

A TALE OF TWO CITIES: COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF URBAN-RURAL COHESION DEVELOPMENT POLICIES BETWEEN CHENGDU AND CHONGQING IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT: *Separate developments of Chinese urban and rural areas were caused by urban-rural dualistic system, which seriously impeded urbanization process in China. Chengdu and Chongqing were two pioneer cities of promoting urban-rural cohesion. They have adjacent location and similar background, while their policies were not exactly the same.*

This article had a review of the urban-rural cohesion policies and their consequences in this two cities and pointed out the main features of them. Comparative analysis of the reasons for the different polices in Chengdu and Chongqing is presented in the end.

According to the analysis, Chengdu adopted integrated management which put rural elements like the land, capital and the labor force into market to promote urban-rural cohesion. Market played a more significant role than the government in Chengdu case. However there was an opposite situation in Chongqing where the government relied on the power to dragged rural elements into market circulation. Government dominated the whole process in Chongqing case. The urbanization rate change indicated that polices in Chengdu which rested on market are more efficient and more sustainable than those in Chongqing.

The conclusion is that although it will take a longtime to establish the order of the market, it will have a steadier, more reasonable, efficient and sustainable processes and results than a strong government-led transformation which can get instant results. If there is no orderly market, once the pressure of government has been taken away, the transformation will cease. Therefor market should lead the urban-rural cohesion with the support of government s authority. Both of them are indispensable.

1. Introduction

In the third convention of the 18th plenary session in China, the government of China paid high attention to the urbanization of China. The holding of *Central Urbanization Meeting of China* in 2013, marking the arrival of transition session of urbanization in China. Urbanization has become one of the core topics of the whole people of China. Urbanization, is a process in which rural inhabitants transform to urban residents. The appearances of this process are the increasing of urban population, the expansion of the scale of urban land and the formation of urban social life-style. In terms of urban connotation, the vigorous promotion of urbanization means that the free movement of land resources, capital resources

and labor force resources between urban and rural area. However, the urban-rural dualistic system which implemented from the planned economy era has impeded the free movement of the resources. Therefore, the key point to solve Chinese urbanization problem is to break urban-rural barriers by urban-rural cohesion.

1.1. The urban-rural dualistic system in China

Since the founding of new China, the heavy industry road heading to industrialization caused the foundation of the urban-rural dualistic system in China which absorbed the fruit of rural agricultural production into the urban to supply industry. Urban grew rapidly while the development of rural was constrained. Since the reform and opening-up, Chinese government have tried to reform this system whilst the urban-rural dualistic system remains and restricts the vigorous development of urbanization in China.

1.1.1. What is the urban-rural dualistic system?

The urban-rural dualistic system means that urban and rural developed separately. The key point of this system is the barrier between urban and rural which restrict the free movement of their resource. Because this barrier, the government use better policies on urban to make it develop much faster than the rural area. In this process, the industry of China developed rapidly and the citizen who had urban household registration got rich, while the farmers who had rural household registration endured terrible life.

1.1.2. Why the government adopted this system

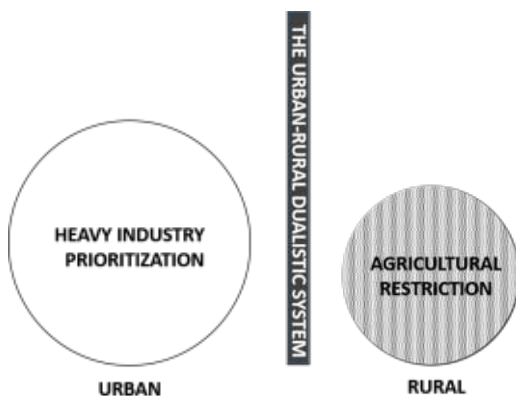


Figure 1. The Urban-rural Dualistic System of China

At the beginning of the new China, the main economic form in China is small-scale agriculture without any heavy industry. The government believe that the urban area of China must start developing industry while they all know this county cannot give up agriculture since they need the money for industrial development. Consequently, the government established this dualistic system between urban and rural. In rural area, the farmer went on with farming work and must hand most of their fruit over to the government. In urban area, the government make use of the benefit get from rural area to develop industry. That is to say, in a certain long time after the foundation of the state, government got most of their income from rural area

while invested most of them in urban area. That s why the rural area fell so much

1.1.3. The features of urban-rural dualistic system

The basic feature of this system is the household registration, and it have three appearance.

