

Policy Changes of Land Finance from the Perspective of Central-Local Relations --Investigation Based on the Advocacy Coalition Framework

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ABSTRACT

The land finance arose and evolved under the background of specific land management system, fiscal and taxation system and other systems in Chinese mainland. Due to its obvious advantages and disadvantages, it has been embroiled in controversy for a long time. It is crucial for the understanding of the current situation and future trend of land finance to sort out and explain the policy changes of land finance and the reasons behind. With advocacy coalition framework as the theoretical basis, this paper has found out that the policy changes of land finance are the result of the long-term interaction between the two coalitions represented by the central government and the local government. At the present stage, the policy of land finance is gradually moving towards transformation, but the conflict of the deep core beliefs of the two coalitions may lead to obstacles along the road of transformation. In addition, in this study, some optimization suggestions are put forward for the application of the advocacy coalition framework.

Keywords: land finance, central-local relations, advocacy coalition framework

1. INTRODUCTION

Land finance refers to the income obtained by local governments relying on land related operations. Due to many problems caused by it, such as distorted urbanization, unbalanced industrial structure, rising house prices, rapidly widening gap between urban and rural areas, increased risk of local debt, problems of landless farmers and so on [1-6], almost all of the related researches focus on the reform and transformation of land finance with a static perspective, and few people have a dynamic perspective to explore the historical changes of land fiscal policy.[7]

At the same time, on the causes of land finance, the mainstream research mainly focuses on local governments [8-10]. Some scholars point out that "the reform of tax sharing system results in the financial pressure of local governments, resulting in the emergence of land finance" only indirectly establishes the connection between the central government and local governments. However, the power of the central government should not be underestimated, and its role in the formation and development of land finance should not be ignored in China. [11]

Therefore, the research question is put forward: How

does the land financial policy change under the joint action of different forces led by the central and local governments?

To solve this question, this paper uses the advocacy coalition framework to sort out the changes of land fiscal policy and analyzes the reasons of the changes from the perspective of central-local Relations, so as to provide a scientific basis for the prediction of the future of land finance.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The advocacy coalition framework takes the policy subsystem as the basic unit to analyze the policy process. The policy subsystem refers to those policy subjects who play a substantial role in the process of policy-making and their activities and action modes[12]. The actors in the policy subsystem will form different advocacy coalitions based on different beliefs. The belief of each coalition consists of three levels: (1) deep core beliefs: the normative and ontological theory used to determine people's world outlook, such as human nature, the relative priority of various main values, social and cultural identity which is extremely difficult to change; (2) policy core beliefs: it is the key to realize the deep core belief in the policy region or subsystem, usually

means the seriousness of the problem, the basic causes of the problem, policy preferences, etc. This level is not rigid, but difficult to adjust; (3) secondary aspects beliefs: it is a group of narrow beliefs, which consider the importance of the problem or the relative importance of different factors in the specific context, and it is relatively easy to change. [13]

The advocacy coalition framework gives four paths of policy change: (1) "policy oriented learning", which generally leads to secondary policy change when only policy oriented learning occurs; (2) "external shock", in which the external events of the subsystem make policy change by influencing the action basis of advocacy coalition, that is the belief and resources; (3) "internal shock", The internal events in the subsystem make the key political resources redistribute, change the advocacy coalition status, and finally make the policy change; (4) "negotiation agreement", that is, breaking the policy deadlock through policy brokers or professional forums, reaching a negotiation agreement, leading to policy change.

3. LAND FINANCE RELATED POLICIES

One of the preconditions of land finance is the establishment of urban and rural dual land system, so the relevant policies can be traced back to the early stage of reform and opening up (Table 1).

