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Article:

Jiang, H. and Payne, S. orcid.org/0000-0001-5289-5844 (2022) Examining regime complexity in China's green housing transition: a housing developers' perspective. *Building Research & Information*, 50 (3). pp. 291-307. ISSN 0961-3218

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09613218.2021.1943644>

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Building Research and Information* on 1 Jul 2021, available online:
<http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/09613218.2021.1943644>.

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Examining regime complexity in China's green housing transition: a housing developers perspective

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Abstract

The housing sector has faced significant attention in global and national policy efforts to reduce carbon emissions. The result is that in many countries, green housing policies have been introduced as a means of regulating carbon emissions. China ranks second in building energy consumption worldwide (IEA, 2016) and buildings contribute some 26% of China's total carbon emissions (IEA, 2020). Existing studies reveal green housing development to be a complex, transitional process, with many diverse factors - financial, market, policy and technological - shaping development outcomes. However, these dynamics remain empirically and conceptually understudied within the Chinese context. With only 28% of building projects being classified as green building in 2018 (MOHURD, 2019), little is known about how Chinese housing developers are responding to China's green building policies or what issues may be affecting them. To address this gap, this research adopts multi-level perspective theory to examine regime complexity in China's green housing transition, utilizing a large-scale quantitative survey of Chinese housing developers to examine their attitudes and motivations. In doing so, the findings reveal a complex set of factors within four sub-regimes that affect Chinese developer's capacity to act and elucidate the complexity and dynamics of China's ongoing green housing transition. Our findings indicate that any long-term shift towards normalizing green building practices will be driven more by changes in the policy and market regimes than in the financial or technological regimes, with implications for policy makers and market actors alike.

Keywords

Green housing development; housing developers; Chinese housing market; Socio-technical transitions; Built environment; multi-level perspective

1. Introduction

The building sector has faced criticisms across the globe as a main contributor - some 38% - of global energy-related carbon emissions (IEA, 2020). The housing sector, which accounts for 60.7% of the building sector (ibid.) has faced significant attention in global and national policy efforts to reduce carbon output. The result is that in many countries, the concept of 'green housing' has been introduced into technical and policy arenas and construction practices as a means of responding to these high carbon emission issues (Gabay et al., 2014; He et al., 2019). It is a housing type in which '...every phase of the building process (design, construction and operation) must incorporate environmental considerations such as energy and water efficiency, resource efficiency, indoor quality, waste and pollution control, house maintenance and the overall impact of the house on the environment' (Zainul Abidin et al., 2012, p.374). Many scholars argue the housing sector has the greatest potential to reduce carbon emissions and consider green housing transitions to yield an efficient building type to achieve carbon reduction goals (Wang, 2014; Ghaffarian Hoseini et al., 2013; Franco et al., 2021).

China's building sector is arguably at an even more critical stage. It ranks second in building energy consumption worldwide (IEA, 2016) and contributes 26% of China's total carbon emissions (IEA, 2020). China's engagement with mitigating climate change and realigning its energy sector suggests that the country is acknowledging the urgency of tackling the implications of its high emissions, translated in its national-level strategies (Zhang et al., 2018a; Shi et al., 2014). The growth rate of China's green building has shown a significantly accelerating trend over the last decade, from only 10 projects in 2008 to 10,139 projects at the end of 2018 (MOHURD, 2019). Nevertheless, these number are still low when compared with total new building projects completed in 2018, with only 28% considered green housing projects (ibid.). This rate of delivery indicates that the broader concept of green housing has not been sufficiently taken up and accepted by developers and the wider housing market and the delivery of green housing in China remains relatively low.

Previous studies have largely focused on investigating the drivers and challenges faced by industry practitioners in the development of green buildings. For example, Darko et al. (2017b) examined issues faced by US green building experts in adopting green building technologies; Pan and Pan (2021) explored drivers, barriers and strategies of high-rise, high-density zero carbon buildings in Hong Kong; and Singh et al. (2019) assessed barriers to adopting net zero energy housing in Canada. The literature reveals green housing development to be a complex, transitional process, with many diverse factors – financial, market, policy and technological - constraining and driving building

industry practitioners in their delivery of green buildings (Edmondson et al., 2019). However, these dynamics remain empirically and conceptually understudied within the Chinese context. Questions remain of our understanding of the complexity of the green housing transition in China and in particular, the issues facing housing developers when implementing state-led plans that seek to increase green building delivery.

In addressing this gap in knowledge, the main aim of this research is to examine the attitudes and motivations of developers in China's green housing transition by investigating what drivers and challenges they currently face and expect to face in the future, when delivering green housing. The study draws on multi-level perspective (MLP) theory to conceptualize the green housing transition as a socio-technical transition, and in doing so, emphasizes the nature and influence of sub-regimes on Chinese developers attitudes and motivations. In what follows, we review the existing literature on the drivers and challenges of the green housing transition, outline the conceptual and methodological approaches, present the results of the empirical research and discuss the findings and their implications.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Drivers and challenges of green housing development

Over the past decade, research has sought to examine the drivers and challenges of green building development across the globe (e.g. Darko et al., 2017a; O'Neill and Gibbs, 2014; Zhang et al., 2018a). Nguyen et al. (2017) argue, with reference to Vietnam, that although there are differences in green building development contexts between developed and developing markets, the adoption of green building practices in those two contexts generally face a set of similar drivers and challenges. We too seek to draw on research covering both developed and emerging economies in our review of the drivers and challenges of green housing development, suggesting it is an approach well placed to inform the conceptual framing of complexity within the Chinese transitional context and the challenges facing Chinese developers in green building development.

2.1.1 Drivers

Financial drivers

Whether in Western economies or in China, the major motivation of developers is to seek profits (O'Neill and Gibbs, 2014; Qian et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2018a, 2018b; Wang et al., 2021a;

Sandanayake et al., 2020). That is, they seek to accumulate profits by designing and constructing housing whose realised value is higher than the development costs by a sufficient margin to reflect the risks involved. It therefore follows that if the economic returns are high enough to offset incremental cost and risk, developers will be more likely to construct green building (Fuerst and McAllister, 2011; Zou et al., 2017). Capital returns depend mainly on the base economic returns of developing buildings and the potential price premium of green buildings (Juan et al., 2017). Existing research provides some evidence to show green buildings command a price premium. For example, Yoshida and Sugiura (2013) examined housing in Tokyo and reported that the price premium of green buildings was 10.3%. Fesselmeyer (2018) also found that in Singapore, green labels increased the price of building products by around 3%. Moreover, financial returns have been shown to drive the green building innovations and fundamentally improve building energy consumption of the structure in the long-term (Ji and Zhang, 2019).