Land resource

Urban and rural area have different land use police. In rural area, lands belong to collectives instead of farmers. Farmers rent the land and just have the right to use so that they cannot sell their land. And if their collective decide to sell the land, the benefit belong to collective. In this system, the farmers have two things they can use. The first one is the contracted land which they use to produce to get food, the second one is homestead which they use to live. However, since neither of their ownership belong to farmers, farmers cannot sell them in the market. In urban area, lands belong to country. Country have quota for city construction. So if the government want promote urbanization, they need to transform rural land to urban land. Therefore they need to buy lands from rural area. At this time, the urban-rural dualistic system restrict the process.

Capital resource

Since the government want to use the fruit of rural area to develop urban area, the price of agriculture products were undervalued while the price of industrial products were overestimated in the market. One result is that the income of farmers are extremely low so that they endured a terrible life, and another result is that no one want to invest in agriculture. Consequently, the capital flow just have one direction: rural to urban, just little capital came back.

Labour force resource

The government use the capital from rural area to support different kinds of social services and security for the people who have urban household registration so that they have retirement insurance security, medicine security, education security and other securities. However these security will not support to farmers who have rural household registration. As the development of science and technology, rural area don t need that much young person to work on agriculture and meanwhile, the co need more labor. With this back ground, many surplus labor of countryside go to work in cities with their rural household registration. They work for the construction of cities while the city would not support any security for them since they don t have urban household.

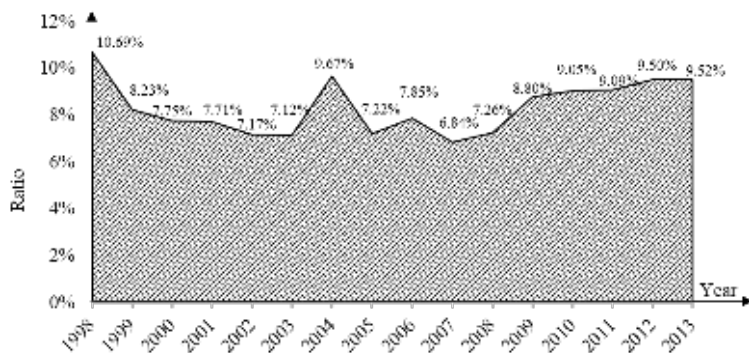


Figure 2. National Agricultural Expenditure Ratio from 1998 to 2013

Source: Chines National Bureau of Statistics, 2006;2007;2008;2009;2010;2011;2012;2013;2014

1.1.4. The problems created by the urban-rural dualistic system

There are five main problems caused by the urban-rural dualistic system. Firstly, the collective ownership of land prevented land scale management. Chinese country adopt collective ownership system. Farmers only have the right to use the land instead of own it. However the owner of land including towns, villages, and unincorporated villages and other stakeholders don t have

