Asia-Pacific Network for Housing Research Newsletter

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NEWSLETTER

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Can Older People Be Happy with 'Elderly Housing with Services'?

At present, more than 25 percent of Japan's population are over 65 years old. This will increase to 30 percent in 2025 and be more than 40 percent in 2060—the fastest rising rate in the world. This situation has become critical because Japan's aging population is combined with a declining birthrate. Moreover, the political agenda concerning aging is focused on the old growing even older, how to treat dementia, and increases in the number of one-person households. In addition, aging in metropolitan areas is expected to be the most crucial issue for the next two decades.

In 2000, Japan launched a public long-term-care insurance program that aims to keep older people in their familiar communities or their own homes, where they can receive many kinds of home-visit services, including residential-care home services. After being amended twice, Japan's long-term care system is now remarkably developed. Since 2006, one of its most efficient programs is a small-scale multi-functioned service that provides day service, home care, and short-stay service from one facility for up to 25 older people living in their own homes near the facility.

In 2012, the concept of Chiiki-Houkatsu Care was initiated. Chiiki-Houkatsu Care is community-based integrated care that allows older people to remain in their communities by integrating medical care and social services, providing Elderly Housing with Services, and promoting assistance from community volunteers. One example of Chiiki-Houkatsu Care is Teiki-Junkai Care, which provides around-the-clock home care and nursing services. Concurrently, under the auspices of Elderly Housing Law, Elderly Housing with Services started, which enables the private sector to build housing for the elderly by receiving a subsidy from the central government of up to 1,000,000 yen (approximately 10,000 U.S. dollars) per dwelling. This promotes Aging in Place with less dependence on institutional care such as nursing homes. Because of this program, in two years, more than 160,000 units of housing for the elderly have been built in Japan.

Since the late 1990s, many European countries have been providing rental homes to the elderly to encourage them to live independently and to secure tenants' rights and a high quality of life. At first glance, a similar program, Japan's Elderly Housing with Services seems to be successful. However, more than 70 percent of these houses are less than 20 square meters, 70 percent have no bathroom, and 50 percent lack a kitchen. Because this housing type lacks basic necessities, it is essentially the same as what is provided by institutions that raise elderly people's dependence through poor living conditions and too much care. Moreover, the average monthly rental fee is more than 66,000 yen a month (approximately 660 U.S. dollars) and the total monthly fees, including food and everyday living assistance, are 150,000 yen (approximately 1,500 U.S. dollars). This housing cost excludes many older people due to their poor financial condition. The highest Japanese national pension payout is only 66,000 yen (approximately 660 U.S. dollars) a month.

On the surface, it seems that since 2006 we have been strongly supporting Aging in Place programs so that the elderly do not need to depend on institutional care. However, changes are still necessary. To make this system more accessible for all elderly persons, housing subsidies for residents, sufficient around-the-clock home care, and more community assistance is required.

Yoko Matsuoka Tokyo Kasei University

HOUSING NEWS FROM THE REGION

AUSTRALIA

The Australian housing story going into 2015 is a problematic one characterised by risk and uncertainty.

The last eighteen months has seen substantial increases in dwelling prices in Australian cities but with investors, not first home owners, and the drivers of this increase. At the end of 2014 investors accounted for 41 per cent of all residential dwelling finance with first home buyers accounting for a record low of 7 per cent. While the popular media has seized on these trends to raise question about a housing bubble and the future of home ownership, particularly for younger generations, there appears little awareness of, or concern, by the major political parties. Like a number of other countries the boom is fed by historically low interest rates but where in other countries (China, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore) the Government and/or the Reserve Bank has been willing to restrict demand by macro prudential controls no such policy initiatives have been muted in Australia. With a fragile economy, a major decline in mining capital investment and weak wages growth the Reserve Bank in the interest of the healthiness of the wider economy will keep interest rates low or even lower for the foreseeable future. In the absence of other controls this will likely sustain house price growth into 2015 but with the risk of a housing bust at some later date. And in the meantime who cares about the forgone home purchase opportunities of young households when the economy is in danger; they must suffer to protect the sacred cow of economic growth!

