

# The implementation difficulties of the new citizen housing policy and its logic -- Policy network-based analysis

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**Abstract:** *Housing is an important factor for new citizens to integrate into the city, and the implementation effect of new citizens' housing policy has a profound impact on the effective solution of new citizens' housing problems. Based on the theory of policy network, this paper analyzes the role and function of multiple actors in the new citizen housing problem, and explains the policy network logic of the new citizen housing problem. The research found that: the new citizen housing problems exist in the central and local government housing cost sharing mechanism fuzzy, the central fiscal transfer direction and the population flow direction "departure", the government horizontal Department bureaucratic barriers are difficult to crack, the public interest and commercial interests between local governments and housing market subjects are difficult to balance, the local government and the employing enterprise housing responsibility elusion, and the new citizen and the original resident resources dispute. According to the research, we should strengthen the multi-agent supply and multi-channel security of new citizen housing, and comprehensively improve the relevant supporting policies of new citizen housing to achieve the goal of new city residents living.*

**Keywords:** *new citizens; housing problem; policy network; meet the housing needs of all people*

## 1. Introduction

According to the results of the seventh national population census, compared with the sixth national population census, the proportion of urban population has increased by 14.21 percentage points. Among them, the population of people living apart from their household registration has increased by 88.52%; the floating population has increased by 69.73%. It can be seen that the floating population in our country is growing rapidly, and the "new citizen group" is gradually forming. The so-called "new citizens" mainly refer to the labor force that has migrated from rural areas to cities, university graduates who have settled and found employment in cities, and new residents who have moved from other cities for various reasons, and are also collectively referred to as non-household registered population in the area they have moved to. "Dwelling is the foundation of a person, and people regard houses as their homes." Housing, as a basic condition for survival and development, is equally important for new citizens. Solving the housing problem of new citizens can not only further stimulate the potential for economic growth, promote the healthy development of the real estate market, but also promote the urbanization process and social integration and stability. In recent years, the state has introduced a series of policies to ensure housing for the new citizen group, in order to effectively address the challenges of the housing market and achieve the goal of ensuring that everyone has a place to live. Studies have found that there are differences and asynchrony in the housing problems of new citizens. On the one hand, although the agricultural transfer population among new citizens has completed the "migration of physical space" and also shows the characteristics of "factual immigration", the housing problems of this part of the new citizen group have not been properly addressed due to the difficulty in becoming citizens<sup>[1]</sup>; on the other hand, China's talent housing policy meets the diverse needs of talents through multiple channels and ways, effectively solving the housing problem of talents and improving the satisfaction and happiness of talents. The new citizen group focused on in this article refers to the agricultural transfer population and newly employed university student groups and other low- and middle-income groups among new citizens, who find it difficult to afford the housing prices and rents in the formal housing market. At the same time, due to the exclusion of the household registration system, this part of the new citizen group finds it difficult to obtain affordable housing security.<sup>[2]</sup> Faced with the structural contradictions caused by the mismatch between "people and land" supply and demand imbalance and the widening income gap, this type of new citizen group not only faces the pressure of asset replacement brought about by imbalanced regional

development, but also the sequential exclusion from market-oriented property rights acquisition due to rising housing prices.<sup>[3]</sup> Therefore, only by meeting the housing needs of this part of the new citizen group can the goal of ensuring that everyone has a place to live be achieved.

Housing issues not only concern the housing system but also involve land and fiscal matters. Solving this problem requires the joint efforts of the housing system, land system, and fiscal system, as well as the participation of multiple stakeholders including the government, market, and society. Compared to urban residents, the housing issues of new citizens are more complex, with their mobility characteristics involving related entities between urban and rural areas, as well as among different regions. Moreover, the process of addressing housing issues is long and involves many stages. Therefore, in resolving the housing problems of new citizens, it is necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of the roles and functions of relevant parties, interaction processes, and conflicts of interest. PolicyNetwork (PolicyNetwork) is a tool for analyzing the interaction patterns among various actors during policy formulation and implementation. It posits that to understand the complexity and dynamics of the policy process, these interaction patterns must be described and analyzed in sufficient detail. Policy network analysis can reveal the high complexity of participants in the policy process and provide alternative pathways for governance beyond market and hierarchical authority. In light of this, this paper uses the framework of policy network analysis to examine the internal logic and interactive relationships of housing issues for new citizens, providing theoretical references for better addressing these issues.

