1 Introduction to the special issue: financialised urban development in Land Use Policy

2 Financialised urban development: Chinese and (South-)East Asian observations

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12 Abstract

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14 The world-wide financial turn in land and urban development is now leading to financialised 15 urban development, reflecting the rising influence of financial sector actors over the built environment. Observing Chinese and (South-)East Asian urban development, this collection 16 17 interrogates financial sources and instruments as well as actors in variegated development 18 practices. First, these studies confirm the wide spread of financialised urban development in 19 the region and provide in-depth knowledge of financial operations associated with rental 20 housing, infrastructure development, land and urban regeneration, which demonstrate 21 remarkable similarities to Western economies. Second, the collection further reveals state 22 agencies in financialised urban development, echoing recent research on the role of the 23 state in financialisation. Third, these studies identify variegated developmental intentions 24 and the contradiction between developmentalism and financial logic, which inevitably 25 means that financialised urban development can be neither entirely entrepreneurial nor a 26 smooth process of financialised value extraction. The studies highlight that, besides large 27 development and financial corporations, the state utilises financial sector actors and 28 deploys financial instruments that are often created by the state itself, such as a sovereign 29 wealth fund or state-owned enterprises across spatial scales, to achieve its 30 developmentalism and at the same time enhance statecraft.

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32 Key words: financialisation, land, housing, development corporations, the state

#### 33 1. The financial turn

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35 An emergent literature on the financialisation of urban development suggests the rising role 36 of financial sector actors (Peck and Whiteside 2016). The changing mode of finance has 37 exerted significant impacts on urban governance, leading to the deepening of financial 38 market logics and the expansion of financial practices into the traditional public sphere 39 (Halbert and Attuyer 2016; Aalbers, Loon and Fernandez 2017; Van Loon, Oosterlynck and 40 Aalbers 2019). New financial methods such as tax incremental finance (TIF) supplement or 41 replace public sector funding (Weber 2010). Peck and Whiteside (2016) predict that, 'in an 42 operating environment that has been *constitutively* financialised', entrepreneurial 43 governance mutates into 'a value extraction machine' (p. 235). This body of literature 44 stresses the financial turn as a governance change, for example the 'financialisation of 45 American urban governance' in which financial disciplines, represented by bondholder value 46 and financial gatekeepers like credit rating agencies, predominate.

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48 Similarly, in East Asia Haila (2016) stresses the significance of land rent and suggests that in 49 that context Singapore can be seen as a property state. Shatkin (2017) identifies the trend 50 of 'land monetisation' and consequentially the 'real estate turn'. This real estate turn is in 51 essence a financial turn, because housing financialisation is triggered by the global capital 52 surplus (Aalbers 2008). Existing studies already suggest a wide range of actors in 53 financialisation. First, they include the financial market actors involved in capital circulation 54 and securitisation such as private equity funds in rental housing financialisation (Fields and 55 Uffer 2016). Other actors may include those in real estate investment trusts (REITs) (Wijburg 56 2019; Aveline-Dubach 2020). Financial capital drives the process of financialisation through 57 operating financial circulation. These actors may act across scales. Examining business 58 property development in Bangalore, India, Halbert and Rouanet (2014) suggest that the 59 'transcalar territorial network' consists of both global finance capital and local developers. 60 Such a network helps to promote financialisation through making the local property 61 development environment more familiar to distant investors. Second, large businesses, 62 which may not be actors in the financial market, drive the process of financialisation through using new finance models, for example corporate financing based on land assets, 63 64 which is called assetisation (Ward and Swyngedouw 2018; Ward 2020). Third, actors may

include those who are traditionally non-profit organisations such as housing associations
(Aalbers et al. 2017), arms-length housing companies created by local authorities in England
(Beswick and Penny 2018; Christophers 2017), but increasingly use the financial markets to
fund their projects. Van Loon et al. (2019) stress the role of municipal land banks and
municipal real estate corporations in the continental European process of financialisation.

Against the background of the wide spread of financialised urban development,<sup>1</sup> this special 71 72 issue examines land and housing financialisation in China and (South)East Asia. The next 73 section introduces the financial context in which urban development practices occur in the 74 world and some special characteristics in the region. Section 3 examines financial sources 75 and instruments, housing financialisation, and variegated development practices in China. Section 4 is based on Japanese and Indonesian cases to shed light on nation states, 76 77 municipal governments and large corporations in financialisation. Finally, we rethink the 78 theoretical implications of Chinese and (South)East Asian observations.