The high degree of investor activity in the market has raised two issues to national debate; one is the role of foreign, notably Chinese, investment and the other the role of generous tax concessions in feeding the investor boom. There would be less concern with either of these issues if the investment was going into new supply and helping address Australia's housing supply shortfall but 83 per cent of purchases for investment are going into established homes where two decades ago a much greater proportion was going to newly constructed dwellings.

The foreign investment concern prompted a senate enquiry i.e. one of the upper house of the Australian parliament, into such investment and the finding were released in November. (See http://www.aph.gov.au/parliamentary_business/committees/house_of_representatives_committees?url=economics/foreigninvestment/index.htm). In Australia foreign investment is only allowed in newly constructed properties not established dwellings or, if the latter, only if they are pulled down for new construction. There is a foreign investment review Board (FIRB) to ensure compliance but it was clear the FIRB had failed; the board could provide little evidence on the scale and form of foreign investment and the degree to which it was going to new property and had not made a single prosecution in eight years despite common knowledge that there were abuses of the system. Despite the limitations of data preventing a proper evaluation, the conclusion was that foreign investment was an overall positive in the housing market but that better review processes were needed to prevent any abuses. There was also a proposal to hit foreign property buyers with extra stamp duty to fund a more effective FIRB but this has apparently been quietly dumped by the government, probably because of not wishing to offend China at a time of sensitive trade talks.

The concern with generous tax concessions has a wider foundation than just the housing implications. In March 2014 the newly elected Liberal (conservative) Government brought down a tough budget that made many lower and moderate income families worse off but left

higher income households and the rich untouched including all the advantageous tax exemptions and concessions that enable them to build their wealth. The backlash was powerful and most of the budget recommendation, as of end 2014, has still not been passed in parliament. One of the most generous tax concessions is what is called negative gearing i.e. the ability to claim all rental cost including interest on borrowing against your entire income not just rental income. It thus becomes an effective mechanism for reducing the tax burden of higher income earners with little demonstrated evidence that it provides positive housing outcomes. The unfair budget along with spiralling house prices has thus pushed this tax instrument into the realm of public debate where previously governments had kept it largely out of the lime light. In another senate enquiry on housing affordability, the role of negative gearing figured prominently in public submissions and calls for its abolition or restructure are regularly found in the popular press (see http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Economics/Affordable_housing). But unwinding negative gearing and the other major tax concession, low capital gains tax, is politically unpalatable, so entrenched are the use of these tax instruments among middle and upper income households.

In other policy areas such as long term funding for social and affordable housing or for homeless assistance programs, there is also no evidence of policy action. In fact, right on Christmas eve, when the media does not notice, almost all the major peak housing organisations providing advocacy and services to low income groups and the homeless were defunded. For those that see housing as a public good with major equity and efficiency implications, Australia at present is becoming an international benchmark of bad practice.

Terry Burke Swinburne University of Technology

CHINA

Real Estate: Step into New Normal

Since the most severe real estate regulation issued three years ago, China's real estate market has finally ushered in the cold winter this year. After Hangzhou's property market cut its price in the first half of year, China's biggest 70 cities' real estate price has stopped to rise in September, with 69 cities' new commodity housing price falling sequentially and one flatting. Commercial housing sales and saleable areas both have made negative growth, which has enlarged month by month, and the residential housing sales and saleable areas even worsen. Meanwhile, the real estate investment growth declined obviously. The national real estate development investment is 8.660 trillion RMB from January to November, which has increased by 11.9% year-on-year, but the growth dropped 7.6% compared to the same period last year. In this context China's real estate industry insiders have lamented the "golden age" of Chinese real estate has already passed.

To prevent the sudden collapse of the real estate market, the central government and local governments have introduced measures to rescue. Besides the four first-tier cities and Sanya, all other cities have cancelled purchase restrictions. On September 30, the People's Bank of China issued new real estate regulation policy to stimulate demand. For those who borrow money to buy the first unit of ordinary house, they can pay at lowest 30% down payments, and loan interest rate can be as low as 0.7 times of the standard loan interest rate. For those who have had one set

of property, have paid off the loan, and desire to apply for a new loan to buy another ordinary commodity house to improve the living condition, banking financial institutions should perform the first suite loan policy on them. Furthermore, the People's Bank of China decided to reduce deposit and loan interest rates in November.