Table 1 Reorganization of the Relevant Policies of Land Finance

Time	Policy (or event)
1982	The 1982 Constitution clearly stipulates the issue of land ownership
1982	Levy urban land-use fees
1986	Land Administration Law in 1986
1987	Pilot reform program of land use systems
1988	The 1988 Constitution states that "the land-use rights can be transferred."
	Land Administration Law in 1988
	Provisional Regulations of the People's Republic of China Governing Land Use Tax in Cities and Towns
1990	Provisional Regulations of the People's Republic of China on the Leasing and Subleasing of Urban State-owned Land
	Measures for the Administration of the Foreign-invested Development and Management of Tracts of Land
1992	Provisional Rules on Administration of Allocated Land Use Right
1993	Provisional Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Land Value-added Taxes
1994	Tax-sharing reform
1995	Some Provisions on Determining Land Ownership and Use Rights
1998	Land Administration Law in 1998
	Regulation on the Protection of Basic Farmlands
1999	Notice on Further Promoting Bid Invitation, Auction and Listing of the State-owned Land Use Right

2000	Notice on Establishing Tangible Land Market to Promote Standardized Transaction of Land Use Rights
2001	Notice on Rectifying and Standardizing the Order of the Land Market
	Notice on Strengthening the Administration of State-owned Land Assets
2002	Provisions on the Assignment of State-owned Land Use Right through Bid Invitation, Auction and Quotation
2003	Rules on the Agreement-based Assignment of State-owned Land Use Right
	Notice on Further Strengthening the Management of Real Estate Credit Business
	Urgent Notice on Suspending Examination and Approval of Various Development Zones and Notice on Cleaning up and Rectifying Various Development Zones and Strengthening Construction Land Management
	Circular of the State Council on Promoting the Continuous and Healthy Development of the Real Estate Markets
	Urgent Notice on Intensifying Work to Further Rectify and Standardize the Order of the Land Market
2004	Notice on Further Carrying out Law Enforcement and Supervision of Bidding Invitation, Listing and Assignment of For-profit Land Use Rights
	Urgent Notice on Deepening Land Market Rectification and Strict Land Management
	Notice on Implementing the Spirit of the State Council's Urgent Notice and Further Carrying out Strict Land Management"
	Land Administration Law in 2004
	Decision on Deepening Reform and Strict Land Management
2005	Circular of the General Office of the State Council on Effectively Stabilizing House Prices
2006	Notice of the Ministry of Land and Resources on Issuing the Rules on the Assignment of State-owned Land Use Right by Bidding, Auction and Quotation and the Rules on the Assignment of State-owned Land Use Right by Agreement (For Trial Implementation)
	Opinions on Adjusting Housing Supply Structure and Stabilizing Housing Prices
2006	Notice on Relevant Issues Concerning the Establishment of the National Land Inspectorate System
	Notice of the General Office of the State Council on Regulating the Management of Incomes from and Expenses for the Assignment of the Right to Use State-owned Land
	Measures for the Examination on the Balance between the Occupation and Supplement of Arable Land
	Notice of the General Office of the State Council on Regulating the Management of Incomes from and Expenses for the Assignment of the Right to Use State-owned Land
	Circular on Intensifying the Land Control
	Notice on Adjusting the Policy of Use Fees Paid for Newly Added Construction Land
	Notice on Issuing and Implementing the Catalog of Items for Which the Land Use Is Restricted (2006 Revision) and the Catalog of Items for Which the

	Land Use Is Prohibited (2006 Revision)
	The National Standards for the Minimum Transfer Prices of Land for Industrial Purposes
	Notice on Adjusting the Examination and Approval Methods of Urban Construction Land Submitted to the State Council for Approval and Other Issues
	The State Council on Amending the Interim Regulations of the People's Republic of China on City and Town Land Use Tax
2007	The Order No.39 of the Ministry of Land and Resources is directed against the gray areas in the process of previous land transfer,
	Regulations on Land Bank
2008	Outline of National Land Use Planning
	Notice of the State Council on Promoting the Land Saving and Intensive Use
	Land Administration Law in 2008
2009	Urban Real Estate Administration Law of the People's Republic of China in 2009
2011	Notice on Strengthening the Management of State-owned Lands
	Opinions of the State Council on Further Increasing Fiscal Investment in Education
	Notice on Matters Related to Provision of Farmland Water Conservancy Construction Funds from Land Transfer Income
	Regulation on the Expropriation of Buildings on State-owned Land and Compensation
2014	Regulation on the Implementation of the Land Administration Law of the Peoples Republic of China
2017	Opinions on Strengthening Cultivated Land Protection and Improving the Balance of Land
	Some Opinions on Drawing and Strictly Observing the Ecological Red Line
2019	Land Administration Law in 2019