Market drivers

The market prospects of green buildings are persuasive for developers focused on profit making (Nurul Diyana and Abidin, 2013). Green buildings have been shown to have greater market demand and a consumer willingness to pay for the perceived premium (Gou et al., 2013; Ofek and Portnov, 2020). Further, Ofek and Portnov (2020) reveal that enhanced corporate reputation can motivate developers to reposition their building activities towards developing green buildings. Indeed, in the face of stiff competition, establishing a positive corporate image and reputation has become a necessary condition for developers to survive (Andelin et al., 2015). Thus, a desire for a positive corporate image and reputation can influence developers' commitments to developing green housing, with research indicating some developers have already begun to incorporate green strategies into their businesses to secure a good reputation and gain competitive advantage (Zhang et al., 2011b).

Policy drivers

Government intervention is considered to be an influential factor in stimulating the adoption of green building development and supply (Qian and Chan, 2010; Murtagh et al., 2016; Wong and Abe, 2014; Song et al., 2021; Zhang et al., 2018b). Government intervention can be either mandatory (e.g. legal sanctions) or voluntary (e.g. incentives or policy support). For example, Fuerst et al.'s (2014) research showed the positive effects of compulsory requirements for LEED certification in the US commercial building sector. Zou et al. (2017) found that fiscal subsidies could stimulate Chinese green building development. Research by Udawatta et al. (2015) and Windapo (2014) indicated that

developers do not always consider green building development unless they are required to comply with policy-driven green building evaluation standards. From the Chinese perspective, Song et al. (2021) revealed that mandatory policies have stronger influences to drive the green building development than incentive policies. In addition, government regulation can be considered not only as an external or top-down driver, but also as market-led or bottom-up driver because developers may seek opportunities to mitigate market-side risks related to future policy changes (Darko et al., 2017a).

Technological drivers

Green building or energy efficient technologies are another important driver for developers to in-building green housing (Wang et al., 2021a; Sparrevik et al., 2018) because they can reduce extra costs associated with green housing development, such as reducing the purchasing costs of green equipment or materials, or reducing maintenance costs (Zhang et al., 2018a; Fujii and Managi, 2019; Yin and Li, 2018; Kong and He, 2021). The application of energy efficiency technologies in green building has been shown to bring incremental economic benefits and environmental benefits (Liu et al., 2014). In addition, the more employees with green technology skills a developer has, the more likely they are to adopt green housing development practices, with green building experts placing much emphasis on motivation-driven capacity such as green skills (Hwang and Ng, 2013).

2.1.2 Challenges

Financial challenges

Within building industries across the globe, it is widely accepted that green building development is more expensive than conventional building development (Dwaikat and Ali, 2016; Rehm and Ade, 2013). The extra costs of green building development include higher initial costs (green materials and equipment costs); higher consulting costs to meet green building standards; and, higher costs for hiring skilled teams or employee practices (Ying et al., 2012; Marker et al., 2014). For example, Zhang et al's (2018a) research on the incremental costs of green building based on industrial reports and academic studies, found that the range of incremental costs for buildings with green certifications was from 0.4% to 11%, depending on the certification system and the buildings' rating level. Arguably, although green housing can offer cost savings for consumers in its operation stage (Kesidou and Sorrell, 2018), the concept of whole-life-cycle costing is often absent from the developers' point of view. In contrast, green building practices are usually considered to increase the

cost of development due to the high upfront investment that disregards the whole lifecycle (Mousa, 2015).

Market challenges

Consumer awareness and attitudes towards green building products are crucial to the success of green building development (White and Gatersleben, 2011; Zhao et al., 2018; Juan et al., 2017). However, consumer attitudes can be difficult to change since ‘...society is often ‘locked in’ by ... unsustainable systems of consumption and production’ (Lachman, 2013, p.269). For example, a survey of consumers’ willingness-to-pay for green housing in Beijing found that 68.3% of the respondents had not heard about the official green building label (Zhang et al., 2016). In addition, green housing, which provides a more sustainable living environment, is often seen by consumers as a ‘luxury good’ that is more likely to be purchased by high-income groups (Hu et al., 2014; De Silva and Pownall, 2014). In contrast, previous studies show that ordinary house-buyers do not have the specialised knowledge to assess the ‘greenness’ of buildings (Eves and Kippes, 2010). Thus, the lack of consumers’ knowledge on green housing and awareness to purchase green housing products means ultimately, there is little market-based incentives for developers to supply green housing (Davis and Metcalf, 2016).

Policy challenges

Some scholars argue that policy resistance is one of the most significant constrains when delivering green buildings (e.g. Darko and Chan, 2017; Chan et al., 2016; Ding et al., 2018). In terms of green housing development, incentives - usually provided by government - serve as important motivators for promoting market adoption (Olubunmi et al., 2016). Some governments, such as the UK, the US and Canada, provide various incentives to drive change toward green housing development, whereas studies have shown that China are still lacking clear incentives or regulations for green housing (Ding et al., 2018; Wu et al., 2019). Therefore, it is not surprising that developers’ building practices are not always favourably regulated due to the lack of clear and consistent green housing policies or standards (Payne and Barker, 2018). In addition, in developing countries, although some developers are interested in utilising new green technologies, governments generally cannot afford to offer the necessary financial stimulus to overcome market regime constraints or skills gaps (Mousa, 2015). This limits the incentives available for developers to improve their knowledge and practices around green housing development. Indeed, much building activity may even be conducted without any official governmental monitoring (Mousa, 2015; Ding et al., 2018).

Technological challenges

Some research reveals that developers often face challenges in adopting green technologies, largely due to their lack of technical knowledge and expertise or the lack of available of green technologies that meet their specific development needs (Mousa, 2015; Wang et al., 2021a; Rashidi et al., 2018). In particular in developing countries, the existing technologies needed for green building development and green material applications appear to be inadequate (Mousa, 2015). The inability of developers to determine the potential performance of alternative green technologies when compared to their traditional development practices, increases uncertainty and risk (Zhang et al., 2011a), and this issue may even push developers back to traditional design and construction methods (Shi et al., 2013).

In addition, the lack of technologically astute employees is another barrier faced by developers (Wang, 2014; Wang et al., 2021b). The need for skilled employees not only refers to developers' employees, but also includes construction contractors and property managers. Compared with traditional housing development processes, green housing developers require greater interaction with their construction contractors to ensure effective communication and management in the more technically demanding green housing development process. However, challenges to these interactions include the low level of industrialisation of green construction methods, lack of coordination and lack of knowledge and trust (Alashwal et al., 2011; Menassa and Baer, 2014). Further, in the operation stage, insufficient knowledge, lack of skills training and qualified experts for green facility management are considered to be additionally significant problems for developers to consider when choosing to undertake green housing development projects (Deng et al., 2018).

