

Planetary Gentrification of Rural China: the case of *yangjiale*

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Abstract

Yangjiale is a form of homestay in Mount Mogan Village, Zhejiang Province, China. Newcomers from surrounding metropolises rented abandoned village houses in the local area, turning them into BnB, thus initiating a form of rural tourism called *Yangjiale*. Later, Indigenous Mount Mogan people, who lived in the surrounding cities, returned to their places of origin to exploit the new opportunities given by *yangjiale*. After a fast period of initial growth, such a new form of rural tourism began to cool down, possibly due to the progressive loss of the quality experience made available in the early years of *yangjiale*. This paper offers an overview of the phenomenon since its inception, focusing on the land use change associated with it. First historical data about the location of *yangjiale* homestays was retrieved from local administrations and verified by fieldwork conducted in 2024. The compiled dataset allowed for longitudinal understand of the locational patterns in the evolution of *yangjiale* services from 1934 to 2022. Second the land-use change analysis with a focus on Mount Mogan Town administrative area was made possible via secondary data provided by the local administration, rendering the territorial transformation occurring from 2006 to 2020. Further investigation considered the planning scheme, released in 2021 with 2035 horizon. The findings reveal a progressive shrinkage and fragmentation of agricultural land. In contrast, the areas designated for orchards, tea plantations, and gardens have shown a notable increase. Rural residential areas have continued to expand, indicating a growing trend in continuous expansion. The emergence and development of *yangjiale* can be explained in light of a global gentrification process, which shows the urban entrepreneurial consciousness generated by the combination of international market forces and the new possibilities given by digital platforms. Thus, the process of touristification in rural China can be discussed as a form of counter-urbanization driven by the platform economy.

Keywords: *Yangjiale*, touristification, counter-urbanization, urban entrepreneurialism, planetary gentrification, consumerism, platform economy

1. Background

Rural areas have become an important part of China's economic revitalization. In order to improve the infrastructure of these areas and stimulate economic activities, China has introduced various policies, including the Ten Million Project and Beautiful Countryside initiatives. Inspired by China's ongoing rural revitalization policy, the picturesque rural homestays at the foot of Mogan Mountain in Zhejiang Province, near Shanghai, have brought significant changes to the entire Chinese homestay industry.

In the 18th century, especially between 1891 and 1894, American missionaries promoted the beauty of Mogan Mountain to the West through newspapers (Liu, 2025). This publicity attracted many Western dignitaries who built summer villas here, including representatives from the United States, Britain, Germany, Russia and other countries. In addition, due to Mount Mogan's proximity to Shanghai and its beautiful scenery, many Chinese celebrities during the Republic of China period also came here. Those who built villas here included Huang Li, the then mayor of Shanghai, as well as various politicians, intellectuals, financiers and missionaries. Notably, Chiang Kai-shek, the top leader of the Republic of China, and his wife Soong Mei-ling also built villas and lived here. Today, 250 modern villa buildings are preserved in Mount Mogan (Liu, 2025). After the peak of villa construction during the Republic of China, the hotel industry in Mount Mogan ushered in a recovery in 2007. At that time, a young South African working in Shanghai discovered the area and opened the Naked Castle homestay. This homestay brought considerable income to the homestay industry and attracted other non-Chinese people to open their own homestays in Moganshan. For example, a Frenchman named Stuart built a successful mountain homestay in the area (Liu, 2025). Many non-Chinese people began to rent abandoned farmhouses from local farmers and renovate them into homestays. This led to the birth of the homestay brand *yangjiale*, which represents the

understanding of the homestay model by non-Chinese people. This model is in sharp contrast to the previous concept of *nongjiale*, *nongjiale* refers to the simpler homestay services provided by Chinese farmers, who mainly decorate houses and provide farmhouse dishes (Zhang et al., 2019). The creation of the *yangjiale* homestay brand marks the first stage of its development, namely the *yangjiale* stage. The term *yangjialelization* summarizes the phenomenon of *yangjiale* BnBs and the various impacts it has produced (Song & Neisch, 2025). The second stage of *yangjiale* and *yangjialelization* originated from the success of the first batch of non-Chinese BnB founders. This attracted designers and senior professionals from major cities around Moganshan, such as Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Nanjing. Many of them have deep roots in Mount Mogan and gradually moved to big cities for development as they grew up. This group of country gentry from surrounding cities has become the second generation of the *yangjiale* market. They usually rent abandoned village houses from local farmers, or use their own houses in their hometowns, and transform them into new BnB projects after careful decoration and design. To a certain extent, they continue the management and design concepts of the first generation of non-Chinese BnB founders. Their efforts to transform and integrate into the market are not only popular, but also have far-reaching impacts. Among them, Da Le Zhi Ye co-founded by Ji Xiaoxiang and Yang Mohan is one of them. Ji Xiaoxiang and Yang Mohan were both born in Mount Mogan and graduated from the Department of Architecture and Planning of Tongji University in Shanghai. This homestay has become a model project for the development of the second generation of Chinese country gentry in the *yangjiale* market (Song & Neisch, 2025). The third generation of *yangjiale* homestays is mainly composed of local farmers from the Mount Mogan area and residents of Moganshan County. Inspired by the success of the first and second generation founders of *yangjiale*, many local farmers with innovative thinking and ability learned from the management experience of early homestay operators and began to renovate their own houses and independently operate homestays. Typical cases in this stage include Xipo founded by Qian Jiliang, a native of Moganshan County, and Mount Mogan Mansion founded by local villager Zhu Jindong. The first generation of *yangjiale* homestays flourished from 2007 to 2012, the second generation emerged from 2013 to 2015, and the third generation emerged from 2016 to 2017 (Song & Neisch, 2025). In the third stage, the two-wheeled homestay industry gradually emerged.