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## 80 2. Understanding the financial context

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In order to understand the financial turn, Christophers (2019) argues that we need to put 82 83 financialisation in its 'financial context'. In the UK, this means the particular financial 84 circumstances after the Global Financial Crisis, in particular austerity. Using local authorities 85 in England as an example, he reveals this context as a state-imposed austerity in the post-86 crisis era. Confronted with financial constraints and a housing affordability crisis, local 87 authorities in England set up arms-length housing companies to develop new homes 88 (Beswick and Penny 2018; Christophers 2017). In the United States, the bankruptcy of 89 Detroit presents a rather dramatic context of financialisation (Peck and Whiteside 2016). In 90 that context, financial actors gained an increasingly dominant position to extract value from 91 the city. In the post-socialist context of Poland, global financial actors drove the process of 92 'subordinate financialisation' owing to the nation's semi-peripheral position in the global economy (Büdenbender and Aalbers 2019), while in the UK, in addition to local authorities' 93

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In this paper, the term 'development' broadly refers to both new development and redevelopment. In order to distinguish them, we use a more specific term such as the 'development of a new town' to refer new development, while redevelopment is noted as regeneration.

94 tactics to cope with devolved austerity, large businesses managed to use the financial 95 environment to create a new financing model (Ward 2020). Robinson and Attuyer (2020) 96 question the characterisation of urban development in London as variegations of 97 neoliberalisation and financialisation and argue that the London style of value extraction 98 should be understood in the context of territorial fragmentation and the use of planning 99 gain to deal with housing affordability challenges. They actually do not contrast 100 financialisation with local planning but rather think that the logic of financialisation does not 101 enter or dominate local governance when value extraction is practised. The contextual 102 variation is seen as even more significant as there are different business models in London, 103 Shanghai and Johannesburg (Robinson et al. 2020). Despite the involvement of financial 104 sector actors to a varying extent, all mega urban projects examined in these three cities 105 demonstrate 'achieving wider strategic objectives at national and metropolitan scales' 106 (*ibid.*). Such is the importance of state agencies that the process of financialisation is not 107 only conjoined by the state but is also subject to changing state regulation. Karwowski 108 (2019) points out the limit of financial logics and the possibility of de-financialisation as well 109 as financialisation.

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111 Recent studies of urban governance suggest the need to pay more attention to state 112 agencies. Under neoliberalisation and financialisation, the entrepreneurial city is not limited 113 to 'reactionary politics' but rather presents variegated forms of 'municipal statecraft' 114 (Lauermann 2018). Pike et al. (2019) argue that financialisation means a 'statecraft' 115 different from both urban managerialism and entrepreneurialism. They pay attention to 116 both national and local states and suggest that states are subject to but also lead 117 financialisation. Aalbers (2020, p. 595) argues that 'the state does not take a passive role in 118 these processes, but is actively facilitating, pushing and engaged in the financialisation of 119 real estate.' He suggests that urban financialisation is becoming a state strategy. Van Loon 120 et al. (2019) demonstrate variegated practices and state agencies in Europe, in contrast to North America (Peck and Whiteside 2016). 121

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In short, despite the world-wide financial turn, to understand the process of financialisation
and financialised urban development, the existing literature suggests the need to examine
the financial context and the relationship between actors in this context.

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## 127 3. Financialised urban development in China