Summary

Tables 1 and 2 provide a summary of the drivers and challenges discussed above. We have consolidated them into 17 specific factors within the four different types we used to frame our review. Our review has revealed a range of market, technological, policy and financial drivers and challenges facing green housing developers, from studies undertaken globally. It remains unknown the extent to which these drivers or challenges affect Chinese developers in adapting their development practices during China's green housing transition. We now move on to conceptualizing the green housing transition, drawing on MLP theory that characterizes sustainable transitions associated with the socio-technical changes (Köhler et al., 2019) before presenting the results of our empirical investigation.

Table 1**Drivers of green housing**

Code	Type ^a	Driver factors	Key references
Do1	M	Increases company reputation and competition ability	Zhang et al., 2018b; Nurul Diyana and Abidin, 2013; Andelin et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2011b
Do2	M	Increased customer demand	Zhao et al., 2018; Juan et al., 2017; Gou et al., 2013
Do3	M	Easier to get land from bidding	Zhang et al., 2018b
Do4	P	Government mandatory regulations and policies	Feng et al., 2020; Fuerst et al., 2014; Udawatta et al., 2015; Windapo, 2014
Do5	P	Government incentive regulations and policies	Alwisy et al., 2018; Fu et al., 2020; Feng et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2018b; Zou et al., 2017
Do6	F	Greater return on capital	Zhang et al., 2018b; Huang, 2017; Qian et al., 2015; O'Neill and Gibbs, 2014; Qian et al., 2015; Fuerst and McAllister, 2011
Do7	F	Attract more investment	Darko et al., 2017a; Chan et al., 2016;
Do8	T	Innovative greener technologies	Fujii and Managi, 2019; Yin and Li, 2018; Kong and He, 2021; Yang et al., 2019; Hassani et al., 2017;

^a M=Market factor, T=Technological factor, P=Policy factor, F=Financial factor.

Table 2**Challenges of green housing**

Code	Type ^a	Challenge factors	Key references
Co1	M	Lack of household awareness	Huang, 2017; Feng et al., 2020; Zhao et al., 2018; He and Chen, 2021; Zhang et al., 2016; Hu et al., 2014; De Silva and Pownall, 2014; Eves and Kippes, 2010; Davis and Metcalf, 2016
Co2	P	Unclear building regulations	Luthra et al., 2015; Häkkinen and Belloni, 2011; Serpell et al., 2013
Co3	P	No uniform solution of green housing standard	Darko and Chan, 2017; Chan et al., 2016
Co4	F	Higher costs for training employees	Dwaikat and Ali, 2016; Rehm and Ade, 2013; Ying et al., 2012; Marker et al., 2014
Co5	F	Higher material costs	Dwaikat and Ali, 2016; Rehm and Ade, 2013; Ying et al., 2012; Marker et al., 2014; Zhang et al., 2018a; Mousa, 2015

Co6	F	Higher technology costs	Chan et al., 2016; Dwaikat and Ali, 2016; Rehm and Ade, 2013; Mousa, 2015
Co7	T	Insufficient technical knowledge and tools	Darko et al, 2017b; Wang et al., 2021b; Zhang et al., 2011a
Co8	T	Lack of availability of green technologies	Fujii and Managi, 2019; Kong and He, 2021; Wang et al., 2021b; Hwang and Ng, 2013; Mousa, 2015;
Co9	T	Lack of skilled employees	Alashwal et al., 2011; Menassa and Baer, 2014; Deng et al., 2018

^a M=Market factor, T=Technological factor, P=Policy factor, F=Financial factor.

2.2 Conceptualising the Green Housing Transition

2.2.1 Multi-level perspective theory

This research adopts Geels's (2004) multi-level perspective (MLP) theory (Geels, 2010, 2011, 2018) which has become an agreed core framework to explain dynamic patterns in sustainable transitions associated with socio-technical changes (Köhler et al., 2019; Sovacool and Hess, 2017; Kanger, 2021). The MLP highlights interdependence at three levels: niche, regime and landscape (Geels, 2002). We have depicted the broad principles underlying MLP in Figure 1. As can be seen, niches in the base level provide innovations of green technologies which build internal motivation for transition (Geels, 2018). The regime level reflects the established and related principles and networks that strengthen existing socio-technical systems or create new changes (ibid.). It is in the regime where housing developers' building activities are principally located (Payne and Barker, 2018). The landscape level is usually considered as exogenous and represents the broader cultural values that affect the regime and niche levels (Geels, 2011). It is considered extremely difficult to make changes in the landscape level (Lachman, 2013).

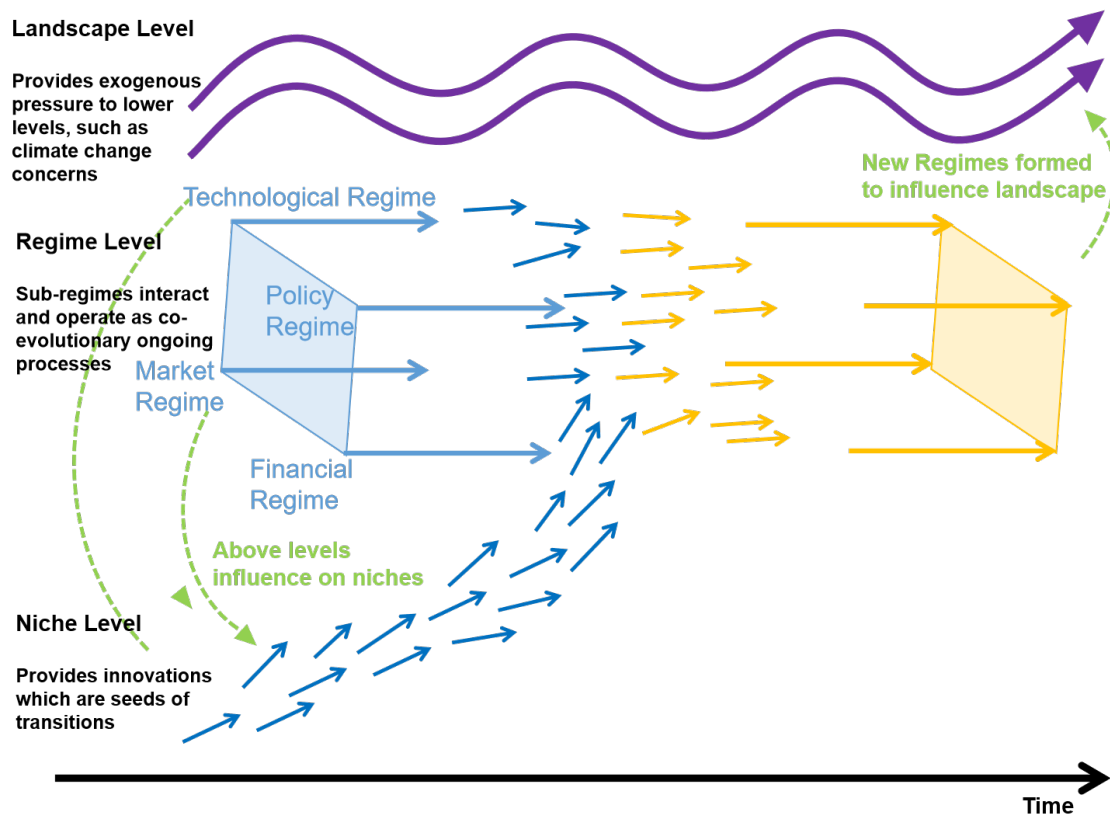


Fig. 1 The multi-level perspective on socio-technical transitions (Own illustration based on Geels, 2011).

