

Housing Wealth as Precautionary Saving: Evidence from Urban China

Gary Painter Xi Yang Ninghua Zhong¹

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Abstract

This paper provides new evidence on the housing wealth effect on consumption using household panel data. A key advantage in studying the Chinese housing market is the absence of the collateral channel, as households are prohibited from withdrawing housing equity. The results show that for every 1 percent increase in housing wealth, household consumption increases by 0.14 percent, suggesting an implied marginal propensity to consume out of housing wealth of 0.023. Further, we find that this marginal propensity to consume is the largest among employees who face greater income uncertainty, suggesting that precautionary saving motives are driving the results.

Keywords: housing wealth, household consumption, precautionary saving, China

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¹ Gary Painter, Sol Price Center for Social Innovation, University of Southern California, gpainter@usc.edu; Xi Yang, Department of Economics, University of North Texas, xi.yang@unt.edu; Ninghua Zhong, School of Economics and Management, Tongji University, ninghua.zhong@gmail.com. We thank Hanming Fang, Jiaxiong Yao, and Wenli Li along with participants at 2019 Asia Meeting of the Econometric Society and 2019 China Meeting of the Econometric Society.

1. Introduction

For many households around the world, housing wealth is the most important component of a household's portfolio and has been linked in many studies to household consumption. Most studies have documented a positive marginal propensity to consume out of housing wealth, though its size remains uncertain. The estimates typically range from 0.02 to 0.07 depending on the type of data, the methods used, and the country studied.² Understanding how housing wealth affects household consumption remains an important area of research, because the size of the estimate will determine how housing market shocks translate into the real economy and how policies should respond to these shocks.

It is worth noting that the strong positive consumption responses to housing wealth do not reconcile with the classical consumption model under the permanent-income hypothesis.³ Researchers have noted three theoretical mechanisms by which housing wealth can affect consumption outside of the classical model. The first mechanism is often described as “the pure wealth effect”; it suggests that the housing wealth effect should primarily exist among older people when they sell or downsize their houses. The second mechanism focuses on the role of housing wealth as collateral and argues that borrowing-constrained homeowners can borrow more to increase consumption when the housing value increases, which gives rise to a positive correlation between housing wealth and consumption. The third mechanism focuses

² See Engelhardt (1996); Lehnert (2004); Campbell and Cocco (2007); Muellbauer (2007); Bostic, Gabriel, and Painter (2009); Gan (2010); Carroll, Otsuka, and Slacalek (2011); Mian and Sufi (2011); Mian, Rao, and Sufi (2013); Cooper (2013); Iacoviello and Pavan (2013); Atalay, Whelan, and Yates (2016); Windsor, Jääskelä, and Finlay (2015); Bhatia and Mitchell (2016); and Aladangady (2017). It is worth noting that a few studies find no housing wealth effect (Skinner 1989; Phang 2004; Browning, Gørtz, and Leth-Petersen 2013). See Section 2 for a more detailed summary of the literature.

³ In the classical consumption model under the permanent-income hypothesis, an increase of future housing costs can offset the effect of an increase in housing value, predicting a small housing wealth effect on consumption. Flavin and Nakagawa (2008) formalize this intuition in a model with households' intertemporal consumption decisions over housing and non-housing expenditures. Within this framework housing wealth can have a significant positive impact on household consumption only if the homeowners plan to sell their house and downsize when they get older.

on the role of housing wealth as a buffer stock and hypothesizes that the increases in housing wealth reduce the need for precautionary saving and, thus, encourage higher consumption.

Though considerable recent research has gone into understanding the importance of the pure wealth⁴ and collateral channels,⁵ relatively little is known about the role of housing wealth as a precautionary buffer stock. Studies that focus on the collateral channel often fail to disentangle it from the precautionary saving channel. Indeed, it is challenging to disentangle the two mechanisms because they are not mutually exclusive. The increase in housing wealth can lead to not only a relaxed borrowing constraint but also declining precautionary saving.

The lack of understanding on the role of the precautionary saving channel is particularly concerning given the role of precautionary savings in China as well as in other countries such as the United States.⁶ For example, Choi, Lugauer, and Mark (2014) show that more than 80 percent of China's savings and nearly all of US savings arise from precautionary motives.

In this paper, we exploit a unique feature of the Chinese housing market to distinguish different mechanisms that connect changes in housing wealth to consumption. China's housing market provides a suitable setting for this study for two reasons. First—in contrast to the US housing market—during our sample period (2002–2009), homeowners in China were not allowed to extract equity from their homes,⁷ which limits any collateral effects of house price appreciation. This feature implies a very small to nonexistent collateral channel and allows us to test the size of the precautionary saving channel without the contamination of the collateral effect. Second, during the past three decades, China's housing prices experienced

⁴ For example, Campbell and Cocco (2007) and Attanasio et al. (2009) have tested the pure wealth effect.

⁵ For example, using data in the United States (Mian, Rao, and Sufi 2013; Cooper 2013; DeFusco 2017; Aladangady 2017), United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada (Muellbauer 2007; Atalay, Whelan, and Yates 2016; Windsor, Jääskelä, and Finlay 2015; Bhatia and Mitchell 2016), all found supporting evidence for the collateral channel.

⁶ Several studies have found evidence that precautionary motives play an important role in determining household consumption dynamics in the US and in China (Carroll, Hall, and Zeldes 1992; Gourinchas and Parker 2002; Carroll and Samwick 1997, 1998; Chamon and Prasad 2010; Chamon, Liu, and Prasad 2013; Choi, Lugauer, and Mark 2014; He et al. 2018). See Section 3 for a more detailed summary on this strand of literature.

⁷ Section 3.2 provides more discussion of China's housing market development.

dramatic appreciation, and a majority of urban homeowners in China experienced growth in housing wealth. The constant quality housing price index proposed in Wu, Deng, and Liu (2014) shows an 11.5 percent per annum compound real growth rate in housing prices between 2006 and 2013. Thus, this period provides sufficient variation to examine household consumption responses to housing wealth changes.

We are using a large household-level panel dataset called the Urban Household Survey (UHS),⁸ which simultaneously tracks housing wealth and detailed consumption of more than 19,000 urban households in China. These household-level data make it possible to assess the importance of the precautionary saving channel by exploring different subpopulations in a way that is not possible using many aggregate-level datasets. To do so, we have designed three tests to explore the precautionary saving channel. The first test compares consumption responses of public- and private-sector employees. The poor coverage of social security in China causes private-sector employees to have a greater need for precautionary saving than public-sector employees, so if the reduction of precautionary saving is an important driving force behind the relationship between housing wealth and household consumption, we expect to observe stronger consumption responses among private-sector employees. The second test compares the consumption responses among college-educated and non-college-educated workers. Non-college-educated workers face greater income uncertainty in the future, and thus are more likely to engage in precautionary saving than college-educated workers. If the reduction of precautionary saving is an important channel for explaining housing wealth effects, then we should observe greater consumption responses to housing wealth shocks among non-college-educated workers. The final test takes advantage of the UHS data, which include a broad set of consumption categories, enabling us to test the precautionary saving channel with better-defined discretionary and nondiscretionary consumption.

⁸ The UHS, because of its richness of data on household income and expenditure, has been widely adopted by several high-quality publications to analyze household savings, income inequality, and wage structure in China (Meng, Gregory, and Wang 2005; Chamon and Prasad 2010; Chamon, Liu, and Prasad 2013; Ge and Yang 2014).

Additionally, the rich longitudinal data contained in the UHS also provide some key advantages that can improve the estimates of housing wealth effects over other studies. Most studies have not been able to track families over time with complete consumption and wealth data. Often, studies that have relied on cross-sectional data have been forced to merge datasets (Bostic, Gabriel, and Painter 2009), to rely on the subcategory of consumption (Gan, Yin, and Zang 2010; Mian, Rao, and Sufi 2013), or to use incomplete consumption data (Skinner 1989). Household-level panel data also enable the household fixed-effects model to better control time-invariant unobservable factors that may influence the size of the estimated housing wealth effect.