2. Literature Review

Planetary gentrification is a new concept that represents the latest global theoretical development since Ruth Glass proposed the concept of gentrification in 1964 (Glass, 1964). Glass's critique has evolved into a global postcolonial challenge to the cognitive violence of Western imperialism, a neoliberal theory of human competition rooted in 19th-century social Darwinism and eugenics. In the article "Resisting Global Gentrification: The Value of Survival in the Struggle to Defend Homeland", the concept of planetary gentrification is explored, pointing out that the international community's resistance to gentrification is intensifying. This resistance is considered a key struggle for social justice in global cities. The author examines global resistance to gentrification by re-examining the value of survival and advocates learning from different contexts in the ongoing challenges brought about by global gentrification (Loretta Liss, Sandra Annuziata, Clara Rivas-Alonso, 2017). Patrick Rérat interprets the literature on gentrification with spatial capital as the center and expands this concept to a global scale (Patrick Rérat, 2018). Elvin Wyly argues that the global communication technology revolution, known as "cognitive capitalism" and "borderlessness", is enabling a multicultural interweaving. This phenomenon clearly reflects the changing class dynamics of urban space, which adapt to multiple factors such as urban history, sociocultural differences, state power, and local resistance (Wyly, 2015). Cross-border gentrification is a contemporary form of urbanization that narrows the rental gap by attracting high-income immigrants from Nordic and North American countries (Matthew Hayes & Hila Zaban, 2020). There are many cases of gentrification and regional upgrading in both urban and rural areas of China. However, there are few studies on global gentrification in rural China. This study will focus on the cases of global gentrification in rural areas of developed China, as this represents a clear research gap.

Exploring neoliberalism in the Chinese context, especially in the rural context, is a growing trend in domestic research. Anita Koo (2021) explores the neoliberal experiences of rural migrants in her book *Individualized Negotiations in Neoliberal China: Youth Transformation in a New Generation of Rural Migrants*. Lu Xinyu (2024) further explores the relationship between collectivism and neoliberalism in rural China in his study *Neoliberalism or New*

Collectivism in Rural China. He argues that Chinese neoliberalism functions as a form of collective capitalism and emphasizes that China faces the challenge of balancing liberal and social democratic demands while ensuring a common minimum standard of living. Yang Zhan and Xiaoxi Tong (2018) also focus on the manifestation of market neoliberalism among rural migrant populations. In addition, some scholars have explored the connection between the rise of rural areas as centers of post-carbon transformation and neoliberalism (Marsden, 2016). However, there is little research analyzing the neoliberal characteristics of rural commercial activities in China.

Many Chinese studies on transnationalism have explored the identities of Chinese and foreign Chinese during the Huaqiao Festival (Louie, 2008), the identities and transnational experiences of students participating in transnational education (Jiang, 2021), and the identity issues faced by transnational migrants who obtain flexible citizenship through education (Yang & He, 2024). However, few studies have explored the issues of transnationalism that emerge in rural China, such as how villagers view foreign entrepreneurs and how their self-identity evolves in this process. In addition, many studies have explored whether traveling to Africa and accepting infrastructure assistance from other countries represent neocolonial behavior. In contrast, there is a lack of literature on the potential neocolonial impact of Western entrepreneurial immigrants bringing lifestyle changes to rural eastern China.

This paper aims to fill the gap in the study of the planetary gentrification theory in rural China. This paper explores the application of neoliberal theory to rural commercial activities and homestay tourism in China. In addition, this paper examines the concepts of neocolonialism and transnationalism in the context of Moganshan, a rural area in eastern China.

3. Research Objectives

Taking Mogan *yangjiale* as an example, this paper explores the perspective of understanding the phenomenon of Mogan *yangjiale* and its rural global gentrification process.

The phenomenon of Mogan *yangjiale*lization refers to the influx of a large amount of non-Chinese capital into the Chinese market, which has caused a strong response and has become a benchmark for Chinese homestays, while also promoting changes in the national homestay industry. As a unique phenomenon, *yangjiale* deserves attention and scholars who study the development trend of Chinese rural areas. In addition, *yangjiale* is also a case of global capital entering developing countries and promoting comprehensive regional upgrading. Examining the phenomenon of *yangjiale* from an international perspective helps us understand how Chinese rural areas continue to develop and evolve under the influence of global gentrification.

Understanding the dynamics and interactions between different stakeholders in the *yangjiale* ecology. By studying the interactive ecology between various stakeholders in *yangjiale* and its *yangjiale*lization process, we can gain a deeper understanding of how these stakeholders interact and influence each other. Their interactions constitute the overall ecological framework of *yangjiale*, allowing us to understand how different stakeholders are interconnected in the *yangjiale* interest ecological network. By exploring the mutual influence and relationship between *yangjiale* stakeholders, we can gain a clearer understanding of the Mogan *yangjiale* phenomenon. This understanding can serve as a new economic case to examine the development of rural tourism in China, while also providing insights into the current status of rural spatial development in China and serving as an example of how global gentrification is eroding rural areas in the Global South and Southern China. Ultimately, this study deepens our understanding of how global gentrification theory manifests itself in the real world.

Investigate the spatial influence of various stakeholders on the development of Mount Mogan *yangjiale* in the process of rural planetary gentrification.

Based on the background of urban planning, we investigated the mechanism of mutual influence between the stakeholders of Mount Mogan *yangjiale*. This analysis helps us understand how different stakeholders affect

the changes in local space during the development of *yangjiale* Homestay and its transformation into *yangjiale* Homestay, and gain insight into the role of various stakeholders in the transformation of rural space in the process of planetary gentrification.