In the Central Economic Working Conference (CEWC) in December, the government clearly put forward China's economic target as "reduce speed, adjust structure, and change power" and the definition for the economic characteristics of China's new normal. At the same time the meeting no longer discussed real estate short-term adjustment. In this background, the development of China's real estate will also enter the new normal time. China's real estate work will major in the construction of the long-term effective mechanism.

And what are the characteristics of the "new normal" real estate? First, China's real estate market will be mature and rational. Since the commercialization of China's real estate market in 1998, it has developed quickly for 15 years. After this downturn, real estate investment craze will turn to rationality, the housing purchase will be guided as consumption rather than speculation. Second, the differentiation development trend of China's real estate market is obvious. Because of the comprehensive resources attraction, big cities' housing demand will continue to grow, and the housing price will be high as past; while third and fourth tier small cities are more likely to face the pressure of the inventory for a long time. The Midwest propulsion of urbanization and economic development potential also makes the potential of Midwestern cities' real estate development greater than that of the east. Finally, China's real estate market mechanism will be more developed. Real estate registration system will be put into effect on March 1st next year, property tax will enter into a new stage; the real estate related laws and regulations will also be improved. China's real estate market will be more mature.

Chen Hongjie and Jie Chen Shanghai University of Finance and Economics

Hong Kong

The last quarter of 2014 in Hong Kong has been turbulent. In the political front, the occupy movement has made Hong Kong appeared again in headlines of international media. Despite some main roads have been blocked and antagonism was expected from those who opposed to the movement and business proprietors whose normal business has been affected, interestingly, fascinating experience in the urban front has been created. One can hardly imagine in the city centre of one of the most business city in the world, the use of public space could be so creative. In the notoriously crammed space of central Hong Kong, forums could be set up on (literally on) one of the busiest street of the Kowloon peninsula in which students, intellectuals and people from the grassroots could engage in debates on political philosophy, public policy and the road to democracy. Although it was short-lived and only last for two months, it marks one of the extraordinary history of public space in Hong Kong (refer to Art Radar http://artradarjournal. com/2014/10/10/occupy-central-hong-kong-streets-art-galleries/ for more pictures).

Back to real life policy, Hong Kong is still deeply upset by the continued soaring of property prices. In fact, house price increased more than four folds from the price ebb in mid 2003 and doubled in the last five year. Despite extra measures had been implemented in levying taxes

on short term transaction (15% of extra stamp duty on transaction made within three years and non-citizen buyers have to pay an additional 15%), there is no sign that house price is being pacified. In fact it soared by another 16% since such cooling policies were introduced (in 2012). Apparently, the "demand side management policy" has not been effective. Unsurprisingly, political pressure on the government on housing policy is intense.

Of course, the government felt the heat long ago and has been eager to demonstrate its determination to bite the bullet. In fact, housing was the most important pillar of the electoral pledge of the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Government. Soon after he took office in mid 2012, a steering committee was appointed to craft out a new long term housing strategy for the next ten years. Its report was released in December 2014. Led by the academic-turned-politician Secretary of Transport and Housing, the new long term housing strategy strives on a public-sector-led and supply oriented policy which promises to build half a million (480,000) housing units in the next ten year in which 60% will be developed in the public sector.

At the heart of the Long Term Housing Strategy is to make up the backlog of housing supply by previous governments. Bowed to the pressure from developers in 2002, the government halted land sale, stopped the assisted homeownership programme and cut back the supply of public rental housing as a measure to rescue the collapsing housing market. The accumulated undersupply finally took its toll in 2009 when the economy picked up and created a serious housing shortage. The waiting queue for public rental housing approaches 300,000 households in late 2014 which means one in eight households in Hong Kong are in need of decent housing. At the same time, housing shortage also drove up rents in the private sector and many low income renters found even the lowest quality rental housing unaffordable. Facing the problem of supply and high rent, landlords reacted by subdividing their rental flats into small cubicles. These so called "sub-divided" flats (often en suite rooms of 8-10 m2 but command rent as high as US\$50-60 per square metres) pose serious social issues in the past few years as most of them are being converted illegally with substantial health and fire safety risks. Immediately abandoning such illegal conversion has been ruled out by the government as it would exacerbate the problem of supply. Again, the key in solving problems in the private rental housing rests with the increase in supply.