## **2. Deviation in the implementation of housing policies for new citizens**

Policy implementation is the process of transforming policies in textual form or within the government discourse system into actual outcomes.<sup>[4]</sup> The execution of housing policies for new urban residents encompasses multiple aspects, including increasing the supply of affordable housing, providing rental subsidies and home purchase support, establishing a housing system that promotes both purchasing and renting, policy coordination and financial services, as well as the specific implementation of local policies, all aimed at addressing the housing difficulties faced by new urban residents. Research indicates that the housing security for new urban residents suffers from inherent flaws such as a single type of affordable housing, uneven allocation of resources, severe policy exclusion, and limited coverage. Additionally, there are issues of selective implementation by local governments and spatial mismatch in affordable housing, which lead to policy variability failures.<sup>[5]</sup> Therefore, there are deviations in the implementation of housing policies for new urban residents. This paper attempts to examine these deviations from four perspectives: housing conditions, living environment, citizen integration, and housing demand compatibility.

### ***2.1. Housing conditions are lower than the basic housing standards of urban areas***

The home ownership rate among new urban residents is low, with renting being the primary mode of housing. There are various ways for new urban residents to settle in towns, including the following: relying on collective dormitories provided by their employers (including construction sheds), renting houses independently, enjoying government-provided public rental housing policies, purchasing affordable housing, buying co-owned property, buying commercial housing, staying with relatives, and other different categories.<sup>[6]</sup> Survey data from 2022 shows that the overall housing conditions and living environment quality of new urban residents are not high; 60% of new urban residents do not have stable housing, and renting remains the main mode of residence. The coverage of affordable housing is generally low, with 70% of new urban residents unaware of relevant policies.<sup>[7]</sup> This group still primarily relies on self-purchase, rental, and employer-provided accommodation for urban housing acquisition. Compared to before, their living arrangements show an increasing proportion of self-purchase and rental, while the proportion of employer-provided dormitories has gradually decreased.

The per capita housing area of new urban residents is relatively small. For a long time, the wage levels of new urban residents have generally been low, leading to insufficient overall housing affordability. When renting, they tend to choose shared rentals to split the cost, resulting in a smaller actual per capita living area, crowded accommodation, and limited indoor activity space. Since 2017, renting private homes has become the primary method for this group to solve their housing problems, significantly increasing the per capita living area. The living area of new urban residents shows a pattern of increasing as the level of permanent urban population decreases. According to data from the National Bureau of Statistics annual "National Migrant Worker Monitoring Survey Report," in 2018, the per capita urban housing area of new urban residents reached 20.4m<sup>2</sup>, but in cities like Beijing, Shanghai, and

Guangzhou, the living area of new urban residents remains relatively low. In 2020, the per capita living area of new urban residents reached 21.5 square meters, which is only about half of the average per capita housing area for urban residents. In megacities and large cities, the per capita living area of new urban residents is only 16.9 square meters. In 2023, the per capita living area of rural migrant workers entering cities was 24 square meters, with over 5 million people in cities having a per capita living area of 19 square meters. According to the "Seventh National Census," in 2020, the per capita floor area of urban household housing nationwide was 38.6 square meters.