4. Research hypothesis and arguments

4.1 Hypothesis

Yangjiale, Moganshan, is experiencing a process of rural global gentrification.

This paper hypothesizes whether *yangjiale* has triggered some form of global gentrification in the region and plans to verify this hypothesis through interviews and research on land use changes.

4.2 Arguments

Mount Mogan *yangjiale* is a political arena where stakeholders such as indigenous people, tenants, government and electronic platforms are interdependent, reflecting the influence of neoliberalism, neocolonialism, transnationalism and government in the context of eastern China.

The rise of Mount Mogan *yangjiale* is influenced by multiple factors. As one of China's most economically developed urban agglomerations, the Yangtze River Delta Economic Development Zone demonstrates how rural development fits in with national development goals. The development of Mount Mogan *yangjiale* also reflects the broader direction of rural development in China. Given China's important position in East Asia and the Global South, this case study highlights rural development models and trends that may be applicable to moderately developed developing countries in East Asia and the Global South, including China. The case study of Mount Mogan *yangjiale* is highly representative. It successfully established its own brand through non-local investment and operation, attracting capital and experienced professionals from the Yangtze River Delta region. This strategy enabled the brand to develop, ultimately leading to the booming homestay industry in the Mount Mogan area and profoundly influencing and changing the landscape of homestays in China. Mount Mogan *yangjiale* represents the intersection of various rights and stakeholders. Ideologically, it is a testing ground for neoliberalism, neocolonialism, transnationalism, and government practices in East Asia and rural China. In addition, it serves as a platform for the expression of multiple rights discourses.

The following diagram (Figure 1) shows the relationship between the various stakeholders involved in the construction of Mount Mogan *yangjiale*. As the manager of local development, the government plays a vital role in nurturing various innovative business enterprises, including the design and operation of local farmhouses that originally inspired the mountain homestay model. This also covers the various forms of rural entrepreneurship that emerged during the mountain homestay process, including the digital nomad self-media entrepreneurship that later emerged among migrant workers in nearby large cities. In addition, the government has set standards for the height and number of rooms in homestays, aiming to protect the environment and help the many farmers who opened homestays inspired by early homestays. The government has developed a set of guidelines to standardize and unify the exterior design of homestays, aiming to create a more cohesive and aesthetic collective homestay environment. The government has also cooperated with several domestic travel websites (such as Booking.com, Qunar, and Fliggy) to hold a series of lectures and small workshops. These activities invite villagers and homestay operators to participate and help them learn how to create attractive slogans and videos for online travel platforms. Participants will also learn the skills of organizing events and live broadcasts to attract a larger online consumer group. The situation of local farmers is a process of constantly adapting to changes and coexisting with outsiders who bring capital and knowledge. Starting with the *yangjiale* initiated by outsiders who arrived in Mount Mogan, local villagers gradually accepted and began to learn from them. They accepted new lifestyles, such as drinking coffee, and began to cooperate with outsiders, renting out their dilapidated village houses at low prices for long-term use, allowing them to operate and design homestays. As the *yangjiale* model was promoted nationwide and achieved market success, local villagers began to participate more fully in it and learn from this model. As *yangjiale* became an important local industry, many young and middle-aged people who left Mount Mogan to work returned to the countryside. They began to get involved in the homestay industry or related fields, becoming housekeepers, managers, etc. of homestays. The development of *yangjiale* also led

to the growth of local villagers' income. Farmers' awareness of investment and entrepreneurship gradually increased, and many houses were rented to homestay operators, realizing the value of the houses. In the popular Yu Village, villagers also began to use the land to earn lucrative parking fees. Over time, the villagers learned to live in harmony with young people who returned from large IT companies in surrounding cities such as Hangzhou and Shanghai. Many entrepreneurs in industries such as self-media have begun to choose picturesque villages as mobile office locations. As the *yangjiale* model gradually heats up and the market gradually cools down, the hospitality of the villagers is particularly important, and they create a warm environment for newcomers. The founders of local homestays have experienced three generations of inheritance and development. Many homestay entrepreneurs cooperate with local small businesses, such as jointly promoting the use of local agricultural and sideline products. In addition, a large number of homestays use online platforms to promote their brands and attract a large number of customers. The rural homestay industry is also undergoing a platform transformation. While these local homestays are booming, the government has also vigorously supported the rise of large-scale hotel industries. These international hotels provide standardized services, causing many homestay operators to feel that their business has been impacted. Therefore, large-scale hotel development projects vigorously promoted by the government have formed competition with the local homestay industry. At the same time, with the success of homestay brands such as Naked Castle and Da Le Zhi Ye incubated by *yangjiale*, many homestays have begun to establish chain operation models in scenic spots in other regions and develop homestays similar to *yangjiale*. In addition, some local governments, such as the Ningxia Xiwei region in central and western China, are working hard to create homestay clusters to attract customers and stimulate the local economy. To this end, they actively introduced the chain homestay brand incubated by *yangjiale* and operated it at a significantly reduced cost. Platformization, that is, the rise of Internet platforms, has had a significant impact on the local government of Mount Mogan area. This cooperation includes promoting unique local homestays in Mount Mogan.