The results suggest that housing wealth has a strong impact on consumption among Chinese households. Within the household fixed-effects model, we find that for every 1 percent increase in housing wealth, household consumption increases by 0.14 percent, implying a marginal propensity to consume (MPC) out of housing wealth of 0.023. Controlling for household fixed effects does not strongly affect the results, as we find the estimated results without these fixed effects are more than doubled. Estimates of the MPC in the literature typically range from 0.02 to 0.07, using data mainly from developed countries.⁹ This estimated MPC of 0.023 is at the lower end of this range for two possible reasons: First, in China, the absence of the collateral channel lowers the overall MPC; second, many existing studies fail to control for household fixed effects, which likely produces an upward bias in estimates. More importantly, our results suggest that the observed relationship between housing wealth and consumption in China is primarily attributable to precautionary saving motives. We find that consumption responses are stronger among non-public-sector employees than public-sector employees and are stronger among non-college-educated employees than college-educated employees. These results are robust to several alternative model specifications. In addition, dividing consumption into different categories provides

⁹ Some recent results: Mian, Rao, and Sufi (2013) estimate an MPC of 0.05-0.07 out of housing wealth using credit and debit card purchase data in the US; Aladangady (2017) finds the MPC to be 0.051, using the geographically linked Consumer Expenditure Survey; Atalay, Whelan, and Yates (2016) estimates the MPC to be around 0.02–0.03, using household-level data from Australia and Canada. These estimates differ because they use different sample, measure, and estimation methods.

additional evidence on the precautionary saving channel as we find that discretionary consumption (e.g., dining out, entertainment, and vacation) responds more strongly to changes in housing wealth.

Besides highlighting the importance of the precautionary saving channel, this paper also adds to the growing literature that studies the economic consequences of China's housing market development. China's urban housing market has experienced substantial structural changes and has become a key part of the Chinese economy.¹⁰ Since the 1990s, the housing market has experienced a dramatic and long-lasting boom across China.¹¹ Thus, understanding the impacts of housing price fluctuation on household behavior is important in understanding the long-run economic growth and business cycles in China.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: The next section summarizes the literature; Section 3 provides a background of housing market development and household precautionary saving in China; Section 4 introduces the UHS data; Section 5 presents the methods and primary results; Section 6 conducts several robustness tests; Section 7 discusses other potential mechanisms; and Section 8 concludes the paper.

2. Literature Review

A number of papers examine the relationship between consumption and housing wealth. Most early studies examine this relationship using aggregate data and generally find that housing price has a significant positive effect on aggregate consumer spending (Phang 2004; Case, Quigley, and Shiller 2005; Carroll, Otsuka, and Slacalek 2011). The estimated marginal propensity to consume (MPC) out of housing wealth in these studies ranges from 0.03 to 0.5.¹² More recent studies take advantage of micro-datasets to study the housing wealth effect

¹⁰ According to data from the China Statistical Yearbook, real estate investment has accounted for more than 10 percent of China's gross domestic product since 2010.

¹¹ The boom of China's housing market has led to substantial concerns over whether the rising housing prices might have developed into a gigantic housing bubble, which might eventually burst and damage China's financial system and economy (e.g., Wu, Gyourko, and Deng 2016; Chen and Wen 2017; Glaeser et al. 2017; and Song and Xiong 2018).

¹² See Bostic, Gabriel, and Painter (2009) for a survey of earlier studies on this topic.

at the household level and result in smaller estimated MPC (Lehnert 2004; Hurst and Stafford 2004; Campbell and Cocco 2007; Muellbauer 2007; Bostic, Gabriel, and Painter 2009; Cooper 2013; Mian, Rao, and Sufi 2013; Kaplan et al. 2020; Aladangady 2017).

While a substantial set of literature has found a positive housing wealth effect on household consumption, the theoretical rationale for this observed housing wealth effect remains debated. Flavin and Nakagawa (2008) argue, within a framework based on the permanent income hypothesis (PIH), that housing wealth serves as both an asset and a consumption good and, thus, that the effects of increases in the value of a household's home can be offset by increases in future housing costs, leaving the expected lifetime budget constraint unchanged. If households make consumption decisions on the basis of the expected net present value of their resources (PIH), then the effect of housing wealth on consumption should be small. While the PIH provides an important theoretical basis for understanding housing wealth, the prediction of a small consumption response to housing prices is inconsistent with most of the empirical literature, which finds sizeable positive housing wealth effects.

There are three primary explanations in the literature that provide justifications for the observed relationship between housing wealth and consumption. The first one is a pure wealth effect, which argues that, within a life-cycle model, housing wealth effects on consumption are likely to be largest for older homeowners who plan to sell their home and downsize. Younger homeowners, who are likely to keep their homes for a longer time in the future, should have small wealth effects on consumption (Sinai and Souleles 2005). Accordingly, several papers have conducted empirical tests on these predictions, but they have come to different conclusions. For example, Campbell and Cocco (2007) and Attanasio et al. (2009) both use British household-level data from the Family Expenditure Survey (FES); the former find that the housing wealth effect is largest among the oldest homeowners surveyed and suggest that the pure wealth effect is a plausible explanation, while the latter find that this effect is largest among the youngest homeowners and suggest that the relationship between housing wealth and household consumption is not a causal effect. Besides looking at the wealth effect by age group, Gan (2010) proposes testing the housing

wealth effect by looking at whether the consumption response to housing wealth is stronger among households that own multiple homes. The idea is that households that own multiple homes can cash in on the wealth gain of other homes and still live in one home. Using credit card spending data in Hong Kong, Gan finds that the overall wealth effect can explain part of the housing wealth effect, as households with multiple houses have much stronger consumption.

The second set of explanations for the observed housing wealth effect focuses on the collateral channel. This mechanism suggests that one should observe the strongest consumption responses among households at or near borrowing limits. However, identifying constrained households can be difficult in practice because the borrowing limit may not be observable. A growing number of studies attempt to evaluate the relative importance of the collateral channel by identifying borrowing-constrained households using a number of proxies, such as loan-to-value ratio, amount of liquid assets, and debt-service ratio (Hurst and Stafford 2004; Gan 2010; Mian and Sufi 2011; Gathergood 2012; Cooper 2013; Bhatia and Mitchell 2016; Aladangady 2017). Overall, the majority of these studies find evidence that supports the collateral effect hypothesis.¹³ However, the collateral channel is likely to have minimal importance in China. Only 7.4 percent of households in the UHS even have mortgages, and households are not allowed to obtain a home equity loan.

The final mechanism for the housing wealth effect focuses on the role of housing wealth as buffer stock and suggests that a higher housing value can reduce the need for precautionary saving and thus increase consumption. Precautionary motives play an important role in determining household consumption dynamics in the US and in China (Gourinchas and Parker 2002; Carroll and Samwick 1997, 1998; Chamon and Prasad 2010; Chamon, Liu, and Prasad 2013; Choi, Lugauer, and Mark 2014; He et al. 2018). However, only a few studies have discussed the reduction of precautionary saving motives as a major channel behind the housing wealth effect. For example, Skinner (1989) develops a model linking uncertainty about income and out-of-pocket health expenses to estimate the effect of

¹³ DeFusco (2017) has directly estimated a positive propensity to borrow out of housing collateral.

housing wealth on consumption and saving. Using panel data of credit card spending in Hong Kong, Gan (2010) finds some suggestive evidence that reducing precautionary saving plays an important role in determining the co-movement of housing wealth and consumption.¹⁴

While considerable research has focused on understanding the magnitude of the housing wealth effect, not all research distinguishes carefully among the different mechanisms that comprise this effect. Previous research has not focused as much on the role of housing wealth as precautionary saving. This analysis can exploit a unique feature of the Chinese housing market to fill this critical gap in the literature.

It is also worth noting that, despite the voluminous number of studies of the housing wealth effect on consumption, studies in developing countries are limited. Among them, Chen, Funke, and Mehrotra (2017) and Chen, Guo, and Zhu (2009) both find a strong correlation between housing wealth and household consumption in China. However, they use aggregate-level data instead of household-level data. More recently, Waxman et al. (2019) studied the impacts of housing-price changes on household consumption using city-level aggregate data. Interestingly, they find a negative housing-price elasticity of consumption, which is likely an effect of their city-level data, which cover both homeowners and renters. As far as we know, this study is among a very few that have adopted household-level data to study the housing wealth effect in China.

3. Background

3.1. Precautionary Saving in China

In general, “precautionary saving” is defined as the response of current spending to future risks, such as uncertainty in income or health conditions. As illustrated in Carroll and Samwick (1997, 1998), basic consumption theory incorporating precautionary saving predicts that future risk can depress current consumption and increase the accumulation of wealth as a type of self-insurance. In particular, households may perceive housing wealth as a buffer

¹⁴ Windsor, Jääskelä, and Finlay (2015) also mention the precautionary channel but do not empirically differentiate it from the collateral channel.

stock of wealth to be used in the event of a family emergency or to finance a specific expenditure, such as large medical bills or a child's college tuition fees. Thus, a positive housing wealth shock diminishes the consumer's prudence in allocating resources and encourages extra consumption.