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129 Chinese urban development demonstrates a strong state developmental intention – or 130 'planning centrality' – under state entrepreneurialism (Wu 2018). In that context, the state 131 acts through the market, including the financial market (Wu 2020). That is, financial 132 products and instruments are deployed by the state. The state itself is transformed with the development of shareholder management of state assets (Wang 2015). In fact, financial 133 134 sector actors are created by or connected to the state. For example, these financial agencies 135 are state-owned enterprises. Urban Development and Investment Corporations (UDICs) are 136 state-owned enterprises (SOEs) controlled by different levels of government but ultimately 137 owned by the State Asset Supervision and Management Commission. They are set up to 138 borrow capital (Fan 2016; Pan et al. 2017). 'Government guided investment funds' are 139 established by different levels of government in the form of private equity subject to 140 shareholder management, to support new strategic industries, economic upgrading and infrastructure development (Pan, Zhang and Wu 2020). In an increasingly financialised 141 142 environment, the state, rather than rejecting the financial turn, embraces financial 143 intermediaries and consequentially operates within the constraints of a financial regime. 144 The state is actually part of this process by inventing new forms (like *chengtou* bonds) but at 145 the same time reacts, regulates and imposes constraints on financial intermediaries. For 146 example, since 2014 China has adopted a new financial management regime, which forbids the use of land mortgages. This is a new financial context. The state does not pursue a 147 148 financialisation strategy per se. Recent studies highlight the specific development approach 149 centred on UDICs (Feng, Wu and Zhang 2021; Jiang and Waley 2021). Jiang and Waley 150 (2021) argue that the use of UDICs and consequent financialised sources does not mean 151 that China is moving towards a financialised stage of capitalism. Wu (2021) stresses that 152 financialising the Chinese city has been driven by the state. However, the wide application of financial instruments is not for financialisation itself but rather for dealing with the 153 ramifications of entrepreneurial governance and the Global Financial Crisis. Facing 154 155 increasing financial risks, the state has tightened its control over financialised urban 156 development since 2014. In this section, we examine changing financial sources and

instruments, housing development and variegated development practices associated withfinancialisation.

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160 3.1. Financial sources and instruments

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162 While there is an extensive body of literature on China's land-based finance, existing studies 163 on land finance have paid more attention to the fiscal incentive of local governments, or the 164 financialisation of the state. Through selling state land, the local government gains fiscal 165 income. The studies in this special issue reveal a wide range of financial sources and 166 instruments deployed in Chinese urban development. First, the land mortgage has been a 167 significant financial source of urban development. Re-examining land development from the 168 perspective of financialisation, Wu (2019) describes how Chinese local governments used 169 land mortgages to raise development finance. This is different from the influx of global 170 capital into the city through financial deregulation and securitisation. Land financialisation 171 reflects the intention of the state to initiate development through making land an asset for Chinese banks, similar to housing financialisation (Wu et al. 2020), in which households 172 173 recognise the value of housing assets and convert their savings into property rights 174 investment. Thus, the important motivation is not the land revenue itself, especially as the 175 cost of land acquisition has significantly increased. Similar to what Christophers (2017) 176 described in the treatment of land in the UK, the government does not treat land 177 development as a process of financialisation but its practice of land mortgage or land-based financing has nevertheless promoted financialisation, because refinancing land mortgages 178 179 through securitisation has triggered consequential waves of financialisation. The borrowing 180 of UDICs and various local government financial platforms (LFPs) needed to be refinanced 181 through chengtou bonds and later by local government bonds after local governments were 182 forbidden to finance through land mortgages and *chengtou*. 183

Second, the important instrument for financialised urban development in China is *chengtou*,
or literally urban development and investment corporations (UDICs) (Feng et al. 2021; Jiang
and Waley 2021). While *chengtou* has sometimes been translated as local government
financial vehicles (LGFVs) (Pan et al. 2017; Fan 2016), the *chengtou* did not start as a LGFV or
remain as such. UDICs were development agencies for local governments but were later

189 turned into financial platforms through using collateral to raise capital. Broadly speaking, a 190 *chengtou* named as such is a state-owned enterprise that specialises in urban development. 191 But other SOEs may also undertake such functions. For example, Zhangjiang High-Tech Park 192 Development Co. is listed on the Shanghai Stock Exchange and also acts as a park developer 193 and manager. The corporation belongs to Zhangjiang Development Group, which is an SOE. 194 Similarly, Lingang Economic Group is a state-owned enterprise to develop an industrial zone 195 (Shen, Luo and Wu 2020). But these SOEs are increasingly using a financialised approach. A 196 major step is the *chengtou* bond which financialises the operation of these development 197 corporations.

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199 Examining Jiaxing, one of the earliest *chengtou* to issue bonds in China, Feng et al. (2020) 200 describe its history as a development agency. Through restructuring it managed to meet the 201 requirements of the central government for independent *chengtou* in 2013. The *chengtou* 202 has issued bonds since 2008 but has also used bank loans to pay back earlier bonds. The 203 loans are based on the collateral of existing buildings. The municipal government had been 204 using chengtou to borrow and develop infrastructure based on the usual land leverage 205 model until this was banned in 2014. The government then repaid its debt and helped the 206 chengtou reduce its debt ratio. The regrouping also injects businesses that bring in revenue 207 streams for chengtou such as gas, real estate and tourism. The regrouped chengtou is 208 regarded as an independent corporation, which accesses the capital market as an 209 enterprise. But the financial market still regards the connection with the government as an 210 implicit guarantee of repayment, because *chengtou* also undertake urban projects for the 211 government and in theory will receive the cost of repayment from fiscal income and the 212 source of local government bonds. At this point, the *chengtou* no longer has a financial 213 vehicle function.