Within MLP, two characteristics of socio-technical transitions can be summarized. First, socio-technical transitions are ongoing processes which contain a range of dynamic changes (Geels, 2019). They can be seen as long-term shifts between one socio-technical system to another (Kanger, 2021). Secondly, transitions contain multiple factors and all factors interact with each other (Geels, 2010, 2018). As Figure 1 depicts, the regime contains a range of sub-regimes in which transitions occur. These relate not just to technical factors, but also to political, market and financial factors. In other words, '...everything is interlocked, yet everything is changing in accordance with the interlockedness' Norgaard (1994, p.26). These lock-in mechanisms can exist within the regime level, indicating that although each of the sub-regimes operate under their own dynamics, they influence or can be influenced by other sub-regimes through causal interactions (Foxon, 2011). Therefore, both dynamically ongoing thinking and co-evolutionary thinking are brought in to assess socio-technical transitions when using the MLP perspective.

When applied to a housing development context, the green housing transition is conceived as a dynamic and ongoing process, shifting from a traditional housebuilding approach towards a greener approach (Home and Dalton, 2014; Geels, 2018). Through this process of adjustment and change, developers will be expected to face a range of complex and dynamic factors - beyond just the

commonly emphasised technological issues - that encompass broader societal systems, such as culture, institutions and markets (Geels, 2010). A small number of studies have sought to utilize MLP in examining green building transitions. For instance, Nykamp's (2017) study on the green building transition in Norway; and the Finnish Environment Institute's (2019) assessment of the zero-energy building transition in Finland. In addition, Chinese scholars have also applied MLP, but more broadly to assess transitions towards sustainability, such as Rao's (2020) study on new energy vehicle transition and Zhang et al.'s (2020) work on the coal power transition in China. We seek to build on this fledgling use of MLP to produce an original and novel examination of the green housing transition in China, with a particular focus on the attitudes and motivations of Chinese developers.

2.2.2 Developers and the green housing transition

The implicit idea that underpins conceptualizations of green housing transitions is that of state-market interactions (Rosenbloom, 2017). Green housing transitions are typically driven initially by significant shifts in national government policy seeking increases in the use of low or zero carbon technologies in market-led development practices (He et al., 2019). Only when large scale market acceptance of green building technologies occurs within the sub regimes - with associated technological, financial and market barriers overcome - are developers expected to fully reorientate their development practices to produce predominately green housing. This governance approach positions the housing market as having the greatest potential to reduce national carbon emissions and positions the state in the role of driving developers to adopt efficient green building technologies (Wang, 2014; Ghaffarian Hoseini et al., 2013; Franco et al., 2021). It is in these complex relations between state policy drives and market acceptance where the characteristics of MLP theory as dynamic ongoing processes of change (Geels, 2019) are revealed.

In China however, the green housing transition is regarded as a state-led transition (Zhang et al., 2018a) and many studies have focused on examining the governance of green housing development (e.g. Zhang et al., 2018a; Feng et al., 2020; Ding et al., 2018) within this planned economy setting. However, such an approach risks minimizing the role of Chinese developers in the green housing transition or underplaying the challenges or drivers they experience. Indeed, the growing importance of the housing market in China is well documented. As green housing transitions are complex and cannot be driven by the state alone, the important role and contribution of Chinese developers in the success of China's green housing transition cannot be understated.

However, research on Chinese developers has often been overlooked in popular studies of China's urban development (Dent et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2018; Ding et al., 2018). There is particularly

a lack of research focused on investigating Chinese developers and their motivations or otherwise for delivering green housing. On this basis, the attitudes and motivations of developers and their perceived capacity to act on green housing policies and technologies in everyday development practice (Nykamp, 2017) is the key empirical focus of this research.

2.2.3 Conceptual Framework

As a middle range theory (Geels, 2019), MLP provides flexibility for scholars to choose their own entry points when using the theory. Figure 2 depicts the conceptual framework of the research and outlines how the theoretical positioning shapes the research approach. It outlines how we intend to examine the nature and influence of sub-regimes on China’s green housing transition.

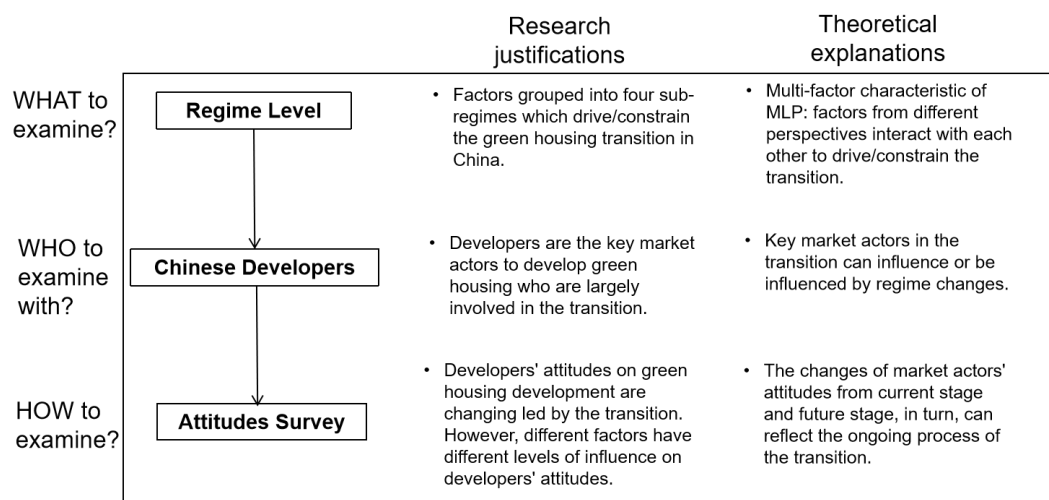


Fig. 2 Conceptual framework

As Figure 2 shows, the research focuses on activity in the regime level, where housing developers’ building activities are principally located (Payne and Barker, 2018). When examining green housing transitions in the regime level, it becomes important to consider where different sub-regimes and their interactions have different levels of influence on developer attitudes and motivations (see Figure 1). As Chinese developers are the key market actors involved in the transition, their attitudes and motivations are considered to be highly representative of the market context of the transition, an area of research which has thus far been overlooked in China’s transitions literature (Wang et al., 2018; Ding et al., 2018). An attitudes survey was therefore designed to gather attitudinal data from a large and broad cross section of Chinese developers, intended to provide a representative view of Chinese developers’ attitudes and motivations towards green housing development. This approach to data collection addresses some of the significant empirical challenges associated with

investigating such a large and geographically dispersed research subject (Bryman, 2016) like the Chinese housing industry.