Many papers have evaluated the importance of precautionary saving motives for US households, generally suggesting that precautionary motives play an important role in driving household consumption.¹⁵ In China, the precautionary saving mechanism may have particular importance. From 1989 to 2009, the urban household saving rate in China averaged slightly more than 20 percent of disposable income.¹⁶ This saving rate is high by international standards and contrasts sharply with the 4 percent average in the US over roughly the same time period. Existing studies suggest that precautionary saving motives are one plausible explanation for this high saving rate (Meng 2003; Chamon and Prasad 2010; Chamon, Liu, and Prasad 2013; He et al. 2018).¹⁷ More recently, findings by Choi, Lugauer, and Mark (2014) suggest that more than 80 percent of China's saving rate arises from precautionary motives.

¹⁵ For example, two studies find that in the United States, late-in-life medical expenses and Medicaid aversion are crucial factors in motivating precautionary saving and can explain the observed high saving rate of many retirees (Palumbo 1999). More generally, Carroll, Hall, and Zeldes (1992) argues that the precautionary saving model is consistent with a variety of patterns of macroeconomic data on consumption and saving. Carroll and Samwick (1997,1998) further provide empirical support for the precautionary saving model using microeconomic data.

¹⁶ The author's own calculation based on the UHS 1989–2009. Chamon and Prasad (2010) report similar numbers.

¹⁷ Many other explanations have been put forth in the existing literature. The first explanation is based on the life-cycle theory (Ando and Modigliani 1963; Modigliani and Cao 2004), which argues that China's saving rates are driven up by the rising share of the labor force in the population. However, Chamon and Prasad (2010) find that this explanation is inconsistent with the profile of consumption and savings at the household level in China, because older people save more than middle-aged people. The second explanation is related to liquidity constraints (Kraay 2000; Aziz and Cui 2007), which suggests that the underdevelopment of China's financial market has forced households to save more. Nevertheless, the efficiency of these markets improved even as the household saving rate kept rising, which suggests that the level of financial market development plays, at best, a minor role in household saving. The third explanation involves saving motives for housing, which argues that the dramatic increase in housing price has forced many renters to save more if they want to purchase homes. This explanation, however, is more relevant among renters than homeowners.

The strong precautionary saving motives among Chinese households can be connected to the reform of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), which took place in the late 1990s. Before the reform, most urban citizens worked as SOE employees, receiving subsistence wages but generous and comprehensive social benefits, such as guaranteed pensions and near-free health care, housing, food, and education. Known as the “iron rice bowl,” this cradle-to-grave regime provided job security as well as steady income and retirement benefits. However, SOE reform broke the iron rice bowl for many urban households. Between 1995 and 2002, more than 35 million workers in SOEs were laid off, losing not just their jobs but also the associated benefits (Giles, Park, and Cai 2006; Meng 2012). Most of these laid-off workers eventually found a job in the private sector. Even though the Social Insurance Law requires private employers to be primarily responsible for contributing to pensions, unemployment, medical insurance, work-related injury, and maternity insurance, enforcement of the law has been very lax (Feng, He, and Sato 2011). Thus, many private-sector employees are denied the social security benefits they are legally entitled to. Because of these facts, the SOE reform creates divergent impacts in terms of income and benefit security between public-sector and private-sector employees in urban China and, thus, heterogeneity regarding precautionary saving motives.

3.2. Development of China’s Urban Housing Market

China’s urban housing market has experienced substantial structural changes during the past three decades, transforming from a welfare housing system to a market-oriented system (Man 2011). Under the welfare housing system, most of the urban houses were publicly owned by the state. Starting in the early 1990s, the government implemented a series of market-oriented reforms to privatize urban houses.¹⁸

¹⁸ In 1998, the government abolished this welfare housing system when it targeted the real estate sector as a new engine of economic growth in response to the adverse effects generated by the 1997 Asian financial crisis. See Man (2011) and Chen, Yang, and Zhong (2020) for a detailed description of the structural changes of the housing market in China in the 1990s.

The privatization of the housing market has had profound impacts on urban households in China. First, it created a rising number of homeowners. According to the UHS, the homeownership rate among urban households increased dramatically, from about 20 percent in the early 1990s to more than 90 percent in 2009, which is among the highest in the world. By comparison, according to the US Census Bureau, in 2010 the American homeownership rate was only 65.1 percent.

There has also been enormous housing price appreciation. According to the China Statistical Yearbook, during our sample period (2002–2009), the average nominal housing price increased from 1,276 yuan to 2,380 yuan per square meter. In particular, the median housing price in China’s four Tier-1 cities roughly tripled, while in Tier-2 and Tier-3 cities the median price almost doubled (Wu, Deng, and Liu 2014; Fang et al. 2016).¹⁹ Such a high homeownership rate and a dramatic increase in housing prices provide a suitable context for us to examine the extent to which urban household consumption responds to housing wealth changes.²⁰

More importantly, the development of housing markets in China is characterized by unique features that can help disentangle different mechanisms of housing wealth effects. To be more specific, during the sample period, the mortgage market in China was just emerging, meaning that most households were unable to borrow against the value of their homes. In our sample, only 6 percent of households used mortgages when purchasing a home. This implies the collateral channel (which argues that an increase in housing prices can increase household consumption by relaxing borrowing constraints) should be insignificant if it exists.

4. Data and Summary Statistics

¹⁹ The four first-tier cities include Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen. The Chinese city tier system is a hierarchical classification of Chinese cities; it mainly reflects differences in income level and population size across cities.

²⁰ During our sample period, only a relatively small fraction of Chinese households held financial assets such as stocks and bonds (16 percent), and even for owners of such financial assets, the value of these assets constituted a relatively small fraction of total assets (Chen, Guo, and Zhu 2009).

The data used in this study are from the UHS for 2002–2009 and are collected by China’s National Bureau of Statistics. The UHS provides comprehensive information regarding demographic characteristics, household consumption, and wealth for Chinese urban households.²¹ The UHS contains repeated cross-sections, but each year it randomly keeps about one-third of survey households from the previous sample. This allows us to construct a household panel dataset that shows a much more robust model of the relationship between household consumption and housing wealth. These panel data include households that appear for at least three years during the sample period, which account for about 36.4 percent of the total sample.²² The analysis sample includes households in which the head of household is between the ages of 21 and 65. The final sample is a household-level panel dataset that contains 45,119 observations for 12,878 households.

The UHS asks respondents to report the level of their housing wealth, which is the main dependent variable. We recognize that self-reported home values can be biased for various reasons (Choi and Painter 2017). For example, self-reported home values measure respondents’ perceived price value, which is likely to be affected by their expectations of the future economy. In addition, the house value does not reflect actual housing wealth. Because self-reported house values could produce biased estimates, we calculate both household fixed-effects models and models that substitute a city-level housing price index for self-reported values as a robustness check.

In terms of household consumption, the UHS includes a broad range of categories: food, clothing and footwear, household appliances, goods and services, medical care and health, transportation, recreational activities, and education expenditures. These variables make it possible for us to explore how housing wealth effects vary across different categories of

²¹ Urban households are defined as households that have urban *hukou* registrations. Therefore, the floating population is not covered in the UHS.

²² Appendix Table A1 reports the summary statistics for the panel data (which contain households that appear for at least three years) and the cross-sectional data. The average characteristics in the panel data sample are statistically similar to the cross-sectional sample in terms of several household characteristics, which suggests that the construction of the panel data causes little sample-selection bias. The mean estimation results are similar when we use the raw data. These results are available upon request.

consumption. The UHS defines household income as the sum of salaries, bonuses, and subsidies. All household demographic variables are measured for the head of household where applicable, and all monetary variables are measured using 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices.

Table 1 reports the summary statistics of the main variables in the models. In the sample, the average self-reported housing wealth is 131,400 RMB (about US\$18,771). As expected, borrowing against housing assets is not popular in China; only about 6 percent of homeowners in our sample use a mortgage to finance their houses. On average, annual household income is 29,990 RMB (about US\$4,284), and total household consumption is 24,230 RMB (about US\$3,461). The average household size is three persons. The average household dependency ratio is 0.22, which is defined as the proportion of the sum of household members age 65 or older and household members under age 15. Regarding the household head, the average age is roughly 44, and the vast majority (97 percent) are married. Almost 75 percent of the sampled household heads are men, with an average of 12 years of schooling. The average city-level housing price is 2,470 RMB per square meter (about US\$35.20 per square foot). Regarding local economic conditions, the average gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is 17,910 RMB (about US\$2,558) and the average industry wage is 17,750 RMB (about US\$2,535). The average industry wage is calculated as the mean of wages for workers in that industry. We use this variable to measure industry-specific income.

Table 2 displays average descriptive statistics of self-reported housing wealth, household consumption and income, and residential housing prices by year. The table shows that, in nominal terms, average housing wealth has increased by about two times in the UHS sample during 2002–2009, which is consistent with the trend in residential housing prices collected by the China Statistical Yearbook. During the same period, household consumption and income nearly doubled. These summary statistics show that housing wealth and household consumption experienced substantial co-movement during the period, suggesting a strong correlation between the two.