Yet the availability of land is a challenge in the boost of housing supply. Hong Kong is already a densely built city and the unenthusiastic attitude of previous governments in creating new lands further makes the problem worse. Hong Kong has been relying on reclamation to create land from the sea. However, increased environmental concern has made such route less straight forward than before. Hence the government could only locate additional capacity in housing development by intensifying the use of current built up lands – by increase the plot ratio, seize green space between buildings, convert lands for communal facilities into residential etc. Such measures would inevitably downgrade the quality of life of the neighbourhood and unsurprisingly trigger opposition from the residents. This appears that the way to solve the burning housing issues in Hong Kong requires, not just the technical and policy know-how, but also the political determination of the government.

Ngai Ming Yip City University of Hong Kong

JAPAN

Key Issues Related to Housing Allowance Reductions

Income-related housing allowances are now well-established and increasingly important policy instruments in many advanced welfare states. Japan provides income-related assistance for housing expenditures primarily through a social assistance programme, and does not have separate housing allowance scheme. However, the Japanese government's Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy and the Ministry of Finance's (MOF) inquiry commissions have established a policy of reducing the level of government-provided housing assistance with the goal of restoring fiscal health. On this basis, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) is conducting discussions with the Social Security Council's expert committee to determine the future direction for housing assistance initiatives.

On the basis of the language of Article 25 of the Constitution of Japan, national and local governments are charged through the public assistance scheme with providing welfare payments to citizens experiencing economic poverty so that they may maintain a minimum living standard deemed necessary for a 'wholesome and cultured' life. The number of people receiving public assistance in recent years has increased due to the sluggish economy, and an ageing population and the rapid growth of social security payments has become a major issue. As of March 2014, 1.6 million households were receiving public assistance—an increase of more than 300% over the past 25 years. Data indicate that the majority of households receiving public assistance are headed by elderly persons, single mothers or physically disabled persons. Additional housing assistance supplements public assistance payments for households that pay rent and associated housing costs such as housing repair and maintenance. Under the housing assistance structure, beneficiaries receive an amount for their actual expenses, calculated from within a range of standards which are dependent upon the region in which they live and the number of people residing in their household. Approximately 80% of households that receive public assistance also receive housing assistance.

The MOF has posited that the maximum level of housing assistance provided tends to be high compared to the actual rents for average low-income households and has requested the MHLW lower the housing assistance standards to match the average costs for low-income earners. However, citizens' groups, experts and other parties have submitted numerous criticisms in response to mere discussions of the considerations for lowering the base amount.

The current system is evidently problematic. For instance, no housing quality standards are currently set for housing assistance; the current system provides aid even for outright substandard, inferior housing. Consequently, a rather large percentage of the housing available for households receiving public assistance does not have the minimum standards of residential floor space (e.g. 25 m² for one-person households) as determined by the housing administration (the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism) for healthy, cultured living. Indeed, historically, there has been absolutely no coordination between the housing and public assistance administrations.

Furthermore, although households receiving public assistance often reside in inferior housing, their rents tend to be near the upper limits of the housing assistance standards. In many cases, the

elderly, physically disabled, single mothers living with children and other marginalized groups experience discrimination when moving into private rental housing and are, thus, forced to agree to a rental amount quoted by the landlord or intermediary even when that rent is higher than the established appropriate amount for that given type of residence. For people who do not have a relative who can serve as a co-signer, this discriminatory trend becomes even stronger. In recent years, this 'poverty business'—forcing people receiving public assistance to live in inferior housing while taking advantage of expensive rents—has been growing. Deficiencies in the housing policies, which have been lacking in regulating private rental housing, only enable the process.

Even today, the housing assistance standards are insufficient. The current standards render obtaining suitable rental housing in central Tokyo difficult, and physically handicapped persons limited to wheelchairs experience extreme difficulties finding housing. In many such situations, people receiving public assistance cannot avoid inferior, low-rent housing.

Compounding the issues are the many low-income households below the public assistance standards that cannot receive assistance and are living in inferior housing. Japan's public assistance capture ratio (the percentage of people eligible to receive assistance who actually do) is estimated at just 20%. This paucity is partly due to overly strict inspections and the strong stigma against people who receive assistance. There are significant problems with the MOF policy that supports reducing the standard for housing assistance—aimed to enable recipients to maintain a minimum standard of living—to the average rent of the low-income households that do not meet the public assistance standard.