## ***2.2. The living environment of new citizens is bad***

The supporting facilities and infrastructure for new urban residents are inadequate, highlighting the "urban village dilemma." Most new urban residents have three types of housing in cities: the first type is concentrated in areas with informal housing forms such as small-property-right houses in urban villages, shantytowns, and suburban areas. The second type is living in dormitories, basements, or construction sheds provided by employers, where even basic safety cannot be guaranteed. The third type involves scattered living arrangements within urban households or renting in city centers.<sup>[8]</sup> On one hand, these homes often lack adequate indoor facilities, failing to provide essential amenities for daily life, and many are unhealthy dwellings. Some new urban residents live in makeshift shelters built on construction sites due to work requirements, surrounded by noise, dust particles, and pungent odors, with windows typically absent, preventing proper daylighting during the day. Of course, with economic development and improvements in social welfare, the living space, conditions, and facilities for new urban residents have significantly improved. On the other hand, new urban residential areas are mostly located in old urban districts, old neighborhoods, and urban villages. In some cities, the suburban areas and urban villages have formed concentrated living zones of new urban residents, bound by geographical, kinship, and occupational ties, leading to a homogenized and closed social network structure. The "voluntary quarantine area" or a closed group of self-interaction. For example, "Xinjiang Village", "Anhui Village", "Zhejiang Village", etc.<sup>[9]</sup> In these areas, there are generally inadequate infrastructure and public services.

The imbalance between employment and residence among new urban residents is relatively evident. New urban residents exhibit a pattern of widespread dispersion with small concentrations in their living spaces. A considerable number of them live in suburban areas on the outskirts of cities, where their homes are far from their workplaces, increasing both time and financial costs for commuting, leading to issues of occupational-residence mismatch and spatial dislocation. Most new urban residents reside in distant suburbs, which results in longer distances and times for daily commutes. Regarding commute times, 59.8% can reach destinations within 30 minutes, mainly concentrated in employee dormitories and construction worker camps. Meanwhile, 20.7% of new urban residents have commutes lasting between 31 and 60 minutes. Additionally, 19.5% of new urban residents need to commute more than 60 minutes, primarily those renting public rental housing. This indicates that new urban residents are predominantly located in distant suburbs, resulting in longer commuting times in their daily lives, which may affect their work and quality of life.<sup>[10]</sup> Studies also show that the separation between employment and residence varies across different types of cities, but as cities expand rapidly, this separation and spatial mismatch are becoming increasingly severe.

## ***2.3. The housing demand of new citizens is less compatible***

According to the Asian Development Banks estimates, Chinas urbanization rate will reach 80% by 2030, with the urban population increasing by 534 million compared to 2010. Currently, the urban registered population accounts for only 35.3% of the total population, which means that over the next few decades, new urban immigrants making up 35-45% of the national population will require more housing supply to meet their living needs. Moreover, McKinseys projections indicate that between 2009 and 2029, China will need an additional 4 billion square meters of residential land to meet housing demands. Particularly, there remains a significant gap in the supply and demand for urban housing targeting new residents, necessitating further increases in housing provision to ensure that these new residents have suitable living conditions in cities.<sup>[11]</sup>

Moreover, according to the micro data from the seventh national census, in 2020, 60% of the floating population in Chinas megacities lived in urban villages, with as many as 28 million people living in poverty. The number of housing-poor in seven megacities ranges from 870,000 to 7.7 million. Their concentrated areas form a ring of urban villages around the periphery of megacities, covering areas ranging from hundreds to thousands of square kilometers, forming a new dual structure within megacities. This has become a significant challenge for megacity governance and a key focus of ongoing urban

village renovation efforts. Currently, no city has the capacity to provide public housing or collective rental housing for such a large number of people living in poverty. By 2035, China aims to basically achieve modernization and must address the issue of housing poverty. Therefore, whether from the perspective of new urban residents needs or the demands of national modernization, how to provide affordable and healthy housing for new urban residents will remain a critical challenge in advancing new urbanization and citizenization.

### 3. Analysis of the influencing factors of the implementation of new citizen housing policy based on policy network

Fundamentally, the implementation of housing policies for new urban residents is the result of interest negotiations among multiple stakeholders, including the government, employers, housing rental companies, developers, financial institutions, and informal organizations, concerning elements such as funds, land, and information related to housing. Given this, this section, based on Reeds framework for policy network analysis, divides the housing policy network for new urban residents into core and peripheral networks.<sup>[12]</sup> Within the core network, members can be further categorized into core members and peripheral members according to their role importance (see Figure 1). This approach reveals the conflicts of interest among various stakeholders, analyzes the underlying logic behind symbolic policy implementation, and ultimately constructs a multi-stakeholder supply mechanism for housing for new urban residents.