5. Methods and Results

5.1. Housing Wealth Effect

To examine housing wealth effects, we estimate a standard equation based on the theoretical relationship between consumption and wealth. Thus, the consumption function takes the following form:

$$\log C_{ijt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \log HW_{it} + \beta_2 X_{it} + \epsilon_{ijt}, \quad (1)$$

where $\log C_{ijt}$ is the log of the household consumption for individual i living in city j in time period t ; $\log HW_{it}$ is the log of housing wealth; and X_{it} is a vector of control variables including the log of current household disposable income; household size and dependent ratio; and demographic and economic characteristics of the household head including age, education, gender, marriage status, and industry.²³ X_{it} also includes city and year dummies to account for macroeconomic trends. The coefficient of interest is β_1 , which is interpreted as the elasticity of consumption regarding housing wealth. Throughout this paper, the standard errors are adjusted to allow for clustering at the household level to account for correlation within the household over time.

Estimating equation (1) with OLS likely provides biased estimates of the key coefficient β due to omitted variable. One potential confounder is unobserved household preferences. More frugal households tend to forgo consumption in an effort to accumulate wealth. Thus, unobserved household frugality potentially causes the OLS estimator to be biased downward. To address this issue, we include household fixed effects, which will account for the impact of household preferences and other time-invariant unobserved factors.

Table 3 reports primary model estimates of consumption responses to housing wealth. Column (1) includes individual- and household-level characteristics as well as city and year fixed effects. It shows a significant positive relationship between housing wealth and consumption. The estimated consumption elasticity is 0.2903. Column (2) includes household

²³ Note that most studies in the developed world include financial wealth in their models. In this context, most households do not hold financial assets that are reported in the data. In Section 7, we conduct some robustness checks using stock returns to make sure this omission does not lead to serious bias.

fixed effects. The results show that for every 1 percent (marginal) change in housing wealth, consumption changes reduce to 0.143 percent, suggesting that OLS models contain substantial upward bias of the effect of housing wealth on consumption. For the rest of the paper, households fixed effects are included in all models.

To understand the magnitude of this estimated effect, we consider the value of a representative home in China in 2009, which was 131,400 RMB. In the same year, the average consumption, according to the UHS data, was 24,230 RMB per year. Thus, an increase in the value of the house by 1 percent or 1,314 RMB would lead to an increase in annual consumption of around 34 RMB. The coefficient estimates for the housing wealth variable can be interpreted as households' marginal propensity to consume out of housing wealth, which is calculated as the estimated coefficient multiplied by the consumption-to-housing-wealth ratio. The average consumption-to-housing-wealth ratio of the sample is 0.18. Thus, the baseline estimates of 0.143 (Column (2) of Table 3) implies an estimated marginal propensity to consume of 0.023. This estimate is on the low end of the range of MPCs estimated in the literature. However, as we emphasize below, the absence of the collateral channel in China partially accounts for this difference. In addition, we find that the inclusion of household fixed effects lowers the MPC by half.

5.2. Testing the Precautionary Saving Channel

We next distinguish households that are expected to have larger or smaller precautionary saving motives. Public-sector employees in China are usually entitled to medical insurance and a generous government-subsidized pension upon retirement. Therefore, a household's lifetime income is less uncertain, which suggests that its members should have smaller precautionary saving motives. Meanwhile, private-sector employees are poorly covered by social security benefits. As reported in the UHS, 80 percent of public-sector employees have been enrolled in some type of social security program, while only 32 percent of private-sector employees have been enrolled. Given the differences, we would expect that if the reduction in precautionary saving is an important determinant of the size of the housing wealth effect,

then consumption responses should be stronger for private-sector employees because they would behave more like buffer stock savers than do other groups of households.

Second, we explore consumption responses among college-educated and non-college-educated employees. The hypothesis is that individuals with a lower educational level likely face more uncertainty in their future income trajectory and thus will have stronger precautionary saving. If precautionary saving drives consumption housing-wealth sensitivity, we should expect that the consumption responses should be stronger among households whose heads are non-college-educated workers.²⁴

Table 3 Columns (3) through (6) report estimation results for the two tests. Columns (3) and (4) divide the sample into households with at least one public-sector employee and households without any public-sector employee. We define public-sector employees as public service workers and state-owned enterprise workers. The results suggest that a 1 percent increase in housing wealth increases household consumption by 0.1840 for non-public-sector employees, which is about four times greater than that for public-sector employees (0.0453). These results are consistent with the hypothesis that the reduction of precautionary saving should make consumption responses stronger among private-sector employees who face great lifetime income risk.

Columns (5) and (6) divide the sample into households whose heads are college graduates or non-college graduates. Households with better education or whose members have enrolled in a certain social security system should face less lifetime income uncertainty and, therefore, have smaller and less significant housing wealth effects through the channel of reducing precautionary saving. Indeed, we find the positive housing wealth effect is greater and significant for households whose head is a non-college graduate (0.1385), while it is small and non-significant for households whose head is a college graduate (0.0195). These results also support the importance of the precautionary saving channel, as households that face greater future income uncertainty are most affected by the housing wealth effect.

²⁴ Agarwal and Qian (2015) also explored college-educated and non-college-educated samples to test precautionary saving motives.

As a robustness check, we divide the sample into more detailed categories by household heads' employer types and education levels in Table 4, and we find similar patterns for the estimated housing wealth effect. We divide non-public-sector employers into collectively owned firms (COEs), joint venture and foreign firms, and domestic private firms. We find the estimated housing wealth effect is much greater for the three subsamples than for the SOE employers, especially domestic private firms that usually have the poorest employment benefits. Further, we divide non-college-educated workers into junior high school graduates and high school graduates, and we find that the housing wealth effects decrease with the household head's education level. Taken together, Tables 3 and 4 provide the main empirical support for our conclusion that the reduction in precautionary saving is the primary mechanism by which changes in housing wealth impacted consumption in China during our sample period (2002–2009).

6. Discussion of Other Channels

These results suggest that the increase in household consumption is derived in part from the reduction in precautionary saving. As noted previously in the literature, housing wealth can also increase household consumption by increasing household borrowing capacity or through a pure wealth effect as predicted in the life-cycle model. In this section, we test the role of mechanisms other than the precautionary saving channel.

6.1. Tests of the Collateral Channel

As suggested in the literature, we first test whether rising housing wealth increases the household's borrowing capacity (DeFusco 2017). Even though the literature (Cooper 2013; Mian, Rao, and Sufi 2013; Aladangady 2017) that has emphasized the fact that observed housing wealth effects should be largest for households at or near a borrowing limit is not relevant here, households may still increase borrowing in response to increased housing wealth. To test this, we compare consumption responses by households that hold debt with those that do not.

Columns (1) and (2) in Table 5 test whether rising housing wealth encourages household borrowing. The dependent variable in Column (1) is a dummy that indicates whether households engage in borrowing by holding either a mortgage or other types of debt. The dependent variable in Column (2) is the amount of debt a household holds. In both columns, the housing wealth effect is insignificant, suggesting that the increase in housing wealth does not encourage household borrowing, as it does in developed countries. Estimates in Columns (3) and (4) demonstrate that the consumption response among households without debt is positive and significant (0.1501) but that there is no significant effect for households with debt. This evidence suggests that the collateral channel is not driving the observed housing wealth effect in this sample.

6.2. Tests of the Pure Wealth Effect

In a life-cycle model, older homeowners are more likely to sell their home and downsize (Sinai and Souleles 2005). Thus, if consumption responses are greater among older homeowners compared to younger homeowners, this fact can be used as evidence supporting a pure wealth effect mechanism by which housing wealth influences consumption. (Attanasio and Weber 1994; Gan 2010; Atalay, Whelan, and Yates 2016). While it is possible to test for this mechanism in China in the way outlined by the above literature, the interpretation of those results will be different.

Older homeowners in China face substantial uncertainty related to incomplete social security caused by two factors: First, in the late 1990s, the SOE reform broke the “iron rice bowl” for many workers, leaving them with limited access to retirement plans; second, the introduction of the one-child policy in the 1980s meant that parents could no longer rely on a large extended family to look after them in their old age. Thus, older homeowners in China generally behave more like buffer stock agents,²⁵ and they may have stronger housing consumption responses because of the pure wealth effect as well as the reduction of

²⁵For example, Chamon and Prasad (2010) find that older people save more than middle-aged people in China. Additionally, Wei and Zhang (2011) find that Chinese parents tend to increase their savings to improve their children’s relative attractiveness for marriage.

precautionary saving. In other words, checking whether the housing wealth effect is stronger among older homeowners is not enough to identify the pure wealth effect.