4. EXPLANATION OF POLICY CHANGES OF LAND FINANCE BASED ON ADVOCACY COALITION FRAMEWORK

From the perspective of central-local relations, this paper holds that there are mainly two coalitions in the process of policy changes of land finance: the coalition of continuous improvement led by the central government and the coalition of maintaining the status quo led by the local government. The coalition of continuous improvement mainly covers the state leaders, the central economic development and land-related departments and their persons in charge, ordinary residents, lost-land peasants, the media and some experts and scholars. The coalition of maintaining the status quo mainly covers stakeholders of land finance, including local government departments, officials and workers as well as industries like brick-and-mortar enterprises, real estate enterprises, commercial banks and so on. At different stages of the policy, the two coalitions have changed in aspects such as members, beliefs and resources.

4.1 Horizontal analysis by stages

4.1.1 Initial stage: push-forward policy (1978-end of the 20th century)

4.1.1.1 Analysis of coalition structure

Firstly, we analyze the members, beliefs and resources of the coalitions at the initial stage of policies of land finance.

Members: at this stage, the coalition of continuous improvement covers the state leaders, economic development and land-related departments and their persons in charge. The members of coalition of maintaining the status quo include relevant departments of local government and local officials. As there are no prominent differences between the two coalitions, the general public, experts and mass media may be scattered in different coalitions or belong to neither of them. That is, the members participating in the coalition at this stage are relatively rare.

Belief: at this stage, the beliefs at all levels of the two coalitions have a high degree of coincidence. At the beginning of the reform and opening up, guided by thoughts of “focusing on economic construction”, both the central government and the local government attached great importance to economic construction. Although their starting points were not exactly the same, their deep core beliefs were almost identical, which also made the both of them show consistency in core beliefs of the policy and Secondary aspects beliefs. Both hoped to establish a system of paid use of land (see Table 2).

Table 2 Coalition Belief System in the Stage of Push-forward Policy

	Coalition of Continuous Improvement	Coalition of Maintaining the Status Quo
Deep core belief	At the macro level, equal stress should be laid on the quality and speed of economic development.	From the perspective of local interests, we should pursue the speed of local economic development.
Policy core belief	The effective use of land may affect the reform of economic system and economic development, and the separation of land ownership and control is in line with the reform of economic system. Clear stipulation should be made on land property rights and management.	To promote local development by attracting investment, land as a capital element needs to be put into the market as soon as possible to attract foreign investment. The benefits brought by the paid use of land will be huge.
Secondary aspects	Since large-scale economic	Under the current policies, it is

beliefs	construction is in urgent needs of land and funds, it is necessary to establish a system of paid use of land as soon as possible.	impossible to legally “exchange land for money/attracting investment”, so that guarantees of legal policies are needed.
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Resources: at the beginning of the reform and opening up, the state placed special emphasis on the autonomy of local governments. Local governments can explore development paths based on local realities and the environment of all aspects is relatively loose. Before the tax sharing reform, local governments had tremendous financial strength, which provides material guarantee for their actions.