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Third, associated with the need to refinance the debt of *chengtou*, a bond market has been promoted. Financialised urban development has been achieved through the creation of a bond market for urban development in China. The *chengtou* bond is especially examined in this special issue (Wu 2019; Feng et al. 2020; Ye et al. 2020). The *chengtou* bond is a financial product created on the basis of a UDIC. In essence, it should be an enterprise bond. But owing to the connection between the UDIC and the local state, for example the promise

221 of financial support or guarantees, the bond is actually regarded as a 'quasi-municipal 222 bond'. The financial guarantee may be implicit in the form of support through land assets 223 injection or service charges for infrastructure. These UDICs are actually state-owned 224 enterprises, belonging to the local government. Hence, the debt of UDICs is also viewed as 225 part of local government debts. By issuing UDIC or *chengtou* bonds, the UDIC or *chengtou* 226 becomes a local government financial vehicle (LGFV), as the local government accesses the 227 capital market through this vehicle. What is distinct about this *chengtou* bond compared 228 with municipal bonds is that the *chengtou* bond is not guaranteed by local fiscal revenue. It 229 is often backed up by land assets or other assets held by *chengtou*. But in reality, when the 230 bond is rated, the close relationship or implicit government guarantee is always considered. 231 In many cases, without this consideration, *chengtou* bonds would require a significant risk 232 premium. As the analysis in Ye et al. (2020) shows, the premium of a *chengtou* bond is 233 higher but is still acceptable by UDICs. The financial reform after 2016 aimed to stop this 234 practice of financial leverage, and UDICs are now made 'independent enterprises' rather 235 than LGFVs.

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237 The chengtou bond constitutes a bridge between the capital market and infrastructure 238 development in China. For the capital market, the bond seems to be an emerging asset class 239 (Ye et al. 2020). But as revealed earlier, the risk of the *chengtou* bond has so far not been 240 fully understood. Ye et al. (2020) compare the *chengtou* bond with the sovereign bond 241 which is regarded as 'risk free' in order to calculate the relative risk premium. For example, 242 the relative risk premium shows a significant geographical variation and spread. In coastal 243 provinces such as Jiangsu and Zhejiang where a large quantity of *chengtou* bonds have been 244 issued, the relative risk premium is lower than in Liaoning province in the Northeast and 245 Guizhou in the Southwest. While the overall risk of the bond still remains unknown, the 246 development of the secondary inter-bank financing market has begun to reveal the 247 distribution of different risks and accordingly imposes a financial discipline as capital seeks higher returns from localities with higher relative risks. The continuation of the *chengtou* 248 249 bond market reveals that while the state aims to contain the financial risk, financialised 250 urban development remains and constitutes an enterprise-centred financial approach. 251

252 3.2 Housing financialisation

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254 The most direct manifestation of financialised urban development is housing 255 financialisation, which represents the core literature (Aalbers 2008; Fields and Uffer 2016). 256 The Chinese case is distinctive in this aspect because financialisation does not present as 257 mortgage securitisation. China's housing commodification mobilises millions of 258 homeowners to invest in their properties as a process of 'assetisation' (Wu et al. 2020). 259 Starting from a rather low mortgage level, commodification has led to an overall 260 financialisation of urban development in China. This is because while Chinese households' 261 incomes are lower, house prices also started from a low baseline. The privatisation of public 262 housing provided initial assets to urban households. The fast-growing economy has 263 substantially raised personal wealth and household incomes. Limited and monopolistic land 264 supply by the government plus the influx of rural migrants and increasing population in the 265 cities boosted house prices. Based on strong demand for urban land and housing assets, the 266 state is able to provide capital liquidity to stimulate the economy. A household strategy is to 267 turn savings into housing assets to gain value appreciation. Increasingly, households are 268 willing to endure financial burdens and increase their mortgage and household debt, 269 despite a low rental yield. This increasing homeownership purchase generates a thrust for 270 land and infrastructure financialisation as the state and its development corporations 271 manage and depend upon value capture from residential development.