To complement the standard test of the pure wealth effect, we provide an alternative method to test the size of the pure wealth effect mechanism among different age groups of households. Specifically, the longitudinal structure of the UHS makes it possible for us to measure which households have recently downsized their homes. If the pure wealth effect is an important channel driving the observed housing wealth effect, consumption responses should be greater for households who have recently downsized their homes because of the availability of cash after downsizing. We thus construct a categorical variable indicating whether a household downsized their home in the last year and interact it with the housing wealth variable. A significant coefficient on the interaction term can be interpreted as evidence that the pure wealth channel is important.

In Table 6 Column (1), we divide the sample into younger (below 35), middle-aged (35–49), and older (above 50) homeowners. The average age in the sample is 46. We find that housing wealth is positive and statistically significant for all three age groups; the magnitude does indeed increase with age, as the older homeowners have the greatest consumption response to housing wealth changes (0.089 for younger homeowners, 0.121 for middle-aged homeowners, and 0.145 for older homeowners). To assess whether the greater consumption response among older homeowners is driven by the pure wealth effect, we include the interaction term of the housing wealth variable and the downsize dummy in Column (2). The estimates are positive but insignificant, suggesting that the pure wealth effect and downsizing cannot explain the life-cycle pattern we observe in Column (1).²⁶

²⁶ Another reason that the pure wealth effect is insignificant, especially among older homeowners, is that only 8 percent of homeowners in our sample have ever experienced downsizing, and less than 5 percent of these downsizings happened among older homeowners. Most downsizings are experienced by middle-age homeowners. This is probably because most homeowners in our sample have owned their home for fewer than 5 years, as China's private housing market development began only in the late 1990s. Because most newly developed housing units are of better quality, most Chinese households—even older homeowners—are planning to upsize instead of downsize. Thus, even though the pure wealth effect may exist among downsized households, this does not explain why housing wealth effects are positive among the majority of households that do not downsize their homes.

In previous tests, we noted that there were significant differences in the size of the housing wealth effect by employer type and education level. In Columns (3) through (6), we find that consumption responses are much stronger among the non-public-sector and non-college-educated workers among all age groups. For example, for older homeowners, a 1 percent increase in housing wealth increases household consumption by 0.143 and 0.151 for non-public-sector employees and non-college-educated workers, respectively, which is much greater than for public-sector employees and college-educated workers (-0.0789 and 0.0718).²⁷

In sum, the results suggest that neither the collateral channel nor the pure wealth effect can adequately explain the housing wealth effect in China. Rather, precautionary saving motives are likely to be the dominant channel.

7. Additional Tests

7.1. Common Factors

It remains possible that including household fixed effects and controlling for local market conditions do not adequately eliminate bias from all unobserved factors that lead to a spurious correlation between housing wealth and consumption. We address those concerns in this section.

First, expected income growth can drive up both housing prices and spending (Attanasio et al. 2009). While households do not have perfect foresight, their expectations are likely correlated with realized income growth in their local area. Thus, to test whether this factor plays an important role in explaining overall housing wealth, we include a control variable in addition to the baseline model, which measures annual wage growth in the household head's industry at the city level (Table 7 Row (1)). Moreover, as local positive macroeconomic

²⁷ For households whose head is below age 35, we find that the point estimates are smaller than 0.0892 (which is the full sample estimate) for both public and non-public employees. This is likely because of the correlation between housing wealth and household income. When we exclude log household income from the regression model, we find the point estimates for the full sample, public employees, and non-public employees are 0.082, 0.0933, and 0.0296, respectively.

shocks are likely to drive up expected income growth, we further include city-level GDP and GDP growth to control for these confounding effects (Table 7 Row (2)). If expected income is an important factor driving the correlation between housing wealth and household spending, we should observe estimated effects of housing wealth that are smaller with the inclusion of these additional control variables.

However, results in Table 7 Row (1) and (2) do not change much compared with the primary model (Table 3), which is inconsistent with the presence of additional omitted variables. Particularly, we find that the overall housing wealth effect is significant and positive, and the consumption responses are particularly strong among private-sector employees and non-college-educated workers. These results suggest that the relationship between housing wealth and household consumption is not likely to be driven by the household expectation of future income or unobserved local economic conditions.

Second, financial liberalization may drive up housing prices and stimulate consumption by relaxing borrowing constraints on all consumers (Attanasio and Weber 1994; Muellbauer, 2007). Considering that financial liberalization varies greatly across regions in China, we test the importance of this factor by looking at whether the housing wealth effects are greater in regions with more liberalized financial markets, such as the first-tier cities. Thus, we divide our sample into three regions depending on economic status: first-tier cities, second-tier cities, and third-tier cities. In Table 7 Rows (3) to (5), we find that the effect of housing wealth on consumption is positive and significant across all types of cities. In addition, the housing wealth effect is greater among private-sector employees and non-college-educated workers across all types of cities, especially among third-tier cities where the financial market is less developed. These results suggest that housing wealth increases are not a single-region phenomenon and that financial liberalization can not fully explain the housing wealth effect.

Another concern in the study of housing wealth effects is that stock market wealth gains may drive both local housing prices and consumption. Because only a relatively small group of people (about 7 percent) purchased stocks in our sample, stock market gains are not likely to severely bias the estimates. Nevertheless, to isolate this effect, Row (6) of Table 7 repeats the fixed-effects estimation for households without stocks. The results for this subsample are

similar to those using the baseline sample, which implies that buying stocks has little effect on the housing wealth coefficients.

Finally, the length of housing tenure can affect consumption in ways unrelated to housing wealth. Households that recently purchased a new home are also more likely to buy both durable goods (such as a refrigerator and furniture) and nondurable goods (such as cleaning products). In this case, the impact of new housing purchases would be picked up by the error term, resulting in an omitted variable bias. Fortunately, the UHS contains information on the purchase year of the current home. Therefore, we focus on homeowners who have lived in a home for more than one year when they first appear in the sample. The estimation results are reported in Row (7) of Table 7. We found that the coefficient for these homeowners is still positive and significant (0.1337), which suggests that the main results are not driven by recent home purchases.

7.2. The Use of City-Level Housing Prices

As we discussed in Section 4, self-reported housing wealth may reflect respondents' expectations of the future economy rather than actual levels of housing equity. We do not expect such bias to seriously affect the estimation results because we adopted the household fixed-effects model. Nevertheless, to ensure that the results are not biased because of measurement error, we conducted a robustness check using city-level housing price indices to measure housing wealth. Coefficient estimates shown in Table 8 are similar to models with fixed effects reported in Table 3. With the full sample, the estimated coefficients for housing prices are positive and significant. A one percent increase in housing prices in a city leads to a 0.23 percent increase in household consumption. As with the main results (Table 3), we find that consumption responses are stronger among non-SOE and non-college-educated workers compared with SOE and college-educated workers, respectively.

The use of city-level price indices also provides insights into the existence of a “placebo housing wealth” for homeowners and renters. The assumption embedded in this approach is that homeowners and renters in one city should respond differently to similar housing price fluctuations. Renters, unlike homeowners, would not be expected to have a positive response

to a reduction in the need for precautionary saving because of changes in housing wealth. Instead, an increase in housing prices would likely decrease their consumption if rental costs would go up following the increase in housing prices. In addition, because renters are often future buyers of housing, rising home prices would force them to save more and consume less to accumulate a down payment. Thus, if the fixed effects properly address omitted variable biases, we should observe that city-level home prices have an insignificant or even negative effect on the consumption of renters. In Table 9, we estimate the fixed-effects models for the sample of renters, using the city-level housing price index as our explanatory variable. We find that the relationship between housing prices and consumption among renters is insignificantly negative across different subsamples, which implies that the fixed-effects model appropriately addresses omitted variable bias.

Furthermore, city-level housing prices can be used as a potential instrumental variable (IV) to address potential endogeneity (Haurin and Rosenthal 2006). When estimating the IV fixed-effects (IVFE) model, city-level housing prices turn out to be weak instruments, with F-statistics in the first stage well below 10, ranging from 1.33 to 8.82 (Stock and Yogo 2005).²⁸ We also include variables to capture household income growth expectations to help mitigate confounding factors that can threaten city-level housing prices as an instrument.