Reducing the amount of housing assistance will only serve to further drive general low-income households and those receiving public assistance into inferior housing. Therefore, discussions on revising the housing assistance standards should engage the goal of enabling beneficiaries to meet the minimum housing standards determined by the housing administration. Simultaneous consideration must also be given to other measures, including legislation that bans housing discrimination, introduction of a public guarantor system and regulating the 'poverty business'.

Nahoko Kawata Oita University

UPCOMING HOUSING EVENTS

2015 APNHR Conference

Housing 2.0: Search for New Paradigms for Collaborative Housing

Organizer : Korean Housing Association (KHA)

Venue : Asian Culture Complex, Gwangju, South Korea

Date : 9-12 April 2015 Website : www.apnhr2015.org

Conference theme

Housing 2.0 is a platform derived from the CITY 2.0 of TED 2012, allowing people all around the world to participate in the creation of new paradigms to solve the current housing problems. The theme of this conference is thus to explore how housing has been limited by the approaches taken by the government and capital market in the past and how it could be tackled given this context. So we ask, what kinds of new approaches or systems could overcome the current housing problems?

The scope of exploration under this topic could be boundless. This conference attempts to focus on three key themes, while accepting contributions on other aspects.

The first is the meaning or value of housing in one's life, in a locality and in a culture, and over the passage of time. The changes in meaning and value may be interpreted philosophically or empirically, as reflected in housing policies, market behaviors and housing practices. How does the evolving pursuit of the quality of living under the globalization influence affect the meaning or value of housing?

The second is the exploration of new approaches to build a resilient future. Given the situation of living with limited resources, we need to seek ways of developing affordable housing by encouraging participation, collaboration and the sharing of knowledge for developments. Open source developments starting from the agreement to share knowledge and experience, can be applied to find solutions in urban rehabilitation projects, where social sustainability deserves greater emphasis.

The third theme is a new system that enables resilient development. Without doubt new policies are needed for housing in transitional economies that are undergoing rapid urbanization or significant economic change. Moving beyond a government- and market-led society, we need to also explore the potential of a collaborative economy led by civilians, while the market, the government and the third sector react to societal changes promptly and responsively.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON HOUSING IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

AUSTRALIA

Crabtree, L. 2014. Community Land Trusts and Indigenous Housing in Australia—Exploring Difference-Based Policy and Appropriate Housing. Housing Studies, 29 (6), pp. 743-759.

Fisher, R. & Mcphail, R. 2014. Residents' Experiences in Condominiums: A Case Study of Australian Apartment Living. Housing Studies, 29 (6), pp. 781-799.

Kupke, V., Rossini, P., Mcgreal, S. & Yam, S. 2014. Female-Headed Households and Achieving Home Ownership in Australia. Housing Studies, 29 (7), pp. 871-892.

Nethercote, M. 2014. Reconciling Policy Tensions on the Frontlines of Indigenous Housing Provision in Australia: Reflexivity, Resistance and Hybridity. Housing Studies, 29 (8), pp. 1045-1072.

* The Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) releases throughout the year a large number of reports on a range of housing and homelessness issues. These can be accessed at www.ahuri.edu.au. AHURI also publishes Evidence Review - short online articles linking AHURI research findings to contemporary debates, media discussions and community concerns - and organises a range of events, including a National Housing Conference (www.nhc.edu.au). You can subscribe to a weekly e-update at www.ahuri.edu.au/subscribe. You can also connect with us through Twitter (twitter.com/AHURI-Research) and Facebook (facebook.com/AHURI.AUS).

BANGLADESH

Ghosh, S. 2014. Everyday Lives in Vertical Neighbourhoods: Exploring Bangladeshi Residential Spaces in Toronto's Inner Suburbs. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38 (6), pp. 2008-2024.

Morshed, M. M. 2014. Illegality of private subdivision and access to land for housing by the urban poor in Dhaka. *Habitat International*, 44, pp. 386-393.

CAMBODIA

Fauveaud, G. 2014. Mutations of real estate actors' strategies and modes of capital appropriation in contemporary Phnom Penh. *Urban Studies*, 51 (16), pp. 3479-3494.