From an ideological perspective, Mount Mogan is an active arena for the intersection and expression of various rights and ideologies, showing the interaction and status of multiple rights discourses in rural areas in the Yangtze River Delta region of eastern China. First, the influx of migrants into the rural market and the establishment of new homestay models mark an important step in neoliberalism's attempt to penetrate China's marginal rural areas, especially in typical Chinese neoliberal cities such as Shanghai. As a form of neocolonialism, tourism is largely dominated by ideologies rooted in the perspectives of the West and the world's North. The process of villagers accepting and absorbing foreign ideas and lifestyles has both neocolonial and postcolonial characteristics. For example, local farmers simply copy or imitate the business models and management practices introduced by migrants, which can be seen as a form of modern neocolonialism and postcolonialism. However, neocolonialism has undoubtedly provided opportunities for cities and regions in the global South, such as the Moganshan region, to develop a vibrant homestay industry cluster using local resources. It is worth noting that after the epidemic, many of the original non-local entrepreneurs left, leading them to re-acquire the homestay brands they originally founded. This suggests that the profit maximization stage of foreign homestays may have ended, highlighting the original non-local people's perception of neocolonialism. Their actions can be interpreted as a kind of speculation in the global South in the context of global gentrification. In addition, the rise of foreign homestays is also deeply influenced by globalization and transnationalism. However, the local government has cleverly seized this global opportunity and turned it into a competitive advantage. Initially, abandoned houses in prime locations were rented out at very low prices to the first non-locals eager to set up homestays, a strategy that continues to attract more innovators of the foreign homestay model. The local government actively cooperated with these initial creators and took various measures to enhance the local visibility and influence. These measures, including leveraging the personal connections of non-local homestay creators and obtaining recognition from prestigious publications such as The New York Times, have greatly contributed to their achievements.

Yangjiale embodies the characteristics of neo-colonialism and rural green gentrification, while creating profits for local villagers and promoting rural green gentrification.

The emergence of the *yangjiale* homestay model has completely changed the traditional farmhouse model. By integrating high-end design, personalized operations, and the beautiful local natural scenery, the *yangjiale*

By comparing the land use change map of Yangjiale in the past 15 years (Moganshan County Government, 2006; Moganshan County Government, 2021), it can be seen that the Ten Million Project launched by the government in 2003 laid the necessary foundation for the development of *yangjiale*. In addition, the booming *yangjiale* industry has also significantly affected the lives and vitality of local farmers. The development of tourism has also quietly changed the overall lifestyle in rural areas (Figure 1).

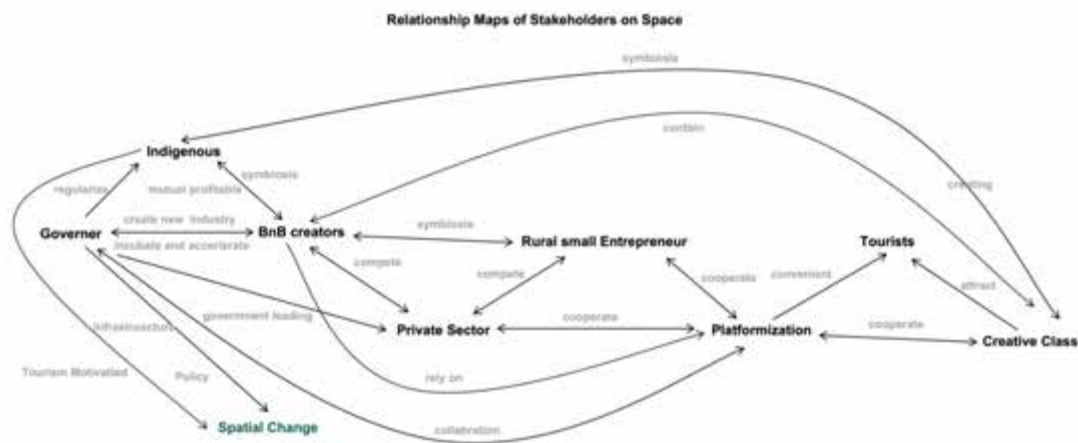


Figure 1. Relationship Map of stakeholders in Mount Mogan Yangjiale on space

Government-led tourism projects and products launched by large private enterprises are undermining the profitability and development of the localized, grassroots *yangjiale* homestay model. This situation is closely related to the broader regional upgrading and rural gentrification process.

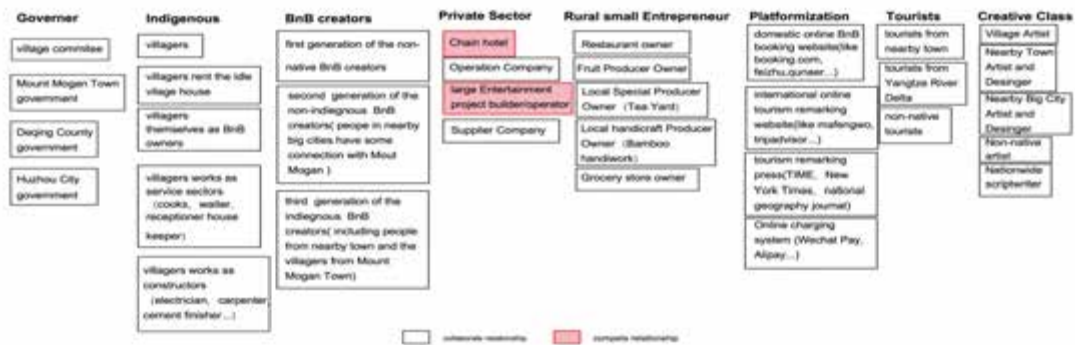


Figure 2. Relationship Map of stakeholders in Mount Mogan yangjjiale

During the development of *yangjjiale*, especially in the years after the epidemic, the local government leadership changed and introduced various international hotel brands in order to highlight its political achievements. However, these top-down international hotels compete with *yangjjiale*'s unique local hotel model (Figure 2). Many consumers believe that international hotels of the same price offer more complete and standardized services. As a result, these international hotels have attracted a large number of old customers of *yangjjiale*, causing dissatisfaction among local homestay operators. They believe that the government's introduction of international hotel brands has disrupted the grassroots homestay ecosystem of *yangjjiale*. In addition, the entry of international hotels has also triggered the phenomenon of tourism gentrification in the area. These hotels are often isolated from the surrounding rural environment, exacerbating the local gentrification phenomenon and separating new developments from existing communities.

