as it reduces the time residents interact. Assuming two persons are performing the same sign of suffering by the same magnitude and a third person witnesses that, that third person may not form an equal level of empathy toward the two sufferers. Nussbaum (2013) suggests that the extent of empathy formed is dependent on how much a person has invested in the sufferer. The larger and the more recent that investment is, the stronger the empathy would be. The investment does not need to be money, but also time and emotion. Therefore, as neighbors in commodity neighborhoods invest less time interacting with each other, they tend to

experience weaker empathy when they witness the suffering of each other. Referring back to the foundational conceptualization of compassion in Section 3, a weaker empathy leads to a weaker motivation to help relieve the suffering. Subsequently, the degree of mutual aid also becomes weaker.

Other than reducing the intensity of compassion, the lack of interaction between neighbors can also reduce the frequency by which compassion occurs. This is because the lack of interaction can make one's suffering less visible to his/her neighborhood. For instance, if A is temporarily ill and taking care of his child adds to his suffering, his neighbors may struggle even to recognize that A is ill because A does not regularly interact with his neighbors. As Roeser et al. (2018) suggest, a precondition for the process of compassion to begin is that one recognizes there is a suffering. Without a common area facilitating neighborly interaction, suffering is less likely to be recognized by one's neighbors. The difficulty for neighbors to recognize each other's suffering makes it less likely for the suffering to spark off compassion. Consequently, compassion would occur less frequently, which subsequently reduces the frequency of mutual aid.

To conclude, the lack of common space in the architectural design of China's commodity neighborhoods makes neighborly interaction less likely. Less neighborly interaction is adversarial to the process of compassion and ultimately reduces neighborhood mutual aid in two ways: making neighbors less empathetic to each other's suffering and making it difficult for neighbors to recognize each other's suffering.

Digital-technology advancement and younger residents

One phenomenon is weakening the neighborly interaction in most of China's urban neighborhoods, including both privatized danwei neighborhoods and commodity neighborhoods. This phenomenon is the advancement of digital technology. Firstly, communication technology is enhancing, making communication with people outside a neighborhood more convenient (Yang & Sun, 2010). Thus, people tend to spend more time

interacting online with the people outside their neighborhood and reduce their time interacting with their neighbors. Secondly, the quality of digital entertainment is enhancing. For instance, the choices of television programs have become more diverse, and the production of online video has become more professional. The development of online entertainment attracts people to spend more time at home, which again reduces the time they interact with their neighbors (Yang & Sun, 2010).

Thus, the digital-technology advancement makes neighborly interaction less likely. As demonstrated above, the lack of neighborly interaction makes neighbors less empathetic to each other's suffering while making it more difficult for them to recognize each other's suffering. Therefore, like the lack of common space, the digital-technology advancement also weakens the degree of compassion among neighbors while making it less frequent.

However, commodity neighborhoods are particularly vulnerable to the compassion-adverse effect of digital-technology advancement. This is related to the demographic feature of commodity neighborhoods. The residents in commodity neighborhoods tend to be younger than those in privatized danwei neighborhoods (Zhu, 2017). A general feature of the younger population in China is a better adaptivity to new technology (see, Liang, 2021). As directly inferable from that, the advancement of digital technology in commodity neighborhoods is likely to be more rapid and penetrative than in privatized danwei neighborhoods. Subsequently, commodity neighborhoods can bear more compassion-adverse effects brought by technological advancement than privatized danwei neighborhoods do.

Higher resident turnover

In contrast to the tenure stability in privatized danwei neighborhoods, commodity neighborhoods are featured by a high resident turnover (Xu, 2016; Yang & Qian, 2018). Additionally, as Xu coins, such a high turnover coexists with a prevailing “guokexinli” (which literally means passerby mentality) (2018, pp.51) – the residents view themselves

only as temporary visitors to the neighborhood instead of regular members of it. The mix of high mobility and the passerby mentality is disadvantageous to the intensity of compassion in two ways. Firstly, the high mobility makes durable neighborly interaction rare – once two neighbors start to interact, one of them would move out very soon. According to the idea that people are more empathetic when the sufferer is someone they have invested more time interacting with, the high mobility weakens empathy and the entire compassion process.