Drawing on the above, MLP is applied to frame three research questions in this study: (1) What drivers and challenges influence Chinese developers in delivering green housing? (2) What are the interactions between different sub-regime factors? (3) What changes in developers' attitudes and motivations are there between the current situation and the perceived future situation? These three research questions will be addressed in the following sections in order to achieve our research aim of examining the attitudes and motivations of developers in China's green housing transition by investigating what drivers and challenges they currently face and expect to face in the future, when delivering green housing.

3. Research methodology

Given the bounding of the MLP (Geels, 2011), the methodological approach in this research needed to sufficiently elucidate the drivers and challenges in the green housing transition at the regime level by examining developers' attitudes and motivations in relation to their socio-technical network. A self-completion questionnaire survey was chosen as the most appropriate methodological tool for gathering a high level and representative perspective of Chinese developers' attitudes and motivations in respect of both drivers and challenges in the green housing transition.

In order to address the research aim, the questionnaire contained a range of sections with each section dealing with the following particular aspects of Chinese developers' attitudes and motivations toward the green housing transition: (1) Background information; (2) Trends of green housing development; (3) Key drivers of green housing development; (4) Key challenges for green housing development. In sections 3 and 4, questions were asked both in terms of the current situation and a future 10-year time horizon. This was in order to investigate possible future attitudinal changes toward green housing development in China to account for what Geels (2011) refers to as the ongoing and co-evolutionary process of socio-technical transitions.

The questionnaire included rating, multiple choice, and closed-end questions relating to facts, opinions and knowledge. Additional space was included at the end of each section for respondents to elaborate on their responses. The 5-point Likert Scale was used in section 3 and 4. It is commonly seen as a useful and effective method to elicit respondents' attitudes on the significance of different elements (Akintoye et al., 2000). Developers chose from 1 to 5 to show the extent of the effects

caused by a particular driver/challenge on their attitudes to deliver green housing, where 1 means they thought it was not a driver/challenges at all, and vice versa.

The sample size required for the survey was calculated to be approximately 100 respondents according to Crano and Brewer’s (2002) equations. Subsequently, 180 questionnaires were equally distributed (60-60-60) amongst the three different sizes¹ (large, medium and small) of developers in the Chinese housing industry, covering the whole country. Figure 3 shows the geographical distribution of respondents’ operations in numbers, with a notable amount operating across all China’s regions. The response rates for these three groups are illustrated in Table 3. Out of a total of 180, 96 questionnaires were returned and 4 were discounted due to being incomplete. Excluding the invalid questionnaires, the final response rate was 51.1% (92/180).

Table 3

Different sized companies and their response rates.

Company size	No. of questionnaires	No. of respondents	Response rate
Large size	60	35	58.3%
Medium size	60	26	43.3%
Small size	60	31	51.7%
Total	180	92	51.1%

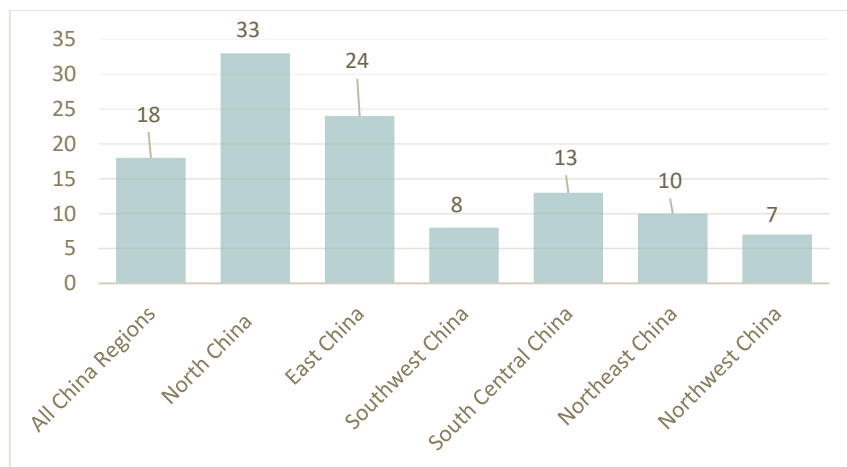


Fig. 3 Geographical distribution of respondents’ operations in numbers.

The 92 responses were deemed adequate and the response rate was considered acceptable in being representative of the housing industry in China. It is considered more difficult to acquire data

¹ The Standard Regulation of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (NBS, 2011) determine three size of companies in housing development and management sector by using both Annual Revenue (Y) (Million Yuan) and Total Assets (Z) (Million Yuan). The companies need to meet both annual revenue and total assets targets to stay in a particular size category (ibid.). Large companies: $Y \geq 200000$, $Z \geq 10000$; Medium companies: $1000 \leq Y < 200000$, $5000 \leq Z < 10000$; Small companies: $Y < 1000$, $Z < 5000$.

for organisational research when compared with, for example, large-scale surveys of the public (Baruch and Holtom, 2008). In their research, Baruch and Holtom (2008) examined 490 different questionnaire surveys and found that the average response rate for organisational research was only 35.7%. This is largely due to the commercial sensitivity of the information discussed in market situations (Baruch and Holtom, 2008, Payne, 2020). Sample sizes in previous similar green building-related statistical research were 31 in Singapore (Hwang and Tan, 2012) or 33 in the US (Darko et al., 2017b). The details of all respondents, including the names of housing companies, were anonymized to maintain confidentiality and encourage the completion of questionnaires.

The survey data was statistically analysed with the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software. In order to test the reliability of the results, all the data were entered twice to check for any major inconsistencies with the original input. First, for the 5-point Likert Scale responses, the mean score ranking technique has been widely adopted in similar research to rank variables and to determine the key drivers/challenges (Darko et al., 2017b; Chan et al., 2009). If two or more factors got the same mean score, a standard deviation (SD) test was added to further assign the ranks (Darko et al., 2017b; Mao et al., 2015). The one-sample t-test was also used to test the significance of factors.

Secondly, a nonparametric test was conducted by using Kendall's W (i.e. Kendall's coefficient of concordance) ranges from 0 (no agreement) to 1 (totally agreement). It is widely used to assess agreement among rankings (Chan et al., 2009). The results of Kendall's W in this research were 0.067, 0.049, 0.034 and 0.017, respectively (Table 4-7). This indicates a strong agreement exists among the respondents regarding the rankings of the drivers/challenges.