4.3 Research Questions

What is the global gentrification process in *yangjjiale* Village?

By examining the gentrification process in *yangjjiale*, this paper provides a deeper understanding of the region itself and the wider global gentrification phenomenon. This will provide a relevant empirical case for the study of global gentrification in the Global South and help to analyze the levels and dynamics of this process in East Asia in more depth.

In the process of rural planetary gentrification, how do different stakeholders interact to shape the social ecology of *yangjjiale*?

By examining the interactive ecological network of *yangjjiale* stakeholders, this paper has a deeper understanding of the formation background, formation process and development context of *yangjjiale*. This will help to more clearly understand the mechanism behind *yangjjiale*lization and deepen the comprehensive grasp of this phenomenon.

What are the spatial impacts of these interactions and dynamics in the process of gentrification of rural *yangjjiale*? By examining the interactions and participation of stakeholders in the process of *yangjjiale* occurrence and *yangjjiale*lization, the focus of the study is shifted to the disciplinary context of urban studies.

5. Methodology

Interview

This study included two semi-structured interviews. The first interview was conducted in the summer of 2023 with 61 participants (N=61), including 19 tourists, 11 villagers, 8 village-level organization staff, 11 BnB owners, 8 small and micro business owners (such as coffee shops and agricultural product owners), 2 Moganshan County Government staff, and 2 operating company employees. The second interview was conducted in the summer of 2024 (N=4) and focused on four BnB owners and managers.

Spatial analysis

This study examines the changes in land use during the 15-year development of *yangjiale* BnB in Mount Mogan area. The study was conducted by communicating with local government departments and collecting online information. Through communication with government departments, we obtained the Moganshan County Master Plan 2021-2035 and the Moganshan County Text Atlas 2006-2020. The analysis focused on comparing the changes in land use planning maps to evaluate the changes in industrial land spatial use in Mount Mogan area during the 15-year development of *yangjiale* BnB.

Field investigation

This study conducted two field surveys in the summer of 2023 and the summer of 2024 to gain an in-depth understanding of the current status of the local homestay industry, understand the attitudes of local residents and government officials toward the *yangjiale* homestay industry, and understand the actual situation and business model of local homestays through personal experience.

6. Analysis and findings

In order to more effectively describe the *yangjiale* phenomenon and the characteristics of its various stages, this paper adopts the SCEEP model (Figure 3). This model mainly draws on the STEEP model, which outlines the sustainability of enterprises. The STEEP model contains five quadrants: social quadrant, technological quadrant, economic quadrant, environmental quadrant and political quadrant. The SCEEP model replaces the technical quadrant with the cultural quadrant.

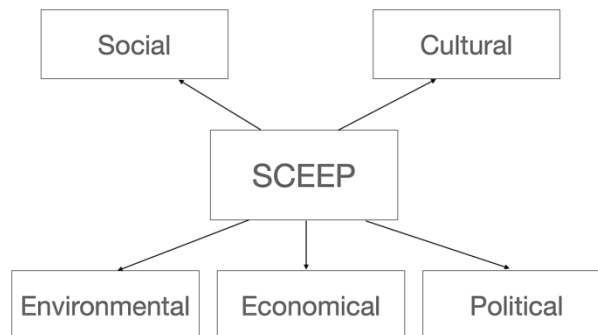


Figure 3. SCEEP model

The five quadrants of SCEEP represent the following areas: S stands for society, including demographic influences, income distribution, education, population development and security, covering social aspects such as family, friends, colleagues, neighbors and the media. C stands for culture, covering factors such as language, religion, customs, traditions and values, as well as gender, attitudes, lifestyles and consumption trends. The first E stands for economy, involving factors such as economic growth, inflation, interest rates, exchange rates, taxes, unemployment, income levels, business cycles, world trade and resource availability. The second E stands for environmental factors, including materials and resources, waste disposal, emission regulations, energy, transportation routes, life cycle, and the impact of issues such as ozone layer depletion and global warming. Finally, P stands for politics, covering policy frameworks, labor market policies, government regulations, competition supervision, legislation, political stability, tax policies, trade barriers, safety requirements and subsidies. Each quadrant plays a vital role in our understanding of the various influences and interactions in *yangjiale* society.

	Definition
Social	demographic influences, income distribution, education, population development, security. Aspects within society such as family, friends, colleagues, neighbors and the media.
Cultural	language, religion, customs, traditions, and values, sex and gender, attitudes, lifestyles, consumer trends.
Political	policy frameworks, labor market policies, government policies, competition oversight, legislation, political stability, tax policies, trade barriers, security requirements and subsidies.
Economical	economic growth, inflation, interest rates, exchange rates, taxation, unemployment, income, business cycles, world trade and resource availability.
Environmental	material, resources, disposal, emission regulations, energy, transport routes, life cycles, effects of the ozone hole and global warming.