4.1.1.2 Policy outcomes

Partial coincidence of deep core beliefs, the same goal of policy core beliefs, the consistency at large of secondary aspects beliefs and the equivalent resources available to both sides lead to similar results of the actions by coalitions of continuous improvement and coalitions of maintaining status quo, which jointly promotes the establishment of the system of paid land use and the emergence of land finance. In the Amendments to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1988, “the land use rights can be transferred in accordance with the provisions of the law”, which has become the basic legal basis for the system of paid use of land. After that, the Provisional Regulations of the People's Republic of China on the Leasing and Subleasing of Urban State-owned Land and Interim Procedures for the Administration of Foreign Investment in the Development and Management of Whole Areas of Land all stipulate the details of the system of paid land use.

On the other hand, the differences between the two in deep core beliefs result in that the system of paid land use is not established at one go. Under China's administrative system and the special historical background, the central government believes that the first-level power of land leasing should be transferred to the local government, so as to enhance the motivation of the local government and widely promote the reform of land ownership in cities and towns. Therefore, the Interim Regulations of the People's Republic of China on the Granting and Transfer of State-owned Land Use Rights in Cities and Towns delegate the relevant powers of land leasing to the local government. The local government pursues local economic development, and the huge benefits in land leasing make it even more reluctant to let go. It uses its relatively great autonomy and other powers during this period to struggle against the central government. Therefore, the central-local share of land leasing income submitted to the central government is changed from 40% in 1989 to 5% in 1992. The central government has been unable to make ends

meet for a long time. In order to ensure the central government's capacity for regulation, the tax sharing reform was started in 1994 to redistribute the central-local fiscal revenue. The local government had less fiscal revenue but obtained all the land leasing income, which meant that the central government no longer had any share of the land leasing income.

However, the tax-sharing reform has led to a sharp decline in the financial resources of local governments, and the income obtained from uncontrolled land leasing has gradually evolved into the most important source of local fiscal revenue. “Land finance” came into being, leading to various problems down the road of the following stage.

4.1.2 The stage of the first change: regulatory normative policies (early 21st century-2007)

Since the beginning of the 21st century, various documents restricting the total amount of land supply and standardizing the order of the land market have been issued continuously. The “living environment” of land finance is no longer “looser” than that of the previous stage. So, what are the reasons behind the policy changes for this time?

4.1.2.1 Analysis of changing reasons

We mainly focus on the policy changes of internal shocks caused by internal focus events. Reports on many cases of land grant and use violating laws and rules and land expropriation conflicts [14-17] result in changes in the beliefs and resources of the coalitions.

See table 3 for the coalition belief system at this stage. The internal focus events make the coalitions of continuous improvement realize that the current land finance related systems are imperfect and they should pay more attention to the management and improvement of land finance in terms of policy core beliefs. Under the guidance of deep core beliefs, coalitions of maintaining the status quo worried that the introduction of relevant control policies would reduce the benefits brought by land finance. Therefore, only secondary aspects beliefs are somewhat affected by realities, which eventually leads to its belief that as long as self-regulation and management are carried out, problems can be alleviated, such as exploring the implementation of diversified resettlement compensation means based on local conditions to solve land expropriation conflicts.

Table 3 Coalition Belief System in the Stage of Regulatory Normative Policies

	Coalition of Continuous Improvement	Coalition of Maintaining the Status Quo
Deep core belief	Equal stress on the quality and speed of economic development	Pursuit of the speed of economic development
Policy core belief	Many problems in land finance stem from the imperfection and disunity of the current systems.	With so many benefits brought by land finance, its shortcomings can be ignored.
Secondary beliefs	The problems of land finance have threatened the development of macro-economy and the stability of the whole society. It is necessary to standardize the relevant behaviors of land leasing, and control and manage the current land finance problems.	The current problems are not serious and local governments can adjust themselves. Besides, deliberate suppression of land leasing will make up for the dividends brought by land finance, so there is no need to introduce specialized control policies.