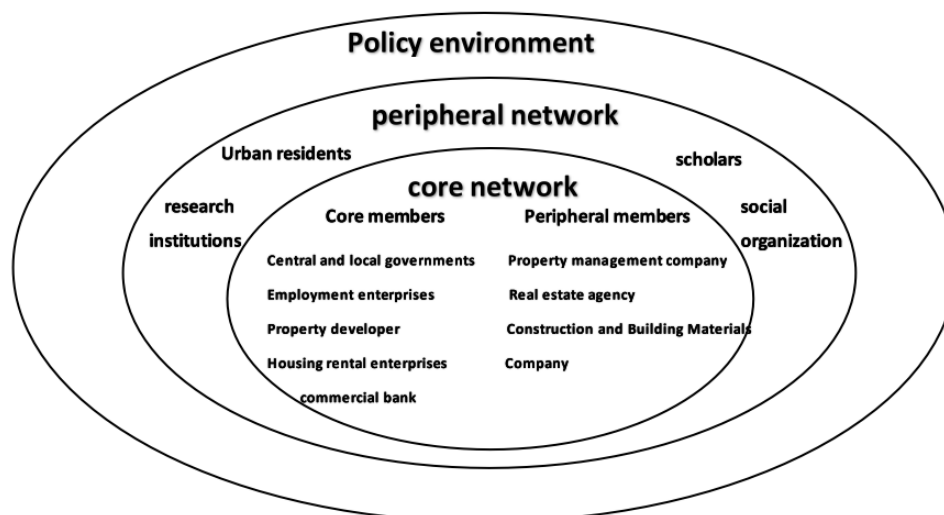


Figure 1: Network diagram of housing policy for new citizens

#### 3.1. The basic composition of the network of housing policies for new citizens

The core network of the new citizen housing policy is primarily composed of the central government, local governments and their functional departments, employers, housing rental companies, commercial banks, property management companies, real estate developers, construction and building materials companies, and real estate intermediaries. Due to the vertical interdependence among these network members and their shared role in serving producers, this network is characterized as a producer network. However, the positions of these actors within the network are not symmetrical; they can be further divided into core members and peripheral members. Core members include the central government and its functional departments, local governments and their functional departments, employers, housing rental entities, real estate developers, and commercial banks. Among these actors, the central government is responsible for top-level design and policy formulation; the land resources department of local governments manages land use, while the construction and finance departments oversee market regulation. Other entities, such as housing security bureaus, are responsible for implementing specific policies; employers provide wages, housing provident funds, or apartments to new citizens, enhancing their monetary payment capabilities and partially addressing the rental issue; the development level and standardization degree of housing rental entities affect the quality and cost of rentals for this group; real estate companies are responsible for housing development; banks provide credit support. These

institutions form certain interest associations with each other and interact frequently. According to Looss definition of policy communities, these core members actually form a closed policy community at the center of the new urban housing policy network. Peripheral members include property management companies, real estate agencies, construction and building materials companies. These actors, along with real estate developers and commercial banks, which are key participants in real estate development, sales, and services, constitute the producer network within the policy network.<sup>[13]</sup> The economic activities of this network lead to conflicts with public interests. The producer network is oriented towards maximizing individual benefits and forms interest ties with the core policy community in the real estate sector, directly impacting commodity housing prices and affordable housing supply, indirectly causing housing exclusion for new urban residents. Therefore, it is an essential component of the core network but interacts less with the core policy community, making it a peripheral member within the core network. Next is the peripheral network, primarily comprising urban residents, new urban residents, research institutions, experts, scholars, media, and social organizations. These actors have weak power and loose relationships. According to Looss definition, they form an issue network at the center of the new urban housing policy network.