Figure 4. Definition of SCEEP model

Through the SCEEP model, we can fully understand the characteristics of the development of Yangjiale, the phase characteristics and the relationship between the stages (Figure 5). Using the SCEEP model to describe the characteristics of *yangjiale* in different stages, we can find several aspects. In the first stage, before 2007, *yangjiale* was in its embryonic stage. From a social perspective, the rise of *yangjiale* was influenced by the influx of the middle class in neighboring metropolises and a lifestyle trend known as neo-colonialism. This trend, influenced by Western culture, triggered a wave of lifestyle entrepreneurship in China. This period can be seen as a manifestation of the global gentrification process in rural eastern China. From a cultural perspective, the Western middle class began to reshape the pastoral utopia in the farmhouses in the east, integrating local customs and combining local and Western utopian ideals. Initially, the exploration of *yangjiale* attracted only a few non-locals who were eager to experience the wildness. Unlike large standardized international hotels, *yangjiale* BnBs focus on anti-standardization, private customization and a sense of community, *yangjiale* cleverly combines globalization and localization, embodying the concept of glocalization. There are also historical precedents. Many non-Chinese people were attracted by reports about Mount Mogan and went to Mount Mogan to build villas, which reflects the tradition of historicism in the process of globalization. From a political perspective, the Ten Million Project launched in 2003 laid the foundation for infrastructure construction in rural areas, providing the necessary transportation networks, roads and transportation facilities to support the growth of tourism. From an economic perspective, the early success of *yangjiale* BnB benefited from the gathering of high-spending people in the surrounding urban agglomerations. *Yangjiale* is located in the mountainous area closest to Shanghai and is surrounded by one of the most affluent consumer groups in mainland China, the Yangtze River Delta urban agglomeration, which benefits from its inherent source of customers. In addition, the low long-term rent of village houses also made the founders of the first batch of *yangjiale* lucrative. The consumer groups in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai are deeply influenced by consumerism and show a tendency to high-priced, experiential and conspicuous consumption. From an environmental perspective, the successful establishment of *yangjiale* BnB in the early stage had a positive impact on the surrounding environment and laid the foundation for future development.

From 2007 to 2015, it was the second stage of the *yangjiale* phenomenon, when a large amount of Chinese mobile capital poured into the market. From a social perspective, the foreign homestay areas began to show agglomeration effects, and the platform model gradually emerged. During this period, *yangjiale* also developed their own local homestay brands and opened chain homestays in various places to achieve expansion.

From a cultural perspective, during this period, a large amount of Chinese capital poured into the homestay industry, and the participation of gentry in surrounding large cities also accelerated the localization process of homestays. In addition, many creative classes moved from urban centers to rural areas to participate in rural development, demonstrating their entrepreneurial spirit. At the policy level, underdeveloped areas continued to send representatives to Mount Mogan to learn from experience and invite local homestay brands to take root in their rural tourism areas at the lowest cost to attract consumers. Rural governments in central and western regions also actively developed local homestay groups through various forms of cooperation. At the economic level, *yangjiale* attracted a large amount of domestic capital during this period. With the rise of the Mount Mogan homestay industry, the cooperation between the government and homestay brands has also increased, which has promoted young people who have gone out to work to return to their hometowns to start businesses. The cooperation between the Internet economy, homestay brands and local governments is also gradually emerging, such as web page recommendations, online publicity training camps, etc. On the environmental level, the second phase of *yangjiale*'s development has entered a climax, and the establishment of many homestays has effectively promoted regional upgrades and improvements in the rural environment.

After 2015, *yangjiale* entered the third stage, and a large number of local farmers began to participate in the *yangjiale* market, and many copycat homestays also appeared. From a social perspective, the problems of homogeneity and market saturation were more obvious at this stage. From a cultural perspective, the entrepreneurial spirit of the villagers was highlighted at this stage. In response to the homogeneity problem, the government proposed a themed operation model, encouraging each homestay to create a unique theme to attract specific consumer groups. In addition, the government has established cooperative relationships with many IoT tourism platforms. From an economic perspective, the *yangjiale* reached the stage of commercialization at this stage. In order to pursue consistency in economic interests, the characteristics and products of Mount Mogan were commercialized and lost their authenticity. From an environmental perspective, tourisification was particularly prominent at this stage, and the entire area experienced an upgrade due to tourism development. However, with the development of *yangjiale*, the natural landscape that was originally free to enjoy became exclusive to homestays, and the cost of getting close to nature also increased.

	Social	Cultural	Political	Economical	Environmental
First Phase (Before 2007)	Mobility of jacent metropolitan world middle bourgeoisies Lifestyle New-colonialism Planetary gentrification	Combination of Native and Western Utopianism Anti-standardization and private customization and clubbing Glocalization Historicism of Globalization Disneyfication	Government infrastructure development	Natural High Consumer Group G l o b a l Regional Rent Gap Consumerism of natural environment	Infrastructure improvements
Second Phase (2007-2015)	Agglomeration Effect platformization Local brand breeding B&B chains	Llobalization Urban Entrepreneurship of the Local Creative Capitalist Class	Governments of underdeveloped regions cooperate to join B&B brands Central and western Chinese government to develop tourism B&B clustering	Attracting domestic capital Government and B&B Brands Collaboration Return of local labor Internet platform economy	Regional renewal and upgrading of the countryside
Third Phase (After 2015)	homogenization oversaturation	Urban Entrepreneurship of Local Villagers	thematic promotion of Government Cooperation between Governments and the Internet platform economy	commodification	Touristification

Figure 5. SCEEP of different stages of yangjiale

The study shows that the various characteristics and phenomena in different stages are interrelated (see Figure 6). In the first stage of *yangjialelization*, the global mobility of middle-class elites created opportunities for neo-colonialism and spread Western lifestyles at the social level. In this stage, foreign homestays may be experiencing the so-called planetary gentrification, which is attributed to their unique economic location and natural scenery. The Ten Million Project launched by the government in 2003 supported the improvement of regional infrastructure, enabling foreign homestays to drive regional development in the subsequent stage. From an economic perspective, the consumer groups in the Yangtze River Delta region have formed a desire for natural experience-based conspicuous consumption. As *yangjialelization* entered the second stage, the rise of industrial clusters laid the foundation for the rise of the platform model. The initial stage of *yangjialelization* attracted capital and nurtured the potential for further localization. The homestay brands that landed in the Mount Mogan area were successful in the market and began to expand in the form of chain homestays. This success has stimulated the interest of central and western regions to cooperate with the government and local homestay brands (such as the Chinese version of *yangjiale* homestay brand Da Le Zhi Ye. In the third stage of *yangjiale*, platformization brought challenges such as homogeneity and market oversaturation. In the second stage, the influx of returning youth stimulated the entrepreneurial spirit of farmers and laid the foundation for growth in the third stage. The initial disneyfication trend of *yangjiale* influenced the government's subsequent development plans. The cooperation between the government and the Internet platform reflects the evolution

of the Internet economy, transforming regional development into rural transformation and ultimately achieving tourism development in the third stage..