The second factor makes neighborly interaction even rarer – the passerby mentality disincentivizes neighbors from interacting. Herrera-Pineda and Ibáñez-Gijón (2016) suggest that a key goal for neighbors to proactively interact with each other is to construct a social network, in the hope that it can protect them from future risk. Thus, if someone knows that he/she is leaving the neighborhood soon, he/she can perceive the neighborhood social network there of smaller value, as it can hardly protect him/her from risk after the move-out. Accordingly, he/she can see less incentive to proactively interact with the neighbors. Therefore, the implication of the prevalence of the passerby mentality is that the residents would generally perceive the social network with the people in their neighborhood of less value. Thus, they can be more passive in interacting with their neighbors. This again reduces the time neighbors invest in each other, thus weakening the empathy which would form when they witness their neighbors' suffering.

Higher economic status

Many studies (e.g., Xu, 2016; Deng, 2014; Yang & Qian, 2018) suggest that residents in commodity neighborhoods tend to be economically more homogeneous than in privatized danwei neighborhoods. This means that within a particular commodity neighborhood, its residents tend to have similar economic status (Li & Wu, 2008). This can be attributable to the price mechanism which segregates people with different economic statuses into different commodity neighborhoods (Wu, 2006; Deng, 2014). Such segregation does not happen as severely in privatized danwei neighborhoods since most tenants there

purchased their danwei-neighborhood properties at a discounted rate in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. The discounted rate allowed most eligible buyers, regardless of their income level, to buy an apartment in the privatized danwei neighborhood. Thus, in privatized danwei neighborhood, the price mechanism is less able to segregate people to different privatized danwei neighborhoods based on their income. Meanwhile, much Chinese literature (e.g., Yang & Qian, 2018; Li et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2011) also suggests that the residents of commodity neighborhoods tend to have a higher economic status. This echoes with Wu's findings in Shanghai (2006). When examining the average income of the residents in three commodity neighborhoods and three privatized danwei neighborhoods, Wu (2006) finds that the former is much higher than the latter.

The fact that commodity neighborhoods tend to be middle-income or high-income can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the privatized danwei neighborhood's discounted price enabled people from different economic backgrounds to be its tenants. Secondly, it can be because the demand for low-price commodity neighborhoods is small. One can roughly categorize the households buying/renting a housing estate for accommodation into three categories: low-income, middle-income, and high-income. This article argues that only the low-income households may want a property in low-price neighborhoods (including but not limited to low-price commodity neighborhoods). This is because the wealthier households can afford and usually prefer the more expensive neighborhoods, as these neighborhoods typically have a more quality environment and convenient location.

However, even among the low-income households, some of them still may not demand a unit in low-price neighborhoods, if they have already purchased a privatized danwei apartment at a discounted rate in the late 1990s and the early 2000s (Li & Huang, 2006). Meanwhile, some of them with a local urban hukou may be able to claim government welfare to obtain a public housing apartment (Li & Huang, 2006). Therefore, only the low-income households without a privatized danwei apartment or a public housing apartment may be interested in renting or purchasing an accommodation in a low-price neighborhood.

Nonetheless, low-priced commodity neighborhoods cannot even entirely occupy this entire niche market of low-priced neighborhood. This is because the bottommost portion of this market is usually occupied by another type of neighborhood called the urban village. An urban village is a neighborhood built on administratively rural lands which are surrounded by or adjacent to administratively urban lands. From a legal perspective, the residential units not for self-use on top of administratively rural land are not legal (Li & Huang, 2006). However, most municipalities tolerate urban villages (Li & Huang, 2006). It is thus rare for governments to inspect the quality of the residential units there. Therefore, the quality of the built environment there can be miserable while the living density can be high. These unideal conditions make urban villages a site to find accommodation extremely cheap to the extent that commodity neighborhoods can rarely rival because of the cost to fulfill basic government requirements. Therefore, the most impoverished portion of the low-income households tends to seek an accommodation in an urban village. Thereby, only the households – who (1) do not have a privatized danwei apartment or a public-housing apartment and (2) are economically poor but not to the extent that they can only afford a low-price urban-village apartment – would potentially have an interest in living in a low-price commodity neighborhood.