### ***3.2. The conflict of interests among multiple subjects in the network of housing policies for new citizens***

The network of housing policies for new urban residents is formed through the interweaving of core producer networks and peripheral issue networks. The core components of this policy network include the central government, local governments and their relevant functional departments, employers, housing rental companies, real estate developers, commercial banks, property management companies, as well as real estate intermediaries and construction and building materials companies. Urban residents, research institutions, experts and scholars, media, and social organizations are only partial nodes in this network, while the majority of new urban residents are largely excluded from it. This restrictive factor significantly constrains the extension and breadth of the policy network.

Housing, as a major commodity, is characterized by high investment and significant consumption. Whether it is commercial housing or affordable housing, whether for sale or rent, substantial resources such as capital, land, and building materials are required. However, the social benefits of housing policies aimed at low-income new urban residents often outweigh economic and long-term benefits, making the associated housing costs a focal point of interest among central and local governments, destination and origin governments, and enterprises. Housing costs refer to the minimum financial investment required to ensure that new urban residents can live in cities. The cost of housing for new urban residents is enormous; according to the "Report on the Urbanization Process of New Urban Residents in China" released by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the per capita public cost (including housing costs) for the urbanization of new urban residents is approximately 130,000 yuan.<sup>[14]</sup> The urbanization costs for new urban residents need to be shared by the central and local governments, destination and origin governments, enterprises, and individuals.<sup>[15]</sup> In the following sections, we will explore the complex and subtle interactions among several key entities in the network regarding housing costs, to reveal the deeper logic behind the symbolic implementation of housing policies for new urban residents.

#### ***3.2.1. Central and local governments: the cost-sharing mechanism for housing is vague***

Regarding the housing policies for new urban residents, local governments, considering "cost-benefit" factors, ultimately formulated local policies that deviated from or even contradicted central policies (Wu Bin, 2020). The issue of housing for new urban residents involves the reallocation of urban spatial and financial resources from the outset. This allocation process clearly includes significant issues such as extensive land allocation, capital flow, and population migration, which require support from the central governments finances. However, over a long period, influenced by overall institutional and fiscal pressures, the central government has not directly addressed this substantive issue but only provided guidance at the macro-policy level, leading to a non-cooperative situation where "the central government invites guests, and local governments pay the bill".<sup>[16]</sup> Local governments, primarily considering fiscal benefits and opportunity costs, face the challenge that land for affordable housing construction is typically provided free of charge. However, in the context of rapidly rising housing prices, the supply of land for affordable housing reduces local government revenue from land sales, thereby lowering fiscal gains.<sup>[17]</sup> Therefore, they seek to reduce the land allocated for affordable housing to lower the resulting opportunity costs, placing "peoples livelihood" below "economy".<sup>[18]</sup> The ambiguity of the responsibility sharing mechanism for new citizens' housing is another important reason for the central local game. The central governments financial investment in constructing affordable housing is limited, while local governments face substantial funding gaps, making it almost impossible for their finances to function

normally. This has led to a severe "fiscal revenue and expenditure inversion" phenomenon between the central and local governments. Influenced by economic priorities and the lack of accountability mechanisms for new urban residents housing policies, local governments are not held accountable for poor implementation of these policies, thus showing weak willingness to adopt such social policies. Even with continuous pressure from the central government, most cities still lack the enthusiasm to build large-scale affordable housing for this group unless other conditions change.

### ***3.2.2. Inflow and outflow governments: The direction of central fiscal transfer deviates from the direction of population flow***