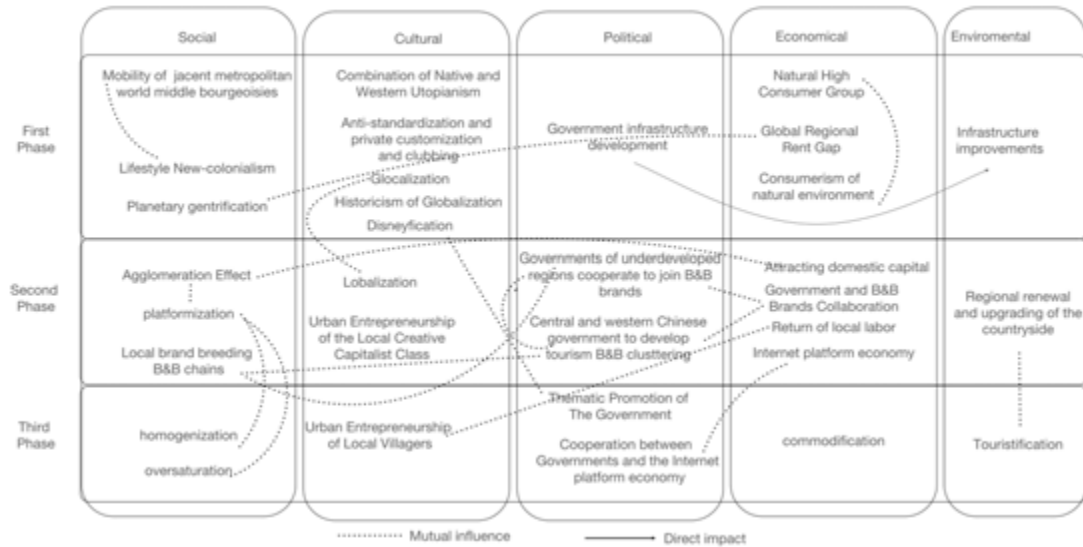


Figure 6. relationships of different stages of yangjiale

Comparing the changes in *yangjiale*'s land use planning over the past 15 years, especially the land use planning of Moganshan County from 2006 to 2020 and from 2021 to 2035 (see Figures 7 and 8), the cultivated land area is decreasing and becoming increasingly fragmented.

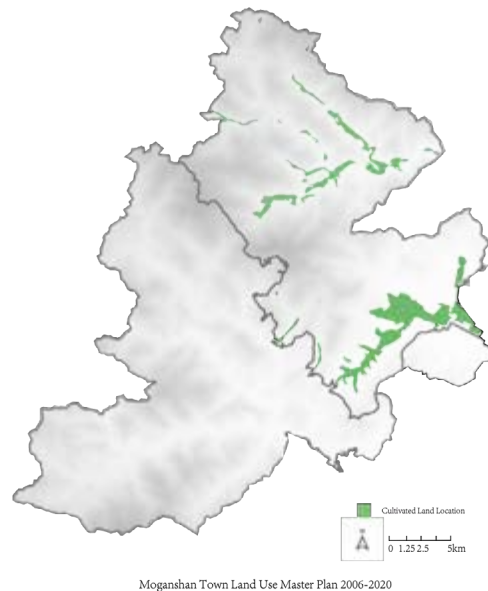


Figure 7. Moganshan Town Land Use Master Plan 2006-2020

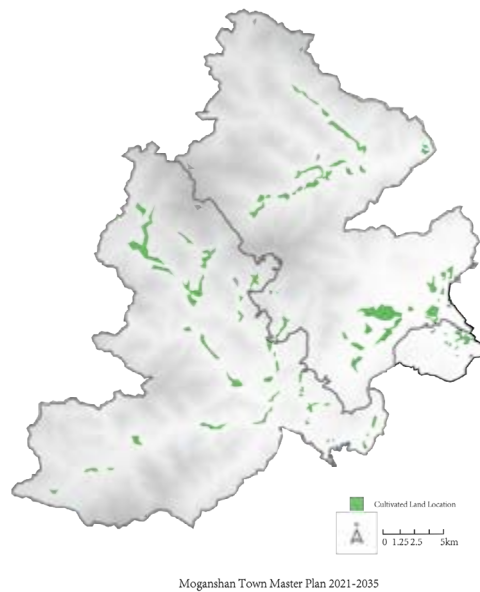


Figure 8. Moganshan Town Land Use Master Plan 2006-2020

Analyzing the relationship between stakeholders and land use change in *yangjiale*, it can be found that villagers' participation in homestay tourism has reduced the importance of cultivated land, leading to the separation of cultivated land and homestay development areas. The emergence of platform-based homestay clusters has further accelerated this development. In addition, the clustering of homestays has enriched the lives of villagers and expanded their living areas to more scenic places. At the same time, under the promotion of the government, the original central area of Moganshan County was designated as the Moganshan Scenic Area, and the size of the town has been reduced (see Figure 9).