However, even for this small group of potential purchasers/renters, low-price commodity neighborhoods still face competition from low-priced privatized danwei neighborhoods and high-quality urban villages. In fact, existing literature (e.g., Liu, He, Wu & Webster, 2010; Li & Wu, 2008) tends to regard urban villages instead of low-price commodity neighborhoods as the cluster of low-income rural migrants, who are generally the majority in China's low-income urban population (Li, 2010). Therefore, this essay argues that the demand for low-income commodity neighborhoods should be small, which is likely to be why there are few low-income commodity neighborhoods. In addition to this demand-side explanation, the supply-side factors such as the higher profitability in developing more expensive neighborhoods may also explain the rareness of low-income

commodity neighborhoods. The general nature of commodity neighborhoods being middle- or upper-class neighborhoods make the degree of neighborly compassion there weak.

Piff and Moskowitz (2017) suggest that an individual with a higher economic status tends to experience compassion less frequently. A persistent possession of a substantial amount of objective material resources enables one to live without relying on others for a long period of time. Subsequently, that person may lack the training to pay attention to others, as the need for living does not pressure him/her to be concerned about others. In the long run, such a lack of training can weaken one's capacity to understand others' experiences, including others' suffering. On the other hand, if a person possesses fewer material resources, he/she often needs to rely on others to protect himself/herself from external threats. Such a need propels them to become more attentive to others' feelings, thus strengthens their ability to detect the suffering of others. Therefore, Piff and Moskowitz (2017) suggest that the same suffering is less likely to cause compassion among the wealthy than among the less wealthy. As inferable from this theory, since China's commodity neighborhoods typically accommodate wealthier households, their residents are likely to have less training in detecting the signs of the suffering of others. Subsequently, it is more difficult for them to detect the suffering of their neighbors, which in turn makes compassion and its resulting mutual aid less frequent.

Greater noneconomic heterogeneity

As demonstrated above, China's commodity neighborhoods tend to be wealthier while having a smaller intra-neighborhood economic gap. However, in terms of living habits and social backgrounds, commodity neighborhoods often have a greater heterogeneity (Xu, 2016; Deng, 2014; Yang & Qian, 2018). The existing literature has elaborated a diverse range of mechanisms by which such heterogeneity can result in a lower level of neighborhood mutual aid; compassion can be an alternative routine by which this heterogeneity weakens neighborhood mutual aid.

The noneconomic heterogeneity can be adversarial to the magnitude and frequency of compassion between neighbors in two ways. Firstly, the heterogeneity reduces neighborly interaction. As Glas, Engbersen, and Snel (2018) suggest, people tend to feel more comfortable interacting with people more like themselves. Thus, the heterogeneity among residents in China's commodity neighborhoods can disincentivize the residents from interacting with each other. Some commodity neighborhoods in China even report resistance among the residents to interact (Xu, 2016). As was illustrated above, the resulting infrequent neighborly interaction weakens compassion and makes it less frequent.

The second reason why heterogeneity is adversarial to compassion is that one's ability to be empathetic to another's suffering can be lower if they come from more dissimilar backgrounds. This is because people from different backgrounds tend to encounter different types of suffering. For instance, commodity housing estates accommodate some urban-urban migrants. Some of them have the living habit of frequently visiting their hometown, while others are already detached from their hometown. The former can suffer from heightened anxiety when home visiting becomes difficult, while the latter may rarely encounter this concern. According to the notion by Ekman and Ekman (2017) about the database of empathy-triggering signs described below, it is precisely such difference in suffering experience that reduces the frequency of compassion.

According to Ekman and Ekman (2017), not every suffering can cause empathy. Everyone has a database in his/her mind which stores the triggers of different emotions (Ekman & Ekman, 2017). Once one encounters a trigger stored in his/her database, he/she will display the corresponding emotion (Ekman & Ekman, 2017). The same applies to empathy, as empathy is ultimately an emotion of sadness. Therefore, even if a person is suffering and another person has a strong compassionate instinct, if the sign of suffering does not match with any empathy-triggering item in the witness's database, the witness is still unlikely to be empathetic toward the sufferer. Thus, the remaining three stages of compassion would not happen.