Thirdly, to address the regime complexities of the green housing transition (Geels, 2011), correlation analysis between the four sub-regimes - technological, policy, market and financial - were also undertaken using bivariate Pearson Correlation. It is usually adopted to evaluate the significance of linear relationship between two continuous variables (Myers and Maria, 2004). Correlation analysis assessed the 'ongoing and co-evolutionary' changes of four sub-regimes between current and future stages. All the results of bivariate Pearson Correlation in this research were >0.05 or <-0.05 (Table 8 and 9), which indicates that the data were adequate for the further discussion.

4. Findings

This section presents the findings from the quantitative survey. The results are presented as they relate to current perceived drivers and challenges and anticipated future drivers and challenges. The results reveal an interesting set of sub-regime factors that highlight the complexity of China's green

housing transition from the developers' perspective, with important insights for theory, policy and practice.

4.1 Drivers

The results of what developers consider to be the key drivers of the green housing transition in China, both currently and in the future are shown in Tables 4 and 5 respectively. As can be seen from Table 4, the top three current drivers of green housing development for developers were: Do1 'Increases company reputation and competition ability' (market regime); Do8 'Introduced greener technologies' (technological regime); and Do2 'Increased customers' demand' (market regime). Table 5 shows the top three drivers of green housing development in the next 10 years as being: Do1 'Increases company reputation and competition ability' (market regime); Do5 'Government incentive regulations and policies' (policy regime) and Do4 'Government mandatory regulations and policies' (policy regime).

Table 4
Current drivers for green housing development in China.

Code	Type	Frequency of responses					Mean	SD	Rank	Significance ^a	
		1	2	3	4	5					
Do1	M	1	13	15	27	36	3.91	1.106	1	0.000	
Do8	T	7	14	17	29	21	3.55	1.252	2	0.000	
Do2	M	9	15	16	25	27	3.50	1.330	3	0.001	
Do4	P	11	15	10	29	27	3.50	1.379	4	0.001	
Do5	P	12	13	22	21	24	3.35	1.354	5	0.016	
Do3	M	10	16	19	30	17	3.30	1.264	6	0.023	
Do6	F	14	15	20	20	23	3.25	1.396	7	0.089 [*]	
Do7	F	14	16	17	27	18	3.21	1.355	8	0.147 [*]	
Kendall's W ^b		0.067									
Chi-square		49.480									
df		7									
Level of significance		0.000									

^a(*) Data with insignificant results of one-sample t-test ($p > 0.05$)(2-tailed).

^b Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance test on the drivers among the developers.

Table 5

Drivers for green housing development in China in the next 10 years.

Code	Type	Frequency of responses					Mean	SD	Rank	Significance
		1	2	3	4	5				
Do1	M	1	4	18	32	37	4.09	0.934	1	0.000
Do5	P	0	7	18	31	36	4.04	0.948	2	0.000
Do4	P	1	7	16	35	33	4.00	0.972	3	0.000
Do8	T	1	7	20	31	33	3.96	0.994	4	0.000
Do2	M	3	6	18	31	34	3.95	1.062	5	0.000
Do6	F	4	15	13	32	28	3.71	1.191	6	0.000
Do3	M	4	16	19	26	27	3.61	1.204	7	0.000
Do7	F	7	11	23	27	24	3.54	1.217	8	0.000
Kendall's W ^b	0.049									
Chi-square	36.400									
df	7									
Level of significance	0.000									

^bKendall's Coefficient of Concordance test on the drivers among the developers.

The findings show that issues around company reputation and competitiveness were the most important driver for Chinese developers to develop green houses. This was anticipated to stay the same over the next 10 years. These findings indicate that Chinese developers consider establishing a 'green developer' image is an important aspect of improving their overall market competitiveness and being able to survive in the green housing transition. Moreover, compared with the current situation, policy regime factors appear to become increasingly important drivers in the future since Do4 and Do5 jumped from No.4 and 5 in Table 4 to No.3 and 2 in Table 5. This finding reflects the deep value accorded to 'planning' by the government in China (Wu et al., 2015) and indicates that, in the future, developers anticipate being driven more by changes in the policy regime. This will likely require additional regulatory support from policy makers through the introduction of mandatory and incentive regulations within the policy regime.

In contrast, the three least important drivers of green housing development perceived by Chinese developers, both currently and in the next 10 years, were situated in the financial and market regimes (Table 4 and 5). These findings imply a limitation in the ability of market-based processes alone to deliver green housing in China, both currently and in the future. The findings also reveal the relatively minor importance of financial drivers to developers in delivering green housing - Chinese developers do not see green housing projects as securing a greater return on capital (Do6) or attracting more investment (Do7). This is likely because of the higher upfront costs for developers in

developing green housing (Mousa, 2015), as well as the investment and financing platform imperfections, as no investment and financing platform directly targets green housing projects in the Chinese housing market (Li and Shui, 2015). In addition, developers did not consider that green housing development could help them to acquire land for development (Do3), implying that the influential factors for acquiring land are complex and building 'green' is not a key factor for securing land by bidding.

Also worthy of note is how 'Innovative greener technologies' (Do8) shifted from a second to a fifth ranked driver and 'increased customer demand' (Do2) shifted from a third to a sixth rank as drivers over the next 10 years. For developers, these two factors were relegated in perceived importance as drivers for green housing in the future, giving some indication of developers' perceptions over the relative importance of the technical aspects of, and consumer interest in, green housing demand. It also implies that developers may be expecting a greater public acceptance of green housing products, as supply chains mature and green housing becomes more normalised.

4.2 Challenges

The results of what developers consider to be the key challenges of the green housing transition in China, both current and future stage are shown in Table 6 and 7 respectively. Table 6 shows that currently, the top three most serious challenges to green housing development in China were all financial regime factors: Co6 'higher technology costs', Co5 'higher material costs' and Co4 'higher costs to training employees'. These findings correlate with the key drivers for green housing, where financial factors were perceived as the least significant drivers (Table 4). The research therefore indicates that developers are currently experiencing financial pressures when developing green housing in China, and these financial pressures are likely further exacerbated by the lack of capital return. However, in the next 10 years, financial factors are shown to become less important, likely due to the expected development of further green technologies and the lowering costs of green materials associated with developing green technologies (Zhang et al., 2018a). For example, as can be seen from Table 7, Co6 declined in ranking from first to third; Co5 declined from second to seventh; and Co4 shifted from third to sixth. This implies that developers expect the cost of production to decrease over time, which may ease the burden of the current financial challenges they face.

Table 6
Current challenges to green housing development in China.