In terms of resources and powers, the power of coalition of maintaining the status quo has not changed much, but the coalition of continuous improvement has integrated new powers: (1) Farmers of land expropriation. The local government's resettlement compensation for the farmers of land expropriation is not in place, which makes the farmers oppose the local government's relevant practices in land finance. (2) The general public. The rise in house price caused by land finance makes most of the general public oppose the local government's practices in land finance. (3) Some experts. During this period, many experts attacked on problems such as the distortion of economic structure, abnormality of urbanization and unfair distribution of social wealth caused by land finance [18-20].

4.1.2.2 Policy outcomes

At this stage, the coalition of continuous improvement has changed its policy core beliefs and its power of resources has been greatly strengthened. Therefore, the policies of land finance have been introduced quite quickly and closely, covering a diversity of contents, which mainly includes the following aspects:

(1) Control the total amount of construction land: the 1998 Land Administration Law proposed to control the total amount of construction land. In the same year, Regulation on the Protection of Basic Farmlands prohibited arbitrary land acquisition. The 2004 Land Administration Law emphasized the control of total

amount of construction land. The 2008 Notice of the State Council on Promoting the Land Saving and Intensive Use ensured the economical and intensive use of each land parcel.

(2) Standardize the land market: the 2000 Notice on Establishing Tangible Land Market to Promote Standardized Transaction of Land Use Rights, the 2001 Notice on Rectifying and Standardizing the Order of the Land Market, Notice on Strengthening the Administration of State-owned Land Assets and Rules on the Agreement-based Assignment of State-owned Land Use Right specified and standardized the transaction methods of land use rights. The 2002 Provisions on the Assignment of State-owned Land Use Right through Bid Invitation, Auction and Quotation stipulated: "Land use rights for business, tourism, entertainment and commercial purposes must be transferred through bid invitation, auction and listing." The 2006 Notice on Further Implementing the Industrial Land Leasing System and The National Standards for the Minimum Transfer Prices of Land for Industrial Purposes required that industrial land transfer must also adopt the process of bid invitation, auction and listing.

(3) Manage the revenue and expenditure of land income: the 2006 Notice of the General Office of the State Council on Regulating the Management of Incomes from and Expenses for the Assignment of the Right to Use State-owned Land stipulated that all land leasing income shall be submitted to the local treasury, expenditures shall be allocated from the land leasing income based on the budget of local funds, and the "two lines of revenue and expenditure" shall be thoroughly implemented.

(4) Construct supporting systems: the 2006 Notice on Relevant Issues Concerning the Establishment of the National Land Inspectorate System was issued. In December of the same year, the Notice on Adjusting the Examination and Approval Methods of Urban Construction Land Submitted to the State Council for Approval and Other Issues standardized the examination and approval system for construction land and indirectly controlled the total amount of construction land.

Of course, the power of coalitions of maintaining the status quo should not be underestimated, and its deep core beliefs and policy core beliefs have not changed. As a result, in the face of the threatening policy directives from the central government, local governments have their own "actions" in enforcement. For example, Audit Investigation Findings on Transfer Fees for State-owned Land Use Right (2008) revealed that from 2004 to 2006, local governments generally had problems such as illegal reduction and exemption, land-transferring fees not included in financial management, net transferring income not included in fund budget management, and illegal use of transferring fees, and that a few cities

defaulted on and misappropriated compensation for land acquisition and social security funds for farmers of land expropriation.

4.1.3 The stage of the second change: regulatory policies (2008-2015)

4.1.3.1 Analysis of changing reasons

During this period, the most important external events, such as the financial crisis in 2008 which impeded China's exports and resulted in weak consumption and Wenchuan earthquake which caused serious losses to all aspects of society. In order to stabilize the economy as quickly as possible, the central government issued the Four Trillion Investment Plan, increased investment, liberated the real estate market, and accelerated the pace of urban infrastructure construction through land leasing, that is, the changes of policy core beliefs of the coalitions of continuous improvement (Table 4). At the same time, constrained by deep core beliefs, the coalition also continued to promote the policy of standardizing the land market on the basis of the previous stage, so as to give full play to the economic impact of land finance with higher validity.