Ekman and Ekman (2017) propose that all individuals are born with a common part of the database. Thus, there are some commonalities between the database of different individuals. However, the rest of the database is constructed by individual's own experiences, and it is these sections that vary person by person. A major way for the database to incorporate a new trigger is by the person himself/herself experiencing the emotion and personally performing the sign of that emotion (Ekman & Ekman, 2017). When this happens, the database of that person is likely to incorporate that sign as the trigger of that particular emotion (Ekman & Ekman, 2017). This explains Nussbaum's argument (2013) that if a person has experienced the same suffering before, he/she is more likely to be compassionate when seeing others struggling with the same suffering. Referring back to Ekman and Ekman (2017), this happens because the person witnessing the suffering has already personally experienced the same suffering before, thus he/she has incorporated the sign of that suffering into his/her empathy-triggering database. Therefore, when he/she sees others performing the same sign of suffering, his/her database can quickly recognize the sign and generate empathy. Ekman and Ekman's theory (2017) also explains the suggestion by Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe (2011) that people are less likely to feel empathy if the sufferer belongs to a more distant outgroup. The fact that the witness and the sufferer come from two very distant groups makes it likely that they have very dissimilar life experiences, including the types of suffering they have encountered. This makes their databases dissimilar. Accordingly, when the sufferer performs signs of suffering, the signs are less likely to trigger the witness's database.

The heterogeneous social background and living habits among the residents in commodity neighborhoods are likely to differentiate the suffering they have encountered. Thus, their empathy-triggering database tends to be more dissimilar when compared with the residents of privatized danwei neighborhoods. Meanwhile, the heterogeneity among the residents in commodity neighborhoods continues to generate different types of suffering for different residents. In other words, the database of different residents keeps on diverging.

The already dissimilar but still diverging database makes it difficult for one's suffering to trigger empathy from his/her neighbors. Linking back to the previous example about the living habit of visiting hometown, a neighbor who has never experienced the anxiety caused by the inability to go home is less likely to be empathetic when he/she sees a neighbor being anxious about not being able to visit home. As the formation of empathy is the first step of compassion, the lack of empathy caused by the difference in the empathy-triggering database can reduce the frequency of compassion in commodity neighborhoods. The less frequent compassion thus leads to a lower level of neighborhood mutual aid in China's commodity neighborhoods.

Table 1: Difference in Contextual Features Between Privatized Danwei Neighborhood and Commodity Neighborhood, and How Each Contextual Feature Affects Compassion

Contextual feature	Commodity neighborhood	Privatized danwei neighborhood	Relationship with compassion
Common space	Often lacking	Typically plenty	More common space, greater compassion
Prevalence of digital technology	More prevalent	Less prevalent	More prevalent, less compassion
Resident turnover & Passerby mentality	High	Assumed average, as no report of it being high	Greater turnover and passerby mentality, less compassion
Economic status of residents within each neighborhood	Homogenously high/middle-income	Mixed	More high-income, less compassion
Noneconomic characteristics among residents	More heterogeneous	Less heterogeneous	More heterogeneous, less compassion

Section 6: Conclusion and Direction for Future Research

The central argument of this essay is that compassion can be a new mechanism to explain the change in the degree of neighborhood mutual aid. The knowledge about this new mechanism has substantial policy significance as it can expand community planners' toolbox in improving neighborhood mutual aid. Such expansion is particularly valuable given the tools drawn from our existing knowledge about neighborhood mutual aid mostly carry considerable costs and thus are not widely applicable. Therefore, any research resulting in new tools is meaningful as it increases the chance by which planners can find the tool more suitable for their jurisdiction. Furthermore, the angle of compassion is unconventional in Planning as the former focuses on the internal changes of individuals. In contrast, the latter focuses on the interaction between the external environment and an individual's external behaviors. Such unconventionality makes this new mechanism full of potential in offering innovative insights and inspiring fresh methods in promoting neighborhood mutual aid.