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273 The financialisation of housing and land thus reinforce each other (Chen and Wu 2020). 274 Until 1998 there was limited financialisation as housing and land reform mainly involved the 275 commodification of new houses. The primary land market strengthened the position of the 276 state in this marketisation process. Eventually, this led to the development of land-based 277 mortgages to provide development capital which is itself being financialised (Wu 2019) 278 through local government financial vehicles and finance platforms (Pan et al. 2017; Huang 279 and Chan 2018; Feng, Wu and Zhang 2020). Housing assetisation and further land-based 280 financing allowed the state to initiate Chinese quantitative easing in 2008 to cope with the 281 Global Financial Crisis, as large-scale infrastructure investment was funded by bank loans on 282 the basis of land and infrastructure asset collateral, but this financial rather than fiscal 283 operation triggered the necessity to re-finance debt through securitisation in subsequent

waves - *chengtou* bonds and local government bonds - as a formal financialised approach
to urban development.

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287 Similar to the financialisation of homeownership, recently the development of the private 288 rental housing market heavily taps into household wealth. After a long boom in the property 289 market, housing affordability has become a thorny issue. In Shanghai, the rental market has 290 only just started. Long-term apartment rental (LAR) is encouraged by the state to cool down 291 property speculation and deal with the housing affordability crisis (Chen, Lu and Wu 2020). 292 The developer invented a new 'asset-light' business model, because investors do not hold 293 the ownership of rental housing. Instead, LAR firms sign a long-term lease agreement with 294 the owners to rent out their apartments. It looks like these firms are just property agencies. 295 However, asset-light Chinese rental firms are invested in by venture capital to aggressively 296 expand their business. Once they gain a contract from renters, they require the renters to 297 obtain 'rental mortgages', i.e. the firm gets loans from financial institutions, while renters 298 pay monthly fees to these institutions as if they were paying rent. However, renters still 299 need to pay instalments to the financial organisations even if the LAR firm stops providing 300 rental to tenants. In other words, the renters in fact obtain loans from rental firms in order 301 to gain a long-term tenancy. This is not very clear to renters when they sign contracts. This is 302 particularly risky in the context of low rental yields as the rental business itself operates at a 303 narrow profit margin and might not be viable. The interest of rental firms is not in rental 304 income or the profit from rents as a rental agency, but rather in using a pool of contracts to 305 gain venture capital and financial income. The purpose is to gain a sufficient market share of 306 rental properties to be able to raise rents in the future. The asset-light model is thus known 307 as 'rental services' to gain the income from rental difference. But this is a very challenging 308 environment because of low rental yields. This model is quite speculative and risky, and is 309 created by state agencies to promote tenancy instead of ownership in the discourse of 310 'housing for living, not for speculation'. The difficulty of LAR reveals some features of Chinese housing financialisation, which relies on household financial contribution. 311 312

313 3.3. The practices of financialised urban development

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The papers in this collection explore various financialised city-making practices in China, ranging from city centre regeneration to new town development and waterfront mega projects. These projects share a similarity: they all have a developmental intention but at the same time encounter different degrees of financial difficulties when the financial instruments need to be adjusted or the external environment changes. These projects, although they use complex financial operations, are initiated and operated by state agencies.

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323 For central city regeneration, Luan and Li (2020) examined three regeneration projects in 324 Wuhan. The Zhongshan Avenue regeneration project aimed to preserve historical buildings 325 of European styles built in colonial times. The East Lake Greenway improves the landscape, 326 provides leisure space, and enhances the ecological environment. Because these projects do 327 not generate revenue streams, the government uses the development corporation 328 (chengtou) as a financial vehicle which in turn uses land mortgages of 'packaged land' in 329 other places to finance these regeneration projects. Similarly, for a waterfront regeneration 330 project to develop a new business district, a special purpose vehicle was set up under the 331 local planning authority to ensure the implementation of development strategies. However, 332 land financing encountered some difficulties. While the municipal government wished to 333 develop a business district, most developers involved wanted to use this chance to develop 334 more residential properties for profit. Moreover, the central government has forbidden land 335 mortgage financing since 2014, which led to another 'financial turn' — to develop 336 partnerships with banks and insurance companies (Citic Pacific) and state-owned 337 enterprises (China Construction under the central government). The latter has even 338 provided guarantees for the loans and trusts obtained by the local government for its share 339 in the joint venture. Altogether, external investors contributed over 90% of the investment 340 from the capital market.