The meaning of the horizontal intergovernmental public policy implementation game is that, under a market economy, local governments at the same level without administrative subordination compete with each other in promoting the execution of public policies, aiming to maximize their own regional interests through competitive rather than cooperative strategies.<sup>[19]</sup> The housing needs of new urban residents require the formation of regional cooperation between the governments of their place of origin and destination due to their high mobility. However, influenced by parochialism and poor coordination, a mechanism for compensating interests has not yet been established between these two governments, affecting the construction of new urban resident housing policies.<sup>[20]</sup> Both sides engage in subtle interest games over funds and responsibilities. On one hand, local governments in the place of origin find it difficult to bear the responsibility for housing security for new urban residents and are unwilling to invest more land or funds. These local governments often belong to economically underdeveloped central and western regions. Although central fiscal transfers tend to favor the place of origin for new urban residents, under the current system, due to the high mobility and large scale of new urban residents, the place of origin has neither the means nor the willingness to take on such responsibilities. On the other hand, although the financial resources of the local government may be relatively abundant, affordable housing not only has the characteristics of regional attributes but also has welfare properties, with the function of income redistribution. Supplying affordable housing land will reduce local government land sales and decrease fiscal revenue.<sup>[21]</sup> Moreover, based on the perception and habits of household registration management, the local government of the destination area considers new residents as transient and should not bear the full responsibility for them. Central transfer payments are also not provided to the destination areas of new residents, so the local government of the destination area adopts an attitude of shirking responsibility and is unwilling to include new residents in the housing security program.

### ***3.2.3. Horizontal departments of local government: bureaucratic barriers***

Housing issues are a typical "thorny problem," with substantial funding requirements and numerous elements and stages involved, necessitating cross-departmental collaboration to resolve. Therefore, multi-departmental participation is a significant feature of housing management. While this approach clarifies the responsibilities and authorities of government departments, breaking down bureaucratic barriers, it helps concentrate resources such as land and funds into the housing security sector, thereby meeting some of the needs for China's housing security development. However, its drawbacks are also evident. For instance, the organizational relationships between various functional departments are loose, leading to poor coordination; there is a tendency towards parochialism and "multiple sources of policy." In the policy-making process, there is often a "bargaining" phenomenon, where consensus is reached only through mutual compromise and concessions, making it difficult to maximize the goals. This ultimately results in a lack of synergy among government departments, high management costs, low efficiency, and poor outcomes. For highly mobile new urban residents, more functional departments are involved, typically scattered across land management, planning, construction, finance, housing fund management centers, public security, labor, and other departments. Overlapping departmental functions, conflicting interests, and unclear rights and responsibilities can easily lead to mutual buck passing between departments.<sup>[22]</sup> Moreover, each department tends to start from their own department and understand and handle problems within their own management responsibilities and authority, lacking cooperation with other departments. This not only increases administrative costs, but also easily leads to problems such as disconnection of government orders, mutual buck-passing and low efficiency.

### ***3.2.4. Local governments and employers: liability avoidance***

Some employers have weak economic strength and cannot afford the land prices required for building collective dormitories. More employers, especially those in non-public sectors, driven by the motive of maximizing economic benefits, evade their responsibility to provide housing for their employees. For example, housing provident funds, as one of the statutory welfare benefits provided by employers to their employees, indirectly increase wages, raise operating costs, and compress profit margins, which runs counter to the nature of enterprises pursuing maximum profit. Therefore, underpayment, omission, or

even non-payment of provident funds is widespread.<sup>[23]</sup> In actual operations, some companies even fail to sign labor contracts with employees to reduce related expenses. The lack of housing provident funds for new urban residents makes it even more difficult for them to find a place to live in the city.

In the context of declining real economic growth in China, employers find it difficult to accept increased labor costs due to taking on more housing responsibilities. Generally, the reluctance of employers to accommodate new urban residents housing needs is a result of market economic principles. A large number of new urban residents provide ample labor for businesses, generating substantial profits. However, with an oversupply of new urban residents, employers lack urgency in addressing their housing issues, thus rarely utilizing good housing benefits to attract these newcomers. Moreover, the lack of legal knowledge among some new urban residents leads to arbitrary exploitation by some companies, such as extended working hours, reduced wages, and frequent wage arrears. In such circumstances, it becomes even harder for new urban residents to accumulate capital for home purchases and improve their living conditions through the rental market. In addition, although the government has established a series of policies to define employers responsibilities for employees housing, it has not mandated that employers provide housing. This leaves room for employers to shirk their housing responsibilities. Moreover, even if employers take on part of the responsibility for new urban residents housing security that the government should bear, they often lack adequate financial policy support or receive very limited and weak support. This not only hinders the advancement of housing security but also discourages employers from accumulating capital and increasing investment, thereby undermining market competitiveness. This means that the government needs to systematically consider providing employers with certain financial support based on the principles of demand and feasibility.