Code	Type	Frequency of responses					Mean	SD	Rank	Significance ^a
		1	2	3	4	5				

Co6	F	3	12	18	31	28	3.75	1.125	1	0.000
Co5	F	4	14	16	30	28	3.70	1.184	2	0.000
Co4	F	2	15	20	34	21	3.62	1.078	3	0.000
Co9	T	3	16	20	35	18	3.53	1.094	4	0.000
Co3	P	6	16	13	37	20	3.53	1.199	4	0.000
Co8	T	2	15	23	38	14	3.51	1.011	6	0.000
Co7	T	3	16	26	33	14	3.42	1.051	7	0.000
Co2	P	6	23	18	30	15	3.27	1.196	8	0.032
Co1	M	9	17	25	31	10	3.17	1.154	9	0.152 [*]

Kendall's W^b 0.034

Chi-square 28.440

df 8

Level of significance 0.000

^{a(*)}Data with insignificant results of one-sample t-test ($p > 0.05$)(2-tailed).

^bKendall's Coefficient of Concordance test on the challenges among the developers.

Table 7

Challenges to green housing development in China in the next 10 years.

Code	Type	Frequency of responses					Mean	SD	Rank	Significance ^a
		1	2	3	4	5				
Co3	P	8	11	18	40	15	3.47	1.162	1	0.000
Co2	P	9	15	15	39	14	3.37	1.211	2	0.004
Co6	F	12	11	18	33	18	3.37	1.290	3	0.007
Co7	T	6	17	21	35	13	3.35	1.133	4	0.004
Co4	F	9	15	20	35	13	3.30	1.193	5	0.016
Co5	F	14	12	18	30	18	3.28	1.337	6	0.046
Co1	M	14	12	15	42	9	3.22	1.248	7	0.098 [*]
Co8	T	8	19	19	34	12	3.25	1.183	8	0.046
Co9	T	10	14	21	35	12	3.27	1.196	9	0.032

Kendall's W^b 0.017

Chi-square 14.050

df 8

Level of significance 0.000

^{a(*)}Data with insignificant results of one-sample t-test ($p > 0.05$)(2-tailed).

^bKendall's Coefficient of Concordance test on the challenges among the developers.

Table 7 shows that, from the developers' point of view, the three most serious challenges to green housing development in the next 10 years are: Co3 'no uniform solution of green housing standard' (policy regime); Co2 'unclear building regulations' (policy regime); and Co6 'higher technology costs' (financial regime). Two policy regime factors shifted to the top three challenges in the future, when compared to current day. This implies developers may have less confidence in policy makers in the future or that current green housing standards and regulations may not be clear or uniform enough for market actors to implement.

The least serious challenge revealed by the research was 'lack of household awareness' (market regime). This perspective stayed consistent for both current and future views of developers on the housing market. Compared with the key drivers shown in Tables 4 and 5, 'increased customer demand' was in the middle-to-upper ranking at third and fifth respectively. Interestingly, this implies that greater consumer demand may be seen as a driver for Chinese developers towards green housing but that a lack of consumer demand is not currently perceived as a challenge by developers. This finding seems vague, but it likely reflects the fact that green housing development is still in the exploration stage in China and is not a mainstream feature of the housing market. Indeed, developers are more constrained by financial regime factors in the short term and policy regime factors in the long term.

4.3 Correlations between the four sub-regimes

Table 8 and 9 represent the results of the bivariate Pearson Correlation test. Factors were grouped into four sub-regimes - market regime, policy regime, financial regime and technological regime - to further evaluate co-evolutionary relationships in regime level. The co-evolutionary relationships were assessed by the correlations between sub-regime changes. For example, to what extent can changes in the market regime currently to the next 10 years affect changes in the policy regime from current day to the future? Both of these changes were continuous variables that can be used to test the correlation.

Table 8
Correlations of the ongoing changes between four sub-regime drivers.

	Market regime	Policy regime	Financial regime	Technological regime
Market regime	1			
Policy regime	0.677	1		
Financial regime	0.330	0.768	1	
Technological regime	0.561	0.855	0.945*	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level(2-tailed)

Table 9

Correlations of the ongoing changes between four sub-regime challenges.

	Market regime	Policy regime	Financial regime	Technological regime
Market regime	1			
Policy regime	0.987**	1		
Financial regime	0.822	0.888*	1	
Technological regime	-0.226	-0.340	-0.505	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level(2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level(2-tailed)

It can be seen from Table 8 that the correlation of the ongoing changes between financial regime drivers and technological regime drivers is 0.945 which significantly correlates at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). It indicates that financial regime drivers and technological regime drivers have a stronger co-evolutionary relationship in China's green housing transition. Similarly, Table 9 shows the correlations of the ongoing changes between policy regime challenges and market regime challenges is 0.987; while this number is 0.888 between policy regime challenges and financial regime challenges. It reveals that policy challenges have greater influences on market and financial regimes. Further discussion of these findings is provided in the next section.

4. Discussion

By adopting a socio-technical transition framework, this research has revealed a set of market, financial, policy and technological regime factors that have been shown, to varying degrees, to influence Chinese developers' attitudes and motivations towards green housing development. Some regime factors have been shown to have larger influence than others in driving or challenging Chinese developers. Moreover, the extent to which these regime factors influence developers is likely to dynamically change during the green housing transition, where policy and market factors become more significant, and technological and financial factors become less significant, as the transition process evolves. We now draw further on our conceptual framework to discuss the complexity underpinning this regime-level analysis, where we emphasize the dynamic and ongoing changes within the sub-regimes, and their differing levels of correlation, as core characteristics of China's green housing transition.

5.1 Regime complexity in China's green housing transition

From the perspective of the market regime, Chinese developers are most driven to develop green housing by seeking 'increased company reputation and competition ability' both currently and in the future. These findings support existing literature that a positive image and reputation affects a company's commitment to green housing (Andelin et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2018a). Interestingly, the findings also reveal the more limited role consumer demand plays in driving the green housing transition in the Chinese context, both currently and as perceived in the next 10 years. These findings reveal an interesting paradox - the primacy of market competitiveness as a driver of green housing sits alongside the more limited role consumers play in driving or constraining green housing market outcomes. Whilst Chinese developers appear to be driven by their reputations, they seem unconcerned by the impact that consumers may have as regards the marketability and saleability of the green housing they produce.

One explanation for this may be found in the policy regime, where mandatory regulations and policies featured as a fairly significant driver both currently and in the future. The expectation therefore that the Chinese government will mandate the production of green housing through regulation may act to suppress the influence of consumer behaviour by virtue of limiting alternative forms of housing. In this sense, Chinese developer's attitudes appears to be strongly influenced by their ability to compete against one another to establish a positive image and reputation (Andelin et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2018a) and capture market share in what could become an increasingly homogenised market setting. This may also explain the financial regime challenges around material, technology and training costs, which reflect Chinese developers' struggles to deliver green housing in a cost effective and therefore competitive manner.