CHINA

Chen, J. & Deng, L. 2014. Financing Affordable Housing Through Compulsory Saving: The Two-Decade Experience of Housing Provident Fund in China. Housing Studies, 29 (7), pp. 937-958.

Hu, H., Geertman, S. & Hooimeijer, P. 2014. The willingness to pay for green apartments: The case of Nanjing, China. Urban Studies, 51 (16), pp. 3459-3478.

Li, H., Wang, Q., Shi, W., Deng, Z. & Wang, H. 2015. Residential clustering and spatial access to public services in Shanghai. Habitat International, 46, pp. 119-129.

Tian, G., Qiao, Z. & Gao, X. 2014. Rural settlement land dynamic modes and policy implications in Beijing metropolitan region, China. Habitat International, 44, pp. 237-246.

Wang, L., Sun, T. & Li, S. 2014. Legal title, tenure security, and investment—An empirical study in Beijing. Housing Studies, 29 (8), pp. 1117-1138.

Wang, L. & Sun, T. 2014. Capitalization of legal title: Evidence from small-property-rights houses in Beijing. Habitat International, 44, pp. 306-313.

Wen, H., Bu, X. & Qin, Z. 2014. Spatial effect of lake landscape on housing price: A case study of the West Lake in Hangzhou, China. Habitat International, 44, pp. 31-40.

Wen, H. & Tao, Y. 2015. Polycentric urban structure and housing price in the transitional China: Evidence from Hangzhou. Habitat International, 46, pp. 138-146.

Xu, Z. & Li, Q. 2014. Integrating the empirical models of benchmark land price and GIS technology for sustainability analysis of urban residential development. Habitat International, 44, pp. 79-92.

Yan, S., Ge, X. J. & Wu, Q. 2014. Government intervention in land market and its impacts on land supply and new housing supply: Evidence from major Chinese markets. Habitat International, 44, pp. 517-527.

Zhang, M., Meng, X., Wang, L. & Xu, T. 2014. Transit development shaping urbanization: Evidence from the housing market in Beijing. Habitat International, 44, pp. 545-554.

Zhou, Z. 2014. Towards collaborative approach? Investigating the regeneration of urban village in Guangzhou, China. Habitat International, 44, pp. 297-305.

Zhou, M. 2014. Debating the State in Private Housing Neighborhoods: The Governance of Homeowners' Associations in Urban Shanghai. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38 (5), pp. 1849-1866.

Zhu, Y. 2015. Toward community engagement: Can the built environment help? Grassroots participation and communal space in Chinese urban communities. Habitat International, 46, pp. 44-53. Housing in Chinese Hong Kong. *Urban Studies*, 51 (10), pp. 2052-2067.

JAPAN

Murayama, H., Arami, R., Wakui, T., Sugawara, I. & Yoshie, S. 2014. Cross-level interaction between individual and neighbourhood socioeconomic status in relation to social trust in a Japanese community. *Urban Studies*, 51 (13), pp. 2770-2786.

MALAYSIA

Tedong, P. A., Grant, J. L., Wan Abd Aziz, W. N. A., Ahmad, F. & Hanif, N. R. 2014. Guarding the Neighbourhood: The New Landscape of Control in Malaysia. *Housing Studies*, 29 (8), pp. 1005-1027.

NEW ZEALAND

Murphy, L. 2014. 'Houston, we've got a problem': The Political Construction of a Housing Affordability Metric in New Zealand. *Housing Studies*, 29 (7), pp. 893-909.

TAIWAN

Chiang, Y.-H., Peng, T.-C. & Chang, C.-O. 2015. The nonlinear effect of convenience stores on residential property prices: A case study of Taipei, Taiwan. *Habitat International*, 46, pp. 82-90.

Lee, M.-T., Lee, M.-L. & Lin, S.-H. 2014. Trend properties, cointegration, and diffusion of presale house prices in Taiwan: Can Taipei's house prices ripple out? *Habitat International*, 44, pp. 432-441.

ENQUIRY AND MEMBERSHIP

For enquiry and membership, please contact the Secretary of APNHR at <apnhr@hku.hk>, or write to the Centre of Urban Studies and Urban Planning, The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong.

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