This essay constructs this central argument by referring to a case study based on urban China. It first describes the contexts of the two major neighborhood types in urban China – privatized danwei neighborhoods and commodity neighborhoods. It underscores that the commodity neighborhoods typically have a lower level of neighborhood mutual aid than privatized danwei neighborhoods do. It then summarizes the existing literature, which is mainly based on the American and European contexts, about what causes the degree of neighborhood mutual aid to change. Next, it provides a full framework of compassion. Lastly, it shows that, given the fundamental differences between privatized danwei neighborhoods and commodity neighborhoods, the variation between their respective degree of neighborhood mutual aid is a natural outcome we follow the logic of compassion. By reaching this conclusion, this essay offers an evidence to back the proposition that compassion can potentially be a new mechanism in understanding the rise and fall of

neighborhood mutual aid in general. Thus, community planners can potentially boost neighborhood mutual aid by optimizing the conditions for the flow of the process of compassion.

This essay is the first material to link compassion with neighborhood mutual aid. To put the theories of compassion into real-life practices to boost neighborhood mutual aid, we need at least three pieces of research on top of the theoretical foundation of this essay. Firstly, future research needs to develop a generic framework to assess how optimized the conditions for compassion already are in a particular neighborhood. This framework is critical because, if the conditions for compassion are already well optimized, the neighborhood can already be exhausting the potential of compassion in nurturing neighborhood mutual aid. Thus, working on compassion is unlikely to lead to any further significant improvement in the degree of neighborhood mutual aid.

Secondly, there needs to be research estimating the significance of compassion on the degree of neighborhood mutual aid. This essay demonstrates that the degree and frequency of compassion can influence the strength of neighborhood mutual aid. However, it has not yet touched the question of how significant this influence is. The answer to this question is critical. It informs practitioners whether promoting neighborhood mutual aid based on the compassion logic is more effective than those derived from other mechanisms. This knowledge about effectiveness can ultimately support practitioners in deciding whether to invest in compassion-driven methods. This can be a part of the larger project that assesses the significance of each mechanism in influencing neighborhood mutual aid in different neighborhood types. For the details of this project, please refer to the research proposal the author of this essay has prepared separately⁴.

Thirdly, we need application-oriented research delineating the best practices to promote neighborhood mutual aid based on the logic of compassion. Like other mechanisms

⁴ The URL for the proposal:
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mR5j0YKmEBih_ASVB5F-tlju-BC3XMpm/view?usp=sharing

influencing neighborhood mutual aid, compassion is a principle which practitioners can base on to design policies to promote neighborhood mutual aid. However, to reach a concrete policy, we need to add to the design a substantial volume of details about how to implement this principle, which in itself is a significant direction for future research. The following section continues by introducing the idea of some methods that can potentially enhance neighborhood mutual aid based on the logic of compassion. Future research can build on these ideas to develop more concrete strategies.

Section 7: Ideas of Compassion-Driven Methods to Promote Neighborhood Mutual Aid

According to Warner (2018), planners typically have the power to exert influence on three areas: physical space, formal market and government service, and informal network. However, planners tend to focus on the first two areas and ignore the informal network, of which neighborhood mutual aid is a component (Warner, 2018). Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that planners tend to have more experience working on the first two areas. Therefore, this essay proposes that, for the methods that promote neighborhood mutual aid based on compassion to enjoy higher applicability in more neighborhoods, the methods should be intervention influencing compassion and neighborhood mutual aid by firstly influencing physical space or formal service. This is because these two areas are what most planners are experienced at making an influence on. Thus, planners should be more able to implement the methods that work on these two areas. Therefore, the ideas of the methods that this section introduces are based on these two lines.

It begins with the method that aims to nurture compassion by firstly influencing the physical space. According to the logic of compassion, a possible way to promote compassion between neighbors and neighborhood mutual aid is to create more common spaces within the neighborhood. Considerable existing literature has already identified this method, but compassion adds at least two more justifications for that. Firstly, additional common space can increase the opportunity by which neighbors invest more time interacting with each other. This, as Section 5 explains, can make neighbors feel more compassion when they witness the suffering of each other. The more intensified compassion can yield more significant neighborhood mutual aid. Secondly, the additional common space increases the chance by which neighbors can recognize each other's suffering in the first place. This is the first step for the compassion process to generate the motivation for people to engage in neighborhood mutual aid.