Table 4 Coalition Belief System in the Stage of Regulation Policies

	Coalition of Continuous improvement	Coalition of Maintaining the Status Quo
Deep core beliefs	Equal stress on the speed and quality of economic development	Pursuit of the speed of economic development
Policy core beliefs	Land finance has both advantages and disadvantages. We should make best use of the advantages and bypass the disadvantages.	Land finance can enhance local financial resources and safeguard the national economy.
Secondary aspects beliefs	Impacted by subprime mortgage crisis, land finance can stabilize local economy. Further improvement of relevant systems can give full play to the positive role of land finance.	We should further expand the scale of land leasing, vigorously carry out infrastructure construction and real estate development, and improve local competitiveness and political performance.

4.1.3.2 Policy outcomes

At this stage, the two coalitions have more similarities than differences in beliefs, and their respective powers have not changed much. Therefore, the result of

interactions between the two is that there are not many policy texts, mainly including the introduction of policy texts standardizing land finance with a few restrictive words. For example, the 2011 Notice on Strengthening the Management of State-owned Lands established the land banking system nationwide, which in essence determined the absolute control of local governments over urban land supply. The 2011 Regulation on the Expropriation of Buildings on State-owned Land and Compensation and the 2014 Regulation on the Implementation of the Land Administration Law of the Peoples Republic of China also re-emphasized the absolute power of municipal and county governments over house expropriation. The 2011 Opinions of the State Council on Further Increasing Fiscal Investment in Education and Notice on Matters Related to Provision of Farmland Water Conservancy Construction Funds from Land Transfer Income respectively required that 10% of the land leasing income should be allocated to education funds and farmland water conservancy construction, so as to perfect the expenditure of land finance income.

4.1.4 The stage of the third change: revolutionary and transformational policies (2016-now)

4.1.4.1 Analysis of changing reasons

The external factors such as the riding out of the financial crisis, and the proposal of economic development and transformation, and the internal factors such as unsolved problems in land finance existing in the stage of the second change have caused changes in the deep core beliefs of the coalition of continuous improvement. Moreover, the criticism and research on land finance by many experts and scholars at this stage have once again increased the strength of the coalitions. The belief of the coalition of maintaining the status quo at this stage has also changed through the study of internal factors and policy orientation, but the deeply rooted core beliefs can lead to different actions of the two coalitions (see Table 5).

Table 5 Coalition Belief System in the Stage of Revolutionary and Transformational Policies

	Coalition of Continuous Improvement	Coalition of Maintaining the Status Quo
Deep core beliefs	Economic development should pay more and more attention to quality and pursue the new normal of economic development.	Pursuit of the speed of economic development
Policy core beliefs	A series of problems brought about by land finance have been	Land finance is an essential pillar of local financial resources. We

	difficult to resolve, and the new normal of harming the economy has been realized, which is in urgent need of changes.	should first solve local financial problems, and then seek solutions to land finance problems.
Secondary aspects beliefs	Explore the alternative Solutions to land finance.	Seize the opportunity to bring benefits from land leasing as soon as possible. Flexibly implement property tax trials to minimize the impact.

4.1.4.2 Policy outcomes

After they ride out the financial crisis (external crisis events), the core beliefs of the coalitions of continuous improvement made them stricter in their own behavior choice than that of the second stage, and begin to seek alternative solutions. However, the deep core beliefs of coalitions of maintaining the status quo have never changed. Therefore, they use their own powers to explore the policy gap of the reform pilot, and follow the progress of the implementation at will. For example, different from foreign countries, the property tax pilot projects in Chongqing and Shanghai adopt a narrow tax base model, which only covers some households in some buildings, giving tax relief policies to different housing types, which greatly reduces the impact of the property tax.