Despite these concerns about weak instruments, we report the results of the IVFE model in Table 10.²⁹ The qualitative conclusions from the IVFE model estimates are similar to the baseline estimates, although the magnitudes of IVFE estimates are larger than those in our baseline results. For instance, housing wealth has a coefficient of 0.536 (statistically significant at the 5 percent level) while the baseline estimate is 0.143 (and statistically significant at the 1 percent level). Consistent with our baseline estimates, the IV estimates are significant only for the non-public-sector and non-college-educated samples but not significant for the public-sector and college-educated samples, suggesting that precautionary saving is the major driver behind housing wealth effects in our sample. The IVFE results thus

²⁸ The F-statistics are larger when household fixed effects are not included in the regression model.

²⁹ Note that the housing price index is not available for some cities in our sample. As a result, the sample size for IV regressions is smaller than our baseline estimates.

render support to the baseline results. Further, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the IVFE and the FE coefficients are statistically equivalent using a Hausman test (Cameron and Trivedi 2005).

7.3. Different Categories of Consumption

In this section, we explore consumption responses among different categories of consumption. As proposed in Gan (2010), when people feel less need to save, they might increase their discretionary spending. Thus, if precautionary saving drives consumption housing wealth sensitivity, discretionary spending should respond more to housing wealth than to nondiscretionary spending. In Gan (2010), consumption data are collected from credit card records and, thus, might be under-recorded if households' credit cards are not included in the data or if some consumption is paid for by cash. The UHS reports a complete list of consumption that enables us to better distinguish discretionary and nondiscretionary consumption. For example, the UHS provides two major categories for food consumption: consumption of rice and flour and consumption of cakes and other desserts. The former category stratifies households' basic food needs and is usually considered as nondiscretionary consumption, while the latter category is discretionary consumption for middle-income households.³⁰ Moreover, the UHS reports consumption on dining out, entertainment, vacation, and health care, which are considered as discretionary spending.

Table 11 tests the precautionary saving channel by estimating the response of different types of consumption to housing wealth. As shown in Column (1), housing wealth has a significant negative impact on the consumption of rice and flour. In contrast, Columns (2) through (6) indicate that housing wealth has a significant impact on many different forms of discretionary consumption. The point estimates for vacation (0.3587), entertainment (0.2947), and dining out (0.1856) are much higher than the baseline estimate of 0.143 (Column (2) in Table 3).

³⁰ Other categories of food consumption include oil, egg, meat, vegetable, and other.

8. Conclusion

This paper examines to what extent household consumption responds to changes in housing wealth using household-level panel data in China. The analysis reveals that housing wealth has a positive impact on household consumption. Specifically, the baseline model estimates imply that a 1 percent increase in housing wealth increases household consumption by 0.143 percent, which translates into an MPC out of housing wealth of 0.025. More importantly, we find that households with the largest need for precautionary saving have the largest consumption responses to changes in housing wealth. These households include private-sector employees and non-college-educated workers. In addition, we find that discretionary consumption responds more strongly to housing wealth than non-discretionary consumption. These results suggest that adjustments in precautionary saving are the most plausible explanation for the positive relationship between consumption and housing wealth in China. Further estimates confirm a minimal role for the collateral channel or a pure wealth effect based on the life-cycle model.

These results not only help us understand the economic consequences of housing market development in China, but also have more general implications for other countries. In particular, using the unique context in China, this paper provides empirical evidence supporting the role of housing as precautionary saving stocks and suggests that housing price fluctuations can transmit into the economy not only through affecting household borrowing capacities (as identified in the previous literature) but also through affecting household precautionary saving. Overlooking this channel could result in inaccurate consumption forecasts, particularly among households that face substantial risks. This could also be true for studies on developing countries that have high household saving rates and poor social security coverage, as in China.

One may argue that households in the developed world typically have more ways to adjust to negative income shocks, and, thus, they might have lower precautionary saving motives compared with households in China. Indeed, household saving rates in developed countries are usually lower than those in China, which is partially attributable to the fact that social insurance coverage in these countries is more complete than in China. However,

households in developed countries are far from completely insured and are subject to several sources of risks in earning, health, and mortality. For example, Carroll and Samwick (1997, 1998) find that precautionary saving motives are consistent with a variety of patterns of household savings and consumptions in the United States. Further, Gourinchas and Parker (2002) estimate that precautionary wealth accounts for 65 percent of US household liquid wealth. More recently, Choi, Lugauer, and Mark (2014) find that nearly all US saving arises from precautionary motives. These results generally suggest that precautionary motives remain an important factor in determining household consumption in developed countries. Thus, a re-examination of the size of the precautionary saving channel in developed countries is worth the attention of future research.

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Table 1. Summary Statistics

Variables	Obs.	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max
Household-Level Variables					
Household Housing Wealth	45,119	127.10	131.50	10.07	1149.00
Household Own Mortgage (0,1)	45,119	0.06	0.23	0.00	1.00
Household Consumption	45,119	24.06	16.78	3.88	131.60
Household Income	45,119	29.87	21.36	0.00	145.10
Household Size (Num. of Persons)	45,119	3.04	0.69	1.00	9.00
Household Dependency Ratio	45,119	0.22	0.18	0.00	0.80
Household Head Age	45,119	43.29	7.65	21.00	65.00
Household Head School Years	45,119	12.32	2.70	0.00	18.00
Household Head Female (0,1)	45,119	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Household Head Married (0,1)	45,119	0.97	0.16	0.00	1.00
City-Level Variables					
City Housing price	39,241	2.41	1.61	0.95	14.51
GDP per capita	42,559	17.35	14.43	1.89	91.91
Wage by Industry	45,067	18.44	8.08	6.70	52.76

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The sample includes households that appear in the data at least three times and whose head is between the ages of 21 and 65. Household dependency ratio is defined as the proportion of the sum of household members age 65 or older and household members under age 15. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are measured using 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Household income is defined as the sum of salaries, bonuses, and subsidies.

Table 2. Housing Wealth and Household Consumption, 2002–2009

	Housing Wealth		Household Consumption		Household Income		City-Level Housing Price	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
2002	91.51	78.43	19.88	12.12	24.20	14.32	1.71	0.69
2003	102.80	92.33	21.74	14.17	26.42	17.17	1.88	0.86
2004	118.00	118.30	23.77	16.09	29.67	20.57	2.33	1.32
2005	162.10	163.80	27.52	19.34	34.42	25.03	3.13	1.86
2006	181.60	177.60	29.48	21.03	37.29	27.38	3.43	2.20
2007	159.80	163.60	26.29	18.44	33.37	24.04	3.20	2.62
2008	181.40	151.10	26.08	19.36	34.53	25.32	3.26	1.95
2009	212.40	206.50	32.16	20.53	44.00	30.40	5.12	2.95

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The sample includes households that appear in the data at least three times and whose head is between the ages of 21 and 65. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Household income is defined as the sum of salaries, bonuses, and subsidies. The city-level housing price is in 1,000 RMB per square meter (China Statistical Yearbook).

Table 3. Primary Model Results

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	OLS	Fixed Effect				
		Full Sample	Public Sector	Non-public Sector	College-Educated	Non-College-Educated
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.2903*** [0.0031]	0.1433*** [0.0059]	0.0453*** [0.0069]	0.1840*** [0.0144]	0.0195* [0.0116]	0.1385*** [0.0080]
Log (Household Income)	0.0699*** [0.0015]	0.0411*** [0.0018]	0.4604*** [0.0068]	0.0032 [0.0025]	0.1712*** [0.0073]	0.0262*** [0.0021]
Household Size	0.0875*** [0.0036]	0.1122*** [0.0049]	0.0851*** [0.0057]	0.1228*** [0.0106]	0.1105*** [0.0098]	0.1169*** [0.0062]
Household Dependency Ratio	-0.0212 [0.0173]	-0.0268 [0.0212]	0.0034 [0.0235]	-0.0340 [0.0470]	0.0533 [0.0400]	-0.0690*** [0.0263]
Household Head Age	0.0129*** [0.0030]	0.0048 [0.0045]	-0.0028 [0.0053]	0.0194* [0.0106]	0.0110 [0.0096]	0.0071 [0.0061]
Household Head Age Squared	-0.0171*** [0.0035]	-0.0099* [0.0051]	0.0016 [0.0061]	-0.0288** [0.0122]	-0.0126 [0.0111]	-0.0122* [0.0070]
Household Head School Years	0.0350*** [0.0009]					
Household Head Female	0.0655*** [0.0053]					
Household Head Married	0.1296*** [0.0141]					
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	45,119	45,119	35,360	9,759	16,939	28,180
Number of Households	12,878	12,878	11,163	3,749	5,819	8,973
R Squared	0.2964	0.1361	0.2393	0.1236	0.1122	0.1069

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 4. Housing Wealth Effects among Detailed Categories of Non-Public-Sector Employees and Non-College-Educated Workers