Looking at the financial regime, the empirical results in this research point to the complex and oppositional nature of the financial regime in the Chinese green housing transition. On the one hand, financial factors are the greatest challenge currently facing Chinese developers and will continue to be in the coming years. On the other hand, they are the least influential driver under current and perceived future market conditions. These findings are significant as they indicate the limited role the financial regime may have in driving developers' capacity to act in the green housing transition. They also highlight the financial tensions developers face in adjusting to greater levels of green housing development. The limits of the financial regime arguably position market and policy regimes (see below) as more likely spaces for driving change in the green housing transition or where government intervention or other transition shaping mechanisms may have greater influence.

Turning to the policy regime, it has been shown in the research to have a mixed influence on developers' attitudes in China's green housing transition. Whereas under the current situation, policy factors were spread amongst other regime factors, the perceived future importance of policy factors increased, both as drivers and challenges to the green housing transition. The growing importance of policy regime factors in the next 10 years shows that developers perceive State action as becoming more significant, overtaking technological factors and financial factors respectively. Unclear building regulations and uniform green housing standards were perceived by developers as significant challenges to be expected in the coming ten years. Government incentives showed to be an increasingly important driver in the future, indicating that developers may expect the state to absorb financial regime issues around the extra costs associated with green housing development. Nonetheless, it is clear that, from the developers' perspective, an interventionist policy paradigm is necessary in the Chinese housing market, with the Chinese State adopting a leading role in supporting the green housing transition.

Finally, for the technological regime, the research revealed that innovative green technologies were perceived as a significant current driver by developers (Figure 4). However, the perceived future importance of technological regime factors decreased, with policy and market regime factors becoming comparatively more important to developers in the coming ten years. It is expected that the development of innovations at the niche level (Geels, 2011) may gradually permeate to regime level to mainstream currently innovative technologies or indeed form a new technological regime, reducing the difficulties faced by developers in utilising green technologies. In this sense, developers may simply move to utilise once innovative green technologies, rather than being driven by them.

5.2 Reframing China's green housing transition

By adopting an MLP perspective, our research has revealed a number of co-evolutionary interactions between the different sub-regimes associated with China's green housing transition. This approach has elucidated the complexity and dynamics of the ongoing transition from the developer's perspective and highlighted the differing influence of the various regimes on developers' attitudes and motivations towards the green housing transition. The research has revealed that changes between the technological regime drivers and financial regime drivers are complementary - when green housing technologies or equipment are developed, developers' costs in adopting them decline. Further, the policy regime has been shown to have the greatest effect in influencing co-evolutionary interactions (Table 8 and 9), revealing that state-led green housing policies have a strong influence on market or technology changes during the transition. Whilst these findings do

reflect the non-fully market-oriented characteristic of the Chinese housing market (Wu et al., 2015), they reveal the central and dominant role of the policy regime in China's green housing transition.

Ultimately, conceptualizing the shift towards green building practices as a socio-technical transition reframes the process as one of long-term adaptation, where many dynamic and co-evolutionary changes need to be considered when assessing the feasibility and market-based delivery of state-led policy ambitions. Indeed, our research on developer attitudes and motivations in China has revealed that any long-term shift towards normalizing green building practices will be driven more by changes in the policy and market regimes. The financial and technological regimes are expected to become less important in driving the transition. This trend will need to be reflexively considered by policy makers to adapt to the changing conditions of China's green housing transition.

5. Conclusion

Overall, this research has examined the attitudes and motivations of developers in China's green housing transition by investigating what drivers and challenges they currently face and expect to face in the future, when delivering green housing. In doing so, it has uncovered notable regime complexity in China's green housing transition. The research has revealed that developers recognised green housing as a mainstream trend in the future Chinese housing market. However, whilst developers were driven by a series of regime factors in making the transition towards green housing development, a set of regime challenges were identified by them which constrain their choices and actions. The research also revealed an ongoing and dynamically shifting process, with differences between drivers and challenges in the current and anticipated future contexts.

Our research has provided a number of original research contributions to the green housing literature, multi-level perspective literature, and innovative methodological design. First, our research has focused on the role of market actors in green housing development in non-western and non-liberal contexts. It contributes to knowledge that, although the Chinese green housing transition is facing similar drivers and challenges as with other developed economies, the impact of those drivers and challenges are different based on China's unique institutional environment and development stage. Second, although MLP theory has been utilised for analysing socio-technical transitions in other countries or sectors, our research is the first of its kind to introduce this conceptual framework into China's green housing context. The empirical findings in our research support existing conceptualizations that posit socio-technical transitions as a complex, ongoing process, where different sub-regime factors operate co-evolutionary and dynamically interact with each other (Geels, 2004, 2011). Our research has particularly emphasized the benefit of utilizing MLP theory to

investigate complexity, constraint and opportunity in green housing development and carbon regulation research more broadly. Third, our research has been conducted using a score ranking technique which is widely used to show key drivers/challenges in similar research. However, an original bivariate Pearson Correlation test to investigate the co-evolutionary interactions between different sub-regimes was used in this research, showing the feasibility of this data analysis approach and providing a methodological contribution for shaping future similar research. Finally, our research helps policymakers better understand the market conditions of China's green housing transition by revealing insights into the policy regime. These findings will enable policymakers to further consider what kind of new or additional policies or regulations might be required to address the challenges.

Despite these original contributions to knowledge, our research does face some limitations. Because our focus was on gathering high level quantitative data that was representative of the Chinese housing industry as a whole, it overlooked what could arguably be considered as equally important qualitative explanations of developer motivations towards green housing. Further, whilst we argued the regime-level, and sub-regime level in particular, was the most important area of conceptual focus, this risks downplaying the interactions between all three key levels of Geels (2004, 2011) multi-level perspective. In addition, as our empirical investigation focused on Chinese developers alone, we were unable to capture the attitudes and motivations of other important stakeholders, who also operate within the regime alongside developers. Indeed, a reading of the drivers and constraints indicate that consumers, construction contractors and suppliers have significant roles to play in China's green housing transition.

In light of the varying responses of Chinese developers towards the green housing transition, and the limitations we identify of our own research, the following important research gaps remain unresolved and require further academic and policy attention: (1) Where addressing multi-actor characters of socio-technical transitions, additional work should examine other key stakeholders' interests, such as consumers, construction contractors and suppliers, and the interactions between different stakeholders across the regimes; (2) In addressing the multi-level character of socio-technical transitions, additional work should focus on examining the niche level and the landscape level, to explore how these different levels influence or are influenced by the wider green housing transition and the impacts on developers.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their deepest appreciation to all the respondents who kindly participated in this research and the reviewers for the helpful and constructive feedback.

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