Due to the long-term stability of the powers of the coalitions of maintaining the status quo, even if the power of the coalitions of continuous improvement is strengthened again, the road of land finance reform is still not smooth. In addition, the central governments are aware of the importance of land finance to local governments, and they are also seeking better ways to slowly promote land finance reform, which is not urgent and thorough enough in policy. Among them, the Land Administration Law of 2019 can best reflect the policy intention of the coalitions of continuous improvement. The most important part of this revision is to remove the legal obstacles for collectively-operated construction land to enter the market. At the same time, the land expropriation system is reformed. On the one hand, it helps to solve the contradictions and conflicts between the government and farmers in the process of land acquisition, improves farmers' income, and improve the consumption capacity of the public, thus realizing a virtuous circle of private investment being driven, market economy being promoted, and government tax revenue increased, and providing a more sustainable source of income for local governments. On the other hand, it is bound to reduce the land market price and affect the local government's land financial revenue. Local governments are "forced" to maintain their own financial level by

means of reasonable expenditure arrangement and cooperation with private capital, which will help local governments gradually change the tradition of relying on land finance.

4.2 Longitudinal general analysis

The overall policy changes vertically present a repeated process of land finance management from loose to tight and then from tight to loose. The reason is that the two major coalitions led by the central government and the local government are closely related, and their deep core beliefs have overlapping. Once stimulated by internal and external events, the policy core beliefs of the central government are easy to coincide with that of the local government. However, in the whole process, the policy core beliefs of the local governments have remained basically unchanged, and their powers are relatively stable, so that they can continuously compete with the central government, finally leading to the tendency of political setbacks of land finance.

Of course, despite the political setbacks, the overall policy changes present gradual tightening trends. The main reason is that the coalition of maintaining the status quo represented by local governments can't completely ignore the mounting problems of land finance, so the coalition's secondary aspects beliefs have somewhat changed. In addition, it is precisely because of so many problems that damaged the interests of many groups, that the power of coalitions represented by the central government have gradually been strengthened.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper uses the advocacy coalition framework to sort out policies of land finance and explain the reasons for the changes of them in China: land finance policy is the product of the long-term interaction between the two camps dominated by the central and local governments. It is precisely because of the differences in the deep core beliefs of the two coalitions that the factors of conflict are implied in the initial stage of land finance. In the subsequent stages, through internal and external events, policy orientation learning and other ways, the secondary aspects beliefs and even the policy core beliefs of the two coalitions have changed, and the policy relevant resources of coalitions have also changed, making the policy direction of each stage different.

According to this logic, we can simply predict the future trend of land finance in China: after a long period of development, the disadvantages of land finance are increasingly apparent, which will shake the beliefs of local governments on the one hand, and will continue to strengthen the coalition led by the central government on the other hand. At the same time, under the background of the new era, the central government's deep core beliefs gradually shows that the economic quality is better than

the economic speed, which will make the central government take a more tough attitude and means. In the face of external events such as the financial crisis, although it may still passively shake its policy core beliefs, its degree of passivity will decline compared with the third stage mentioned in this paper. Of course, we should also see that the power of coalition of maintaining the status quo has not been weak, and its deep core beliefs have not been changed, which means that the substantial transformation of land finance will also face severe resistance from local governments. Overall, land finance is bound to reform, but the road of reform is still very long. From the perspective of advocacy coalition framework, in order to speed up the road of reform and promote the change of policy at the core level, in addition to the occasional method of internal and external events, we should consider using policy brokers or professional forums to break the political deadlock and reach a negotiated agreement.

In addition, there is a point worthy of further attention and discussion about the application of advocacy coalition framework in this paper: because the representatives of the two coalitions both are governments and have superior subordinate relationship, the relationship between the coalitions itself will also have an impact on the change of the policy. For example, the deep core beliefs of the coalition led by local governments is to pursue the speed of economic development, most of which is because the central government's assessment of local governments is based on economic indicators. Therefore, this paper thinks that advocacy coalition framework should be more dynamic, and pay attention to the relationship between coalitions which will affect their respective beliefs, resources, behaviors, etc., and increase the complexity and dynamic of the analysis.

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