### ***3.2.5. "Land guest dispute": the resource dispute between new citizens and original residents***

The "resource dilution hypothesis" indicates that the influx of new groups is bound to share local public services, social security benefits, and various other public resources, including education, healthcare, housing, and employment. For the existing urban population with household registration, the most evident impact is on employment and educational resources. Regarding housing issues, within certain scopes, affordable housing should be universally accessible to urban residents as a quasi-public good. However, the limited nature of affordable housing makes it a "club product," characterized by limited competition internally and collective exclusivity externally. This internal and external contradiction highlights the intrinsic issues of interest distribution among different beneficiaries. Once policies become more relaxed, local communities and newcomers will inevitably compete, conflict, and clash over limited public housing resources. If the government fails to fully grasp this, public housing resources may also trigger xenophobia within local communities. Incorporating new citizens into the urban housing security system is far more than just a housing market issue; it involves core issues of social structure and institutions.<sup>[24]</sup> The attitudes of urban residents objectively influence government decisions, and the realization of housing security needs for new citizens must also be considered by local governments.

In summary, when the government formulates housing policies for new urban residents, it must also consider the conflicts of interest among the central government, local governments in both sending and receiving areas, employers, and market entities in the housing sector. A new mechanism for housing supply should be established to foster collaboration among multiple stakeholders: The central government should focus on addressing social security issues that cover all citizens (such as compulsory education, basic pensions, basic healthcare, and minimum income protection) and strengthen legislative work to fundamentally enhance the housing consumption capacity of new urban residents. Local governments in both sending and receiving areas should concentrate on tackling challenges related to the living environment, land issues, housing construction planning, and the establishment of a housing security system for new urban residents. Employers where new urban residents work should ensure the effective implementation of employment and salary policies under local government supervision (Ding Fugun, 2010). Participants in the housing market should proactively assume social responsibility and play a role in helping this group acquire higher-quality human capital. Under the goal of inclusive urban development, urban residents should adopt an accepting attitude toward new urban residents, allowing them to share in the benefits of urban development and reduce internal friction within cities. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, establishing a cost-sharing mechanism for housing for new urban residents is a crucial step in achieving multi-stakeholder supply. In the future, this should be based on the principle in economics that "whoever benefits, bears the cost." The principle of "sharing" is that the government, enterprises, and new citizens jointly bear the cost of housing. The central and local governments at all levels are responsible for raising funds to cover the housing costs of new citizens and providing public services; enterprises should assume their statutory responsibilities, including wages, benefits, social

insurance, and other corresponding costs; new citizens should bear their personal expenses.

#### **4. Countermeasures to solve the housing problem of new citizens**

##### ***4.1. Strengthen the supply of housing for new citizens from multiple entities and through multiple channels***

First, implement high-level promotion to foster incentive compatibility. The central government must leverage the "political momentum" generated by the unique "high-level promotion" mechanism in China public policies to enhance inter-level coordination among governments at all levels, integrating cross-departmental interests. It is also necessary to establish an efficient intergovernmental communication mechanism to promote "incentive compatibility" in housing support policies for new urban residents between the central and local governments, encouraging governments at all levels to take on their respective responsibilities. By setting up monitoring and penalty systems, and leveraging channels such as public opinion campaigns, local governments can be encouraged to pay more attention to housing issues for new urban residents. In terms of housing policies for new urban residents, the central government should strengthen "top-level design" to further clarify policy implementation pathways. In institutional design, the central government should clearly advocate for the concept of integrated urban-rural development and deeply understand the unique characteristics of new urban residents, including their group nature, particularity, and transitional nature. In policy implementation, full consideration should be given to incorporating new urban residents into the urban housing support system, promoting their integration into a collaborative operational mechanism, ultimately achieving the goal of merging with the urban housing security system. Second, strengthen horizontal cooperation among governments and establish comprehensive coordination bodies. Establish a comprehensive organization to coordinate the housing issues of new citizens and improve the efficiency of problem handling. Strengthen supervision of other departments while ensuring institutional independence. It is also possible to consider establishing specialized new citizen management and service agencies, responsible for regulating and managing the entry supervision and standardization of the housing market. Third, form a synergy between government and market to achieve multi-subject housing supply. The government should entrust specific tasks of new citizen housing management to multiple entities such as the market, enterprises, and non-profit organizations, building a platform for collaboration among the government, market, enterprises, and new citizens. Efforts should be made to create a favorable policy participation environment, establishing a diversified housing supply mechanism that includes central and local governments, employment companies, housing rental companies, real estate developers, financial institutions, and informal social organizations.