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For new town development, Su and Qian (2020) investigate a special case in northern China.
In the city of Ordos in Inner Mongolia, real estate speculation was further driven by rising
personal wealth from coalmining industries and informal private finance (Su and Qian 2020).
The local government adopted a rather lax attitude toward informal private finance and
fuelled a real estate frenzy through land mortgages and new town development, eventually

leading to the bursting of the bubble in 2011. In Chinese cities, urban development has
relied heavily on land financing, which led to a real estate boom and over-building.

350 A special type of new town based on university campuses is called the 'university town'. 351 Shen (2020) examines Songjiang university town in Shanghai. As in other more developed 352 cities in China, new town development in Shanghai is combined with new economic 353 functions, for example, in this case tertiary education (Shen 2020) and an industrial zone of 354 heavy equipment manufacturing in Lingang (Shen et al. 2020). Mass transit development 355 combined with land development uses the development model of land value capture widely 356 seen in East Asia (Shen and Wu 2020, Aveline-Dubach and Blandeau 2019). In the case of 357 Songjiang university town, Shen (2020) identifies universities as a financing vehicle based on 358 'land-tuition-leverage'. These universities are public sector, but they managed to obtain 359 development finance to develop their own suburban companies in the new town. In fact, 360 the universities formed a development corporation to pool assets for operations. The 361 municipality of Shanghai also contributed investment to the project. Besides the public-362 public partnership, the project also involved a private sector developer to perform land 363 asset management and operation. But the universities incurred heavy debt, which required 364 a bailout from the municipal government.

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366 Waterfront mega urban projects are the salient feature of financialised city-making. In this 367 collection, the new waterfront business district in Wuhan (Luan and Li 2020) and the Export Park (Li and Xiao 2020), together with the Lujiazui financial zone and new creative industries 368 369 and knowledge clusters in Xuhui and Yangpu districts in Shanghai (Chen 2020), are 370 examined in detail. Besides the widely known land financing model operated by 371 development corporations, Li and Xiao (2020) found that in the post-Expo era, the Shanghai 372 Expo Development Group took over land from three development corporations under the 373 Expo Coordination Bureau and prioritised land allocation to central government SOEs. The 374 rising role of SOEs in the post-Expo era suggests that the strategic objectives were to 375 strengthen national status, update economic structures and improve the quality of life along 376 the Huangpu River. While land finance has been an important means of realising the 377 development intention, the Expo Park regeneration project indicates the salient feature of 378 state-led financial and development operations. Other projects along the Huangpu River

indicate quite diverse functionalities: from banking and insurance, culture and exhibitions,
media and creative industries, to the knowledge economy and innovation and wide-ranging
funding mechanisms such as tax relief, partnerships, private finance initiatives, loans, bonds
and trusts (Chen 2020).

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In short, with expanding financial sources and instruments, development actors take the
chance to experiment with various approaches to mobilising financial capital in urban
development. Their practices are constantly influenced by new policies which are not
unidirectional towards financialisation.

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#### 389 4. Insights from (South-)East Asia

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391 This collection contains a small number of important studies in East and Southeast Asia. 392 Financialised urban development in Japan demonstrates the roles of the nation state, the 393 municipal government and large corporations (Aveline-Dubach 2020). Tokyo's rental REITs 394 market is a significant case as it is the second largest residential REITs market in the world. 395 Japanese rental REITs originate from the financial context of the Japanese economy. The 396 earlier deregulated financial environment led to the bursting of the land bubble and 397 devaluation of properties for financial investors. In this context, the state has striven to 398 revitalise central Tokyo and stabilise the banking system. State policies at both national and 399 local levels have created an attractive rental housing market. In the midst of urban 400 shrinkage, the Tokyo municipal government promotes residential intensification in the 401 capital region. The government promotes the condominium as a new residential model in 402 central wards of Tokyo. The development of rental housing REITs is supported by generous 403 tax treatment and planning liberalisation from the Japanese state. Companies subsidise 404 market rents through housing allowances for their employees. Property conglomerates 405 seize the lucrative 'fee-based' business of providing REIT rentals. Focusing on the securitisation of rental housing through REITs in Japan, Aveline-Dubach (2020) stresses the 406 407 role of the Japanese state in establishing regulatory, tax and legal frameworks. The state 408 agency is 'primordial'.