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Non-Public-Sector Employees			Non-College-Educated Workers	
	COE	Foreign	Private	Middle school	High school
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.0458*	0.0799**	0.1039***	0.1413***	0.1058***
	[0.0270]	[0.0390]	[0.0310]	[0.0144]	[0.0116]
Log (Household Income)	0.3009***	0.2242***	0.4266***	0.0151***	0.0500***
	[0.0211]	[0.0268]	[0.0225]	[0.0032]	[0.0035]
Household Size	0.1138***	0.1165***	0.0860***	0.1204***	0.1235***
	[0.0191]	[0.0301]	[0.0207]	[0.0106]	[0.0091]
Household Dependency Ratio	-0.0200	0.1406	-0.0680	-0.0923**	-0.0568
	[0.0710]	[0.1031]	[0.0873]	[0.0455]	[0.0348]
Household Head Age	0.0353*	0.0138	0.0084	0.0365***	-0.0012
	[0.0205]	[0.0294]	[0.0217]	[0.0130]	[0.0091]
Household Head Age Squared	-0.0530**	-0.0272	0.0004	-0.0420***	0.0035
	[0.0236]	[0.0351]	[0.0251]	[0.0143]	[0.0105]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	1,983	3,351	4,425	10,816	17,364
Number of Households	870	1,524	1,847	3,942	6,023
R Squared	0.2423	0.2766	0.1137	0.0962	0.1049

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 5. Housing Wealth Effects: The Collateral Channel

	(1)	(2)	(3) (4)	
	In Debt or Not	Debt Amount	Log (consumption)	
			With Debt	Without Debt
Log (Housing Wealth)	-0.0004 [0.0042]	0.0045 [0.0326]	0.0234 [0.0381]	0.1501*** [0.0061]
Log (Household Income)	0.0002 [0.0013]	0.0088 [0.0101]	0.0426*** [0.0126]	0.0415*** [0.0019]
Household Size	0.0020 [0.0035]	0.0298 [0.0268]	0.0286 [0.0325]	0.1130*** [0.0050]
Household Dependency Ratio	-0.0085 [0.0152]	-0.0764 [0.1172]	-0.0147 [0.1227]	-0.0281 [0.0220]
Household Head Age	-0.0018 [0.0032]	-0.0070 [0.0247]	0.0854*** [0.0323]	0.0047 [0.0046]
Household Head Age Squared	0.0018 [0.0037]	0.0071 [0.0285]	-0.0917** [0.0374]	-0.0096* [0.0053]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	45,119	45,119	3,759	41,360
Number of Households	12,878	12,878	2,597	10,281
R Squared	0.0133	0.0117	0.1318	0.1475

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable in Column (1) is a dummy variable of whether the household is in debt. The dependent variable in Column (2) is the amount of debt. The dependent variable in Columns (3) and (4) is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 6. Housing Wealth Effects: The Pure Wealth Effect

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Full Sample	Full Sample	Public	Non-public	College- educated	Non-college- educated
Household Head's Age below 35						
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.0892*** [0.0280]	0.1238*** [0.0379]	0.0418 [0.0673]	0.0511* [0.0305]	0.0473 [0.0389]	0.0814* [0.0433]
Log (Housing Wealth) *downsize		0.0157 [0.0309]				
Observation	7,823	5,233	5,979	1,844	3,899	3,924
Number of Households	3,369	2,753	2,616	905	1,724	1,757
R Squared	0.1415	0.1093	0.2473	0.1802	0.1706	0.1680
Household Head's Age 35–50						
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1208*** [0.0150]	0.1168*** [0.0201]	0.0246* [0.0149]	0.1547*** [0.0425]	-0.0233 [0.0229]	0.1229*** [0.0212]
Log (Housing Wealth) *downsize		0.0180 [0.0191]				
Observation	26,666	18,977	21,032	5,634	10,043	16,623
Number of Households	9,539	8,718	7,930	2,514	3,957	6,355
R Squared	0.1257	0.1071	0.2482	0.1100	0.1353	0.1023
Household Head's Age above 50						
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1454*** [0.0282]	0.1659*** [0.0354]	0.0789** [0.0307]	0.1930*** [0.0519]	-0.0718 [0.0550]	0.1513*** [0.0322]
Log (Housing Wealth) *downsize		0.0047 [0.0342]				
Observation	10,630	8,139	8,349	2,281	2,997	7,633
Number of Households	4,319	4,004	3,448	1,087	1,269	3,180
R Squared	0.0892	0.0814	0.1640	0.1703	0.0927	0.0999
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Type of Employer	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. Downsize is a dummy variable indicating whether the household's housing area has increased compared with last year. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 7. Housing Wealth Effects: Robustness Checks

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Full Sample	Public	Non-public	College-educated	Non-college-educated
Row 1: Include expected industry-level wage and wage growth	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1465*** [0.0061]	0.0463*** [0.0071]	0.1892*** [0.0149]	0.0227* [0.0120]	0.1410*** [0.0083]
	Observation	42,559	33,277	9,282	15,974	26,585
	Number of Households	12,361	10,703	3,639	5,593	8,628
	R Squared	0.1384	0.2425	0.1243	0.1136	0.1079
Row 2: Include city-level GDP and GDP growth	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1570*** [0.0072]	0.0457*** [0.0085]	0.2043*** [0.0170]	0.0300** [0.0143]	0.1602*** [0.0097]
	Observation	35,593	27,463	8,130	13,441	22,152
	Number of Households	12,865	10,746	3,446	5,433	8,585
	R Squared	0.1271	0.2310	0.1173	0.1199	0.1031
Row 3: First-tier cities	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1032*** [0.0269]	0.0654*** [0.0249]	0.3836** [0.1594]	0.0895* [0.0496]	0.1097*** [0.0325]
	Observation	2,412	2,050	362	1,010	1,402
	Number of Households	731	645	154	335	452
	R Squared	0.1201	0.2926	0.2493	0.1350	0.1752
Row 4: Second-tier cities	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.2034*** [0.0116]	0.0564*** [0.0149]	0.2668*** [0.0245]	0.0534** [0.0239]	0.2203*** [0.0159]
	Observation	10,763	7,858	2,905	3,908	6,855
	Number of Households	3,044	2,617	1,164	1,457	2,255
	R Squared	0.1695	0.2706	0.1881	0.1287	0.1356
Row 5: Third-tier cities	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1176*** [0.0071]	0.0424*** [0.0082]	0.1099*** [0.0184]	-0.0027 [0.0140]	0.0982*** [0.0097]
	Observation	31,944	25,452	6,492	12,021	19,923
	Number of Households	9,103	7,901	2,431	4,027	6,266
	R Squared	0.1370	0.2298	0.1190	0.1294	0.1033
Row 6: Without Stock investment	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1449*** [0.0060]	0.0459*** [0.0070]	0.1805*** [0.0146]	0.0206* [0.0120]	0.1394*** [0.0081]
	Observation	44,084	34,457	9,627	16,425	27,659
	Number of Households	12,854	11,101	3,734	5,762	8,942
	R Squared	0.1371	0.2399	0.1251	0.1115	0.1080
Row 7: Purchased the home more than a year ago	Log (Housing Wealth)	0.1337*** [0.0061]	0.0334*** [0.0072]	0.1761*** [0.0148]	0.0079 [0.0124]	0.1232*** [0.0082]
	Observation	43,803	34,296	9,507	16,374	27,429
	Number of Households	12,854	11,099	3,715	5,781	8,914
	R Squared	0.1341	0.2396	0.1189	0.1116	0.1037
	Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	Type of Employer	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 8. Robustness Checks: Alternative Measures of Housing Wealth

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Full Sample	Public	Non-public	College- educated	Non-college- educated
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.2258*** [0.0103]	0.0462*** [0.0127]	0.2927*** [0.0216]	0.0767*** [0.0215]	0.2151*** [0.0137]
Log (Household Income)	0.0417*** [0.0020]	0.5245*** [0.0079]	0.0070*** [0.0026]	0.1608*** [0.0077]	0.0264*** [0.0022]
Household Size	0.1076*** [0.0054]	0.0818*** [0.0065]	0.1070*** [0.0110]	0.1147*** [0.0111]	0.1167*** [0.0068]
Household Dependency Ratio	-0.0318 [0.0235]	0.0164 [0.0267]	-0.0059 [0.0487]	0.0430 [0.0450]	-0.0917*** [0.0292]
Household Head Age	0.0051 [0.0049]	-0.0060 [0.0059]	0.0210* [0.0108]	0.0113 [0.0106]	0.0086 [0.0067]
Household Head Age Squared	-0.0110* [0.0056]	0.0054 [0.0067]	-0.0314** [0.0125]	-0.0128 [0.0122]	-0.0148* [0.0076]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	39,241	29,253	9,988	14,511	24,730
Number of Households	12,642	10,712	4,221	5,647	8,740
R Squared	0.1379	0.2653	0.1301	0.1177	0.1082

