Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion

# The Local Political Economy of Urban-Rural Integration and Subsidized Housing Reform in China

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Introduction ●○○○	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Research Questions	;			
Research	Questions			

- In a single-Party state, why do some local leaders actively promote welfare reform, whereas others do not?
- What drives some local officials to actively promote welfare reforms that have great short-term economic and fiscal implications?

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Motivation				
Why a p	ouzzle?			

- Social policy in democracies
  - strength of left-labor alliances, electoral-economic cycle e.g.: Wright 1974; Korpi 1983

• varieties of capitalism, development strategy e.g.: Esping-Andersen 1990; Hall and Soskice 2001; Wibbels and Ahlquist 2007

Introduction	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
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- Social policy in non-democracies
  - exchange welfare for votes in competitive authoritarianism e.g.: Magaloni 2006; Stokes et al. 2013

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- promote economic growth through welfare e.g.: Holliday and Wiling 2003
- ruling strategy e.g.: Olsen 1993; Gandhi 2008

Introduction	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
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- promote economic growth through welfare e.g.: Holliday and Wiling 2003
- ruling strategy e.g.: Olsen 1993; Gandhi 2008
- Social policy in China
  - an area of neglect

Introduction	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Argument				
My argı	iment			

• Economic, not social, considerations are the key driving force underlying these welfare reforms.

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Introduction ○○○●	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Outline				
Outline				

- Case studies of local urban-rural integration reform
- Case studies of local subsidized housing reform
- Statistical analysis of exclusiveness of local subsidized housing provision

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Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration ●○○○○○	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Background				
Urban-R	Rural Inequality			

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- Household registration (Hukou) system since 1958
- Local experiment

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration ○●○○○○	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Case study				
Pilot sit	es			

#### Chengdu

The core of urban-rural integration in Chengdu lies in the reform of rural land property rights. The ultimate goal of integrating urban and rural areas is to greatly enhance land use efficiency in order to improve local economic growth. We do not intend to encourage a large number of farmers to become urban residents. Our main goal is to achieve free mobility of factors of production between urban and rural areas, including labor, capital, and land. (Interview with an official in a district urban-rural integration committee)

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration ○○●○○○	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Case study				
Pilot site	es			

#### Chongqing

The government intends to expand domestic demand and consumption by promoting rural-to-urban migration. The influx of 10 million people into the cities will stimulate urban economy: the [new urbanites] need to buy or rent apartments and send their children to schools; they need to consume in the cities. This also explains why Chongqing is the most ambitious province in building affordable houses to accommodate this population group. (Interview with a local scholar)

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration ०००●००	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Case study				
Land re	form			

- Two main strategies in land reform are:
  - (1) promoting circulation of land use right to attract private, mostly urban, investment in agricultural industry
  - (2) gaining construction land quotas to build factory-intensive industrial parks by relocating rural residents to multi-story buildings and reclaiming their original housing land to arable land

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration ○○○○●○	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Case study				
Land re	form			

• Welfare provision in exchange for cooperation in land reform The policy promises that we do not need to give up land or any other property to enjoy urban welfare benefits. Yet, offering these benefits is a carrot to pressure us to cooperate in relocation and their land grabs. It is an exchange of favors. (Interview with a local resident)

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration ○○○○○●	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Summary of finding	s			
Findings				

• Welfare provision in urban-rural integration is a byproduct of land reform

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Introduction 0000	u Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform ●○○○	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Background				
Subsi	dized housing p	olicy		
	<ul> <li>Housing reform si</li> </ul>	nce 1979		
	<ul> <li>1998 national pol</li> </ul>	icy		
	<ul> <li>Three main types</li> </ul>	of subsidized housing		
Т	ypes of	Eligible Applicant	Usage Mode	Resell

Subsidized Housing

Economical housing	local middle-income residents	purchase at a below-market price	Yes
Low-rent housing	local low-income residents	rent	No

Public rental housing	local middle-low	rent	No
	income households		
	Newly employed		
	Migrant workers		= .00

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Background				
Fiscal ir	mplications			

• A negative effect on land revenue: land for subsidized housing is administratively allocated without land conveyance fee

• Importance of land revenue (conveyance fee)

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Case study				

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## Local response in the new-round reform

- Violation
- Faking it
- Deviation

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform ○○●○	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion
Case study				

# Local response in the new-round reform

- Violation
- Faking it
- Deviation
- Active collaboration

Chongqing is absorbing the industrial transfer from China's eastern coastal area. We need to attract cheap labor, and the public rental housing project is one way to achieve that. Additionally, by providing public rental housing, rural residents are more willing to migrate to cities, which will help stimulate domestic demand and fuel economic growth. (Interview with an official in a district housing bureau)

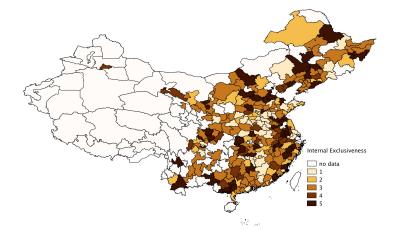
Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Summaries of find	ings			
Findings	;			

• Subsidized housing provision is actively promoted only when it is consistent with local economic development strategy

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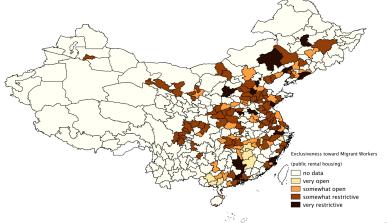
Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion
Dependent variable				
Exclusive	eness of subsid	ized housing pro	vision	

• Exclusiveness toward local residents in low-rent housing



Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis ○●○○	Conclusion
Dependent variable				
Exclusive	eness of subsid	ized housing prov	vision	

• Exclusiveness toward migrant workers in public rental housing



Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis ○○●○	Conclusion
Statistical analysis				
Model				

- Dependent variable: exclusiveness toward local residents in low-rent housing (2012)
- Explanatory variable of theoretical interest (2009-2010): investment in real estate development /GDP

• Controls (2009-2010): GDP per capita, GDP per capita growth, population density, and population growth

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis ○○○●	Conclusion
Statistical analysis				
Results				

DV: Exclusiveness toward local residents	Logit	Ordered Logit	
Investment in real estate development/GDP	P 6.32** 5.60***		
	(2.89)	(2.04)	
GDP per capita	-1.70	58	
	(7.54)	(5.86)	
GDP per capita growth	26	.70	
	(2.14)	(1.70)	
Population density	11**	09**	
	(.05)	(.04)	
Population growth	-5.48	-1.37	
	(8.87)	(6.92)	
Ν	265	265	
-2LL	309.93	770.66	
Prob>chi2	.047	.028	

Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis	Conclusion			
Conclusion							

• There is an economic logic behind welfare provision in issue areas that have great short-term fiscal and economic implications.

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Introduction 0000	Urban-Rural Integration 000000	Subsidized Housing Reform	Statistical Analysis 0000	Conclusion

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