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410 On Indonesian infrastructure development, Shatkin (2020) examines the development of 411 the Jakarta–Bandung high-speed rail link and interrogates the relations between financial 412 sector actors and the state. In the extended Jakarta region, Indonesian national state actors 413 seek to extend their power and build political coalitions under a discourse of 'state 414 developmentalism'. The financial sources include Chinese state bank financing and Chinese 415 purchase of bonds and provision of loans to Indonesian state-owned banks for investment. 416 The case reveals financialised urban development and global capital circuits. The interaction 417 between transcalar financial actors and nation states underlies the dynamics of 418 infrastructure project financialisation. The role of the state, especially the national state, is 419 highlighted in the financialisation of urban development, as 'the state strategically tacks 420 between various sources of capital to maximise its agency and autonomy' (Shatkin 2020). 421 The project of the Jakarta–Bandung high-speed rail link demonstrates a new insight beyond 422 'land monetisation' (Shatkin 2017) as a 'real estate turn'. It reveals the sovereign state and 423 international geopolitics of development – a context in which financialised urban 424 development occurs. The development reveals variegated state agencies in the financial 425 turn. Both the Tokyo and the Jakarta case reveal an intention that is not limited by profit 426 making, which includes revitalising central Tokyo and enhancing the political power of the 427 Indonesian state.

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# 429 Conclusion

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Observing Chinese and (South-)East Asian urban development, this collection of papers
examines the financial turn and financialised practices of urban development. The special
issue makes several contributions. First, these studies demonstrate wide-ranging financial
approaches in urban development and confirm the financial turn in the region. The
empirical research enriches our understanding in terms of variegated operation in
financialised urban development.

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438 Second, the research in China and (South-)East Asia reinforces the recent understanding of

the role of the state in financialisation (Aalbers 2017; 2020; Van Loon et al. 2019; Pike et al.

440 2019; Wu 2021). Contrasting Peck and Whiteside (2016), Van Loon et al. (2019) suggest that

in the continental European region new financial sources allow the government to be more

entrepreneurial. The relationship between finance and state is a more entrepreneurial use
of new financial instruments by the state. Indeed, in the United States, TIF is used by the
local government to supplement public sector finance to achieve its regeneration purposes.
The studies here reveal state agencies in the process of financialisation.

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447 Third, in addition to the role of the state, or state-led financialisation, the studies reveal 448 more compounded goals associated with financialised urban development. In East Asian 449 developmentalism, the intention of using financialised urban development is not confined 450 within the financial logic, although the operation of financialised urban development has to 451 consider the financial requirements during financial mobilisation. Financialised urban 452 development may not be driven by financial deregulation or neoliberal governance. It is 453 triggered by wider geopolitics across the national scale as shown in Jakarta's high-speed rail 454 project (Shatkin 2019) or Chinese land mortgage and consequential re-regulation of land 455 finance (Wu 2019; 2021). State agencies remain in the initiation and development of mega 456 infrastructure projects as shown in Chinese urban regeneration.

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458 The papers in this collection also show that financialised urban development introduces a 459 new dimension into governance, which means that these urban development projects 460 cannot be entirely developmental. In the Chinese context, the major challenge is that with a 461 strong developmental intention, many mega urban projects are costly and financially not 462 viable by design. Financialisation is not the aim of urban development in China. Rather, in 463 the context of state entrepreneurialism, financialisation is an instrument to fulfil state 464 strategies and centrality. For example, in urban redevelopment, national political mandates 465 strongly influence local regeneration practices beyond a growth machine dynamic (Wu et al. 466 2021). In this way, the financialised approach has been instrumentalised by the state. 467 Instead of seeing a financial discipline imposed by financial actors on urban governance in 468 the United States (Peck and Whiteside 2016) or entrepreneurial public–private partnership 469 in Europe (Aalbers 2017; Van Loons et al. 2019), observations from Chinese and (South-)East 470 Asian development reveal quite complex 'statecraft' (Pike et al. 2019). The studies 471 consistently demonstrate the tension between developmentalism and financialised urban 472 development, which means that financialised urban development can be neither entirely 473 entrepreneurial nor simply financialised value extraction.

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