However, when adding additional common space to nurture greater compassion, planners should be cautious that the common space should cater to the demands of as diverse groups of residents as possible. In other words, planners should avoid creating common spaces that only certain groups of residents are interested in using. This is because such common space has limited use in fostering neighborly interaction between different resident groups. Consequently, such common space can only have limited use in nurturing compassion and mutual aid between resident groups. To attract more resident groups to use the common space, the common space should incorporate functions that as many resident groups as possible are interested in using. A counterexample is the common space in Illustration 1. It is a public garden in Praca de Luis de Camoes, Macau. According to the one-year-long observation by the author of this essay, there are always only two groups of residents using the garden: the older retired residents during daytime and the low-income migrant workers at night. Other major resident groups in the neighborhood, such as local teenagers and local Chinese adults, rarely use this space. This is because they can afford to use the space that performs the same function as the garden but with a more comfortable environment. For instance, for the local teenagers, the primary use of the garden is as a gathering spot. However, most local teenagers can comfortably afford to go to a café, hotel, or karaoke room for the same purpose. These spaces provide a more comfortable gathering spot for the local teenagers. Consequently, according to the author's observation, the garden rarely fosters cross-group neighborly interaction, but only interaction among the members of the two groups using the garden.



Illustration 1: A Common Space Used Only by Older People and Low-Income Migrant Workers

However, if the creation of physical common space is not viable, a digital common space can be an alternative. This is because such digital platforms, if they are organized well and facilitate active conversation, can help promote neighborly interaction and, eventually, neighborhood mutual aid. This can be a helpful solution, especially when the neighborhood is already fully built up and cannot add a new physical common space.

However, it should be noted that this method may contribute to promoting neighborhood mutual aid only when the neighborhood is seriously short of physical common spaces. As Section 5 discusses, online communication can reduce people's time physically interacting with their neighbors. Thus, if the commodity neighborhood under concern still has some physical common spaces thus physical neighborly interactions, the

digital common space can eliminate these remaining interactions. Assuming physical interaction contributes more to facilitating compassion and neighborhood mutual aid than digital interaction (whether this assumption is valid is a topic worth further research), the promotion of digital common space can counterintuitively reduce neighborhood mutual aid. However, if the neighborhood is severely deprived of physical common space, the physical neighborly interaction there is likely to be minimal. Therefore, the digital common space is unlikely to reduce the degree of physical neighborly interaction further – there is hardly any physical interaction to be hampered. In that case, promoting a digital common space is likely to lead to a net increase in the degree of compassion and neighborhood mutual aid.

Planners can also promote compassion and neighborhood mutual aid from the side of formal service. One potential method of such is to reserve a portion of the community-development budget to fund schemes that visualize to the residents of a neighborhood the possible suffering that other resident groups in the neighborhood may experience. The selection of which scheme to fund should be on a competitive basis and determined by the estimated effectiveness of the visualization. As Section 5 demonstrates, different residential groups can have different emotional databases, making people less sensitive to the suffering experienced by their neighbors who come from a different group. This sensitivity deficiency can be boosted up if people are present with a clear visualization of the suffering of their neighbors from a different group (see, Nussbaum, 2013). Therefore, the schemes that deliver this visualization have the potential to increase neighbors' sensitivity to each other's suffering. Thus, the compassion between neighbors may strengthen generate more frequent or/and robust neighborhood mutual aid.

This essay supports funding schemes selected on a competitive basis instead of planners designing the schemes. This is because, as the beginning of this section explains, planners today typically lack the experience in influencing informal networks. Thus, agencies outside the government may have a greater experience and insight about how to deliver the visualization instead. Additionally, it should be noted that, if a particular resident

group exists in multiple neighborhoods while the way to visualize their potential suffering is similar across these neighborhoods, these neighborhoods can pool resources to employ the same visualization scheme. Such resource-pooling can reduce the overall design cost of the visualization schemes.

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