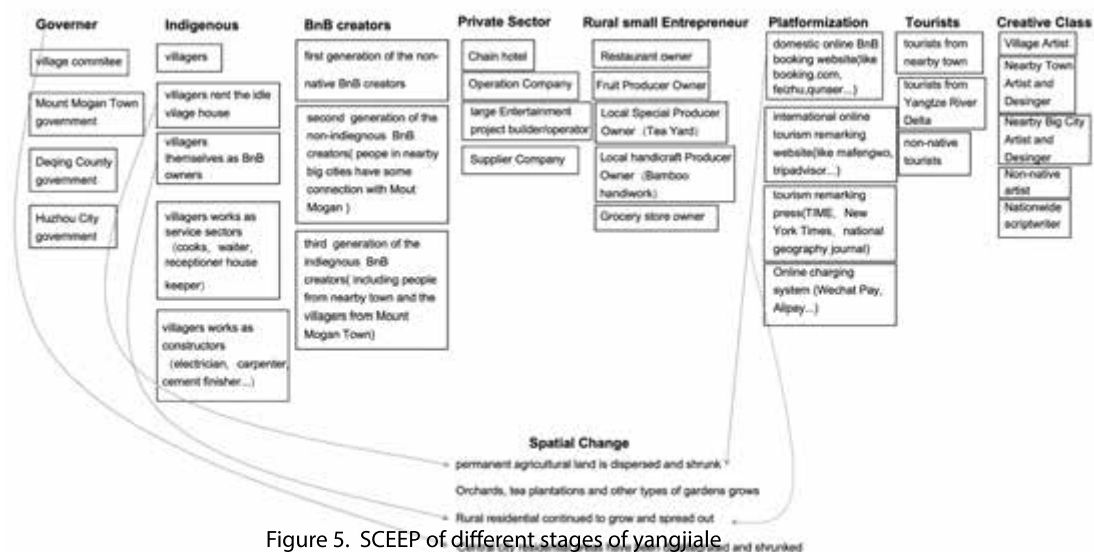


Figure 5. SCEP of different stages of *yangjiale*

Figure 9. Stakeholders' impact on Yangjiale in space

In summary, *yangjiale* has gone through three different stages of change, with stakeholders both supporting and competing with each other, forming a unique business model and ecosystem. The SCEEP model can succinctly describe the characteristics of these three stages and highlight the causal relationship between them. Government planning documents reflect the changes in local land use in *yangjiale* over the past 15 years. Combining this information and combining it with the stakeholder relationship map, we can further analyze how different stakeholders in *yangjiale* affect the land use pattern in Mount Mogan.

7. Impact, significance and future directions

Understanding and studying the Mogan *yangjiale* BnB industry will help us better understand the implementation of policies such as China's beautiful countryside construction.

By studying the development history of the *yangjiale* BnB industry, we can have a deeper understanding of the direction and model of China's rural economic development, especially in the Yangtze River Delta region. This study will also help understand China's agricultural policies such as the Beautiful Countryside and the Ten Million Project aimed at promoting rural development and reform.

Given that the development of *yangjiale* has benefited from foreign investment, studying this region helps us understand the dynamics of village development and gentrification in the Global South.

The background and development of *yangjiale* show how global capital and talent invest and start businesses in developing countries in East Asia. Mogan *yangjiale* is an excellent case study to examine the global gentrification process in East Asian villages. By observing and studying Mogan *yangjiale*, we can gain a deeper understanding of the impact of global gentrification on rural China in the broader context of East Asia.

Yangjiale's case study can provide a reference for rural development in other underdeveloped regions of China and in the global South.

Yangjiale's successful experience can provide valuable reference for other regions, including Africa, Southeast Asia, and any country that hopes to promote rural economic development through homestay tourism. By sharing *yangjiale's* story through academic research, we can help other rural areas develop local economies and improve the livelihoods of local farmers in a similar way.

Future research directions include exploring the rural economic development model in Zhejiang Province, examining the identity formation process of the Mount Mogan *yangjiale*, predicting the overall development trend of the Mount Mogan *yangjiale* studying the counter-urbanization and rural digital nomadism phenomena in the Mount Mogan *yangjiale* industry, and examining how Mount Mogan *yangjiale* can serve as rural spaces to ease the tension between elitism and populism in today's world.

The key directions of future continuous research are as follows: As the leader of China's rural economy, how can Zhejiang build a sustainable rural economic model and effectively narrow the urban-rural gap? The rural economic development model of Zhejiang is the focus of future research. As mountain tourism destinations that have not yet established a dominant position in the surrounding economic circle, Moganshan and *yangjiale* have become models of Chinese tourist homestays. This study will explore in depth how they successfully cultivate local identity. The inspiration of this study on shaping local identity will provide reference for other regions to shape their own identity and regional brand and establish the cognition of landmark buildings in the minds of consumers. The development of *yangjiale* has attracted a large number of young and middle-aged people from rural areas to urban employment, resulting in the phenomenon of counter-urbanization in some rural areas. Research on this counter-urbanization trend is another important research direction in the future. In the post-epidemic era, the development of *yangjiale* has declined; however, more and more residents of Mount Mogan and *yangjiale* are integrating into the local community. A new type of maker group has emerged among the residents of Mogan Village, known as digital nomads. They live in surrounding metropolises, but choose to move to the countryside to work in mobile offices or start their own media businesses. The rise of this group, as well as

the future of rural development and innovative human settlements, represents an important research direction. *Yangjiale* is a model of cooperation and symbiosis between foreign elites and local grassroots farmers, which has promoted the success of the homestay industry and comprehensive industry reform. Given the ongoing debate and tension between elitism and populism, case studies from villages and foreign homestays provide an opportunity to bridge these differences and promote mutual learning and cooperation and symbiosis between the two groups.

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