##### ***4.2. Comprehensively improve supporting policies related to housing for new citizens***

First, advance the legislation on housing security to safeguard the basic right to housing for agricultural transfer population. At the national level, there should be a leading role in the direction of housing security policies, breaking through the dual urban-rural pattern, coordinating various housing policies, and reconstructing China housing security policy system. This involves clarifying the responsibilities and authorities of different departments to create an organically connected housing security policy system. Legislation in the housing sector should include laws and regulations related to the purchase and rental of housing for new urban residents, as well as specific laws and regulations for house leasing management. Second, improve the housing policy system and establish a multi-channel guarantee mechanism. Provide strong institutional support for new urban residents to obtain housing security. The central government should issue a guiding document specifically targeting housing security for new urban residents, standardizing policy language, clarifying positive policy attitudes, and formulating reward and punishment rules to enhance the binding force of central policies on local areas. Additionally, a housing policy system open to new urban residents should be established, including housing provident funds, public rental housing, guaranteed rental housing, and housing subsidies, to provide appropriate housing security measures for different groups of new urban residents, forming a multi-channel guarantee mechanism. People voluntarily contribute to the housing fund, improving its usage regulations and effectively enriching the channels for its use. At the same time, efforts are made to explore and improve mechanisms for managing inter-regional transfers. Finally, supporting systems are optimized to achieve policy coordination. Relying on top-level guidance from the central government, policies related to land, household registration, labor force, and social security are issued in the process of coordinating urban and rural development. The county or city where new residents come from is



integrated with their place of employment, addressing the "fragmentation" issue inherent in housing policies for new residents. This integration links these policies with household registration management, housing security regulations, reforms under the "three rights separation" system, as well as industrial policies and urban governance, establishing a systematic and comprehensive housing policy framework for new residents.

## 5. Conclusions

The housing issue for new urban residents is a complex social problem involving multiple policy network entities, including the central government, local governments, real estate companies, financial institutions, specialized research institutions, and groups facing housing difficulties. These entities have different interests and influence in the process of policy formulation and implementation, forming a complex policy network. The interactive relationships among these entities play a crucial role in addressing the housing issues of new urban residents. Policy communities (such as housing security departments of the central government) are responsible for formulating macro policies, but the effectiveness of policy implementation largely depends on the specific execution by intergovernmental networks (such as local governments and their functional departments). However, due to limitations in resource allocation and interest coordination at the local government level, there may be deviations or inadequacies in policy implementation. Furthermore, producer networks (such as real estate companies, construction firms, and financial institutions) play a key role in providing housing products. However, driven by the pursuit of maximum economic benefits, these producer networks may overlook the housing needs of new urban residents, leading to an unreasonable supply structure in the housing market and making it difficult for new urban residents to obtain suitable housing.

Finally, issue networks (such as those of housing disadvantaged groups, the general public, and news media) may be loosely structured, but their demands and feedback are crucial for policy adjustments and improvements. By enhancing interaction and communication between issue networks and policy communities, intergovernmental networks, producer networks, and professional networks, we can promote more just, reasonable, and effective housing policies. Solving the housing issues of new urban residents requires the joint efforts of the government, social organizations, businesses, and the residents themselves. Using the theory of policy networks, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding and address this complex social issue. Only through collaborative efforts and integrated strategies can we truly achieve the goal of "a stable and prosperous life."

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