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: In this table, we use city-level housing price indices to measure housing wealth. The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 9: Robustness Checks: Sample of Renters

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Full Sample	Public	Non-public	College-educated	Non-college-educated
Log (Housing Wealth)	-0.0050 [0.0861]	-0.0430 [0.1286]	-0.2174 [0.1774]	-0.0326 [0.1933]	-0.0510 [0.1113]
Log (Household Income)	0.0741*** [0.0172]	0.4708*** [0.0532]	0.0172 [0.0186]	0.3636*** [0.0556]	0.0367* [0.0191]
Household Size	0.0447 [0.0347]	0.0158 [0.0403]	-0.0299 [0.1161]	-0.0115 [0.0507]	0.0766 [0.0493]
Household Dependency Ratio	-0.0432 [0.1421]	0.0001 [0.1585]	0.3759 [0.3622]	-0.0399 [0.2161]	0.1936 [0.1990]
Household Head Age	0.0835 [0.0611]	0.0469 [0.0685]	0.1729 [0.2346]	0.0453 [0.1112]	0.2621*** [0.0945]
Household Head Age Squared	-0.1436* [0.0743]	-0.0928 [0.0833]	0.0254 [0.2182]	-0.1468 [0.1301]	-0.1946* [0.1004]
GDP per Capita	-0.0007 [0.0022]	-0.0023 [0.0025]	-0.0028 [0.0043]	-0.0001 [0.0028]	-0.0007 [0.0033]
GDP Growth Rate per Capita	0.0093 [0.0064]	0.0020 [0.0082]	0.0046 [0.0098]	0.0118 [0.0093]	0.0011 [0.0085]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	2,521	1,921	600	1,034	1,487
Number of Households	1,592	1,185	425	661	943
R Squared	0.1736	0.2846	0.3549	0.4269	0.2223

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 10: Robustness Checks: Instrumental Variable Estimation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Full Sample	Public	Non-public	College-educated	Non-college-educated
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.5362** [0.2340]	0.3212 [1.2780]	0.7865* [0.4567]	0.1551 [2.1185]	0.9791** [0.4642]
Log (Household Income)	0.0326*** [0.0061]	0.5083*** [0.1518]	0.0065* [0.0038]	0.1571** [0.0696]	0.0236*** [0.0031]
Household Size	0.0544 [0.0387]	0.1027* [0.0569]	0.0518 [0.0562]	0.1108 [0.1033]	0.0598* [0.0350]
Household Dependency Ratio	-0.0216 [0.0338]	-0.0079 [0.0364]	-0.0186 [0.0595]	0.0445 [0.0451]	-0.0432 [0.0448]
Household Head Age	0.0049 [0.0066]	-0.0075 [0.0139]	0.0094 [0.0141]	0.0125 [0.0315]	0.0010 [0.0092]
Household Head Age Squared	-0.0073 [0.0080]	0.0053 [0.0107]	-0.0175 [0.0161]	-0.0141 [0.0369]	-0.0057 [0.0104]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	38,684	29,334	8,009	13,615	23,812
Number of Households	12,085	9,774	2,824	4,751	7,822
R Squared	0.1947	0.1596	0.1179	0.1077	0.1813
First-Stage					
Log (Housing Wealth)	0.0565** [0.0248]	0.0525** [0.0248]	0.0551** [0.0569]	0.0206 [0.0356]	0.0871*** [0.0293]
F-Statistics	5.18	5.08	5.12	1.33	8.82
Hausman Test p value	1.08	0.91	0.9	1.29	1.11

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Table 11. Robustness Checks: Different Types of Consumption

	(1) Rice and Flour	(2) Dessert	(3) Dining Out	(4) Entertainment	(5) Vacation	(6) Health Care
Log(Housing Wealth)	-0.0230*** [0.0074]	0.0649*** [0.0175]	0.1856*** [0.0218]	0.2947*** [0.0270]	0.3587*** [0.0423]	0.1793*** [0.0349]
Log(Household Income)	-0.0066*** [0.0023]	0.0615*** [0.0054]	0.0920*** [0.0067]	0.1223*** [0.0084]	0.1155*** [0.0131]	0.0678*** [0.0108]
Household Size	0.1577*** [0.0061]	0.0768*** [0.0144]	0.0957*** [0.0179]	0.1236*** [0.0223]	0.1219*** [0.0349]	0.1328*** [0.0288]
Household Dependency Ratio	0.1845*** [0.0266]	0.4432*** [0.0630]	-0.0761 [0.0783]	0.4718*** [0.0972]	-0.0135 [0.1522]	0.0519 [0.1256]
Household Head Age	0.0219*** [0.0056]	-0.0492*** [0.0133]	0.0150 [0.0165]	-0.0729*** [0.0205]	-0.0809** [0.0321]	-0.1798*** [0.0265]
Household Head Age Squared	-0.0026 [0.0064]	0.0392** [0.0153]	-0.0545*** [0.0190]	0.0551** [0.0236]	0.0477 [0.0370]	0.1891*** [0.0305]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119
Number of Households	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878
R Squared	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as their unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent.

Appendix Tables

Table A1: Summary Statistics

Variables	Raw Sample		Panel Sample	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Household-Level Variables				
Household Housing wealth	170.70	172.10	127.10	131.50
Household Own mortgage	0.07	0.25	0.06	0.23
Household consumption	27.44	18.96	24.06	16.78
Household Labor income	34.35	24.75	29.87	21.36
Household Size	2.89	0.76	3.04	0.69
Household Dependency Ratio	0.20	0.18	0.22	0.18
Household Head or Spouse Work in SOE	0.72	0.45	0.75	0.43
Household Head Work in SOE	0.69	0.46	0.72	0.45
Household Head College or Above	0.39	0.49	0.38	0.48
Household Head Age	43.41	7.84	43.29	7.65
Household Head School Years	12.42	2.75	12.32	2.70
Household Head Female	0.25	0.43	0.26	0.44
Household Head Married	0.97	0.18	0.97	0.16
Observation	123,658		45,119	

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The raw sample includes households with heads between the ages of 21 and 65. The panel sample includes households that appear in the data at least three times and whose head is between the ages of 21 and 65. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Household income is defined as the sum of salaries, bonuses, and subsidies.

Table A2. Housing Wealth Effects across Different Types of Consumption (Seven Main Categories)

	(1) Food	(2) Clothing and Footwear	(3) Household Appliances	(4) Medical Care and Health	(5) Transportation and Communication	(6) Education and Recreation	(7) Other
Log(Housing Wealth)	0.0734*** [0.0046]	0.2071*** [0.0132]	0.1821*** [0.0209]	0.1207*** [0.0269]	0.2016*** [0.0257]	0.2947*** [0.0270]	0.1900*** [0.0187]
Log(Household Income)	0.0208*** [0.0014]	0.0851*** [0.0041]	0.0866*** [0.0065]	0.0961*** [0.0083]	0.0995*** [0.0080]	0.1223*** [0.0084]	0.0930*** [0.0058]
Household Size	0.1107*** [0.0038]	0.0577*** [0.0109]	0.1369*** [0.0172]	0.2021*** [0.0222]	0.0323 [0.0211]	0.1236*** [0.0223]	0.0572*** [0.0154]
Household Dependency Ratio	0.0354** [0.0166]	-0.0296 [0.0474]	0.0336 [0.0751]	0.0744 [0.0968]	-0.2767*** [0.0923]	0.4718*** [0.0972]	0.0592 [0.0672]
Household Head Age	-0.0068* [0.0035]	0.0410*** [0.0100]	-0.0615*** [0.0158]	-0.2680*** [0.0204]	-0.0839*** [0.0195]	-0.0729*** [0.0205]	0.0075 [0.0142]
Household Head Age Squared	0.0110*** [0.0040]	-0.0829*** [0.0115]	0.0615*** [0.0182]	0.2981*** [0.0235]	0.0710*** [0.0224]	0.0551** [0.0236]	-0.0231 [0.0163]
Household Head Industry	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province * Year Dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Household Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observation	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119	45,119
Number of Households	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878	12,878
R Squared	0.1517	0.0902	0.0310	0.0254	0.0282	0.0435	0.0458

Source: UHS 2002–2009.

Note: The dependent variable is the log of household consumption. All monetary variables use 1,000 RMB as unit and are deflated to 2009 yuan using national urban consumer price indices. Employers are separated into the following three categories: state-owned enterprise, joint venture or foreign-funded enterprise, and private enterprise. Robust standard errors clustered at the household level are in parentheses. Significant at ***1 percent, **5 percent, and *10 percent