clear boundaries of the distribution of land revenue share. Which means if a piece of land will be sold to someone in the market, nobody knows that the how to allocate incomes to its owners. Therefore the land cannot be exchanged freely in the market. That s why nobody can own a large scale management agriculture. Secondly, since the income distribution system biased to urban, the agricultural, rural infrastructure and public services cannot get adequate investment. Before 2007, although the number of national rural spending seems increased annually, while total state revenues also increased, so that the proportion of agricultural spending is actually declining (Figure 2). The truly present situations are rural public service facilities are fell behind, agricultural developed slowly and modern agricultural science and technology are also still in its infancy stage. The national government was aware of this problem and began to increase investment in agriculture in recent years. Thirdly, price "scissors difference" underpriced the agricultural products so that the farmers have the lack of expansion capital which increased the gap between urban and rural areas (Xin Yan, Kun Tian and Jie Gao, 2011). During the initial period of founding the state, agriculture must support industry and hence agricultural products have been undervalued while industrial products have been overvalued for a long time. City had surplus funds for its development while countryside is short of expansion capital. Rural-urban gap expanded. This situation still exist today. Fourthly, financial industries suck more capital than lend loans in rural areas caused the significant outflows of rural capital (Xin Yan, Kun Tian and Jie Gao, 2011). Rural enterprises are small with low credit. They are difficult to secure loans from the financial sector so that most of the money flows to big enterprises and big projects in the city, rural enterprise development difficultly. Finally, the household registration system restricted the free movement of labor force. The household registration system created by urban-rural dualistic system caused that the migrant workers with rural accounts cannot enjoy pension, education, health care and other safeguards which are enjoyed only by urban residents who have urban accounts. It seriously impedes the freedom of rural surplus labor flowing into city.

These five aspects seriously hampered urbanization of China. Therefore, solving the urban-rural dualistic problem should focus on these five issues.

1.2. Analysis of the comparability of the Chengdu and Chongqing urban-rural cohesion



Figure 3. The Location of Chengdu and Chongqing

Chengdu and Chongqing have always been compared by scholars in different aspects since they do have comparability. Both of them are located in the western part of China with just 340km distance between them and are the leader cities of Chengdu-Chongqing economic zone (Figure 3). They also have many things in common on the topic of this article: urban-rural cohesion strategies. Both of them emerged serious rural-urban polarization so that they both have necessary to develop urban-rural cohesion planning. In 2007, both of them are

approved by the National Development and Reform Commission for the national urban-rural cohesion reform testing area, and did a lot of research in urban and rural cohesion planning with some outcomes. However they are totally different with their geographical, social and political environment. Therefore, comparing their measures and achievements in urban and rural cohesion planning can be used as a reference for research on urban-rural cohesion planning in China.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research strategy

The main method of this article is comparative study. Since the main features of the urban-rural dualistic system are mainly on three aspects (land resource, capital resource and labor force resource), this article will analyze the strategies adopted by both cities to see if their strategies are useful to change these features. Then in order to see the general system of their strategies, the article analyzed the strategy structure of both cities. Finally, the article introduced some special strategy in both cities.

2.2. Methods of data collection

The data of this article is mainly come from the *CHINA STATISTICAL YEARBOOK*, *CHONGQING STATISTICAL YEARBOOK*, and *CHENGDU STATISTICAL YEARBOOK* from 2003 to 2012. In order to do the comparative study, the author wants to use the data from the same number of years for both cities. That is to use the data from 2003 to 2008 for Chengdu and 2007 to 2012 for Chongqing which is 6 years since the starting of reformation.

Because of the main purpose for urban-rural cohesion strategy for China is to promote urbanization, the urbanization rate is one of the main indicators adopted in this article. The other indicator is the income gap between urban and rural areas which is used to evaluate the effect of urban-rural cohesion development.

3. Research on urban-rural cohesion planning in Chengdu

3.1. The review of urban-rural cohesion planning process in Chengdu (using 6 years information since the starting of reformation)

Chengdu urban-rural cohesion planning began in 2003. During 6 years from 2003 to 2008, this process mainly consists of 2 stages (Jiuli Zeng and Peng Tang, 2013).

The first stage was 2003 to 2006, this was the exploration phase of urban-rural cohesion planning. During this period, Chengdu has implemented the four-in-one and three concentrations politics, began to explore to bring the rural planning into of whole territory planning system which means transform the planning system from "urban planning" to "urban and rural planning".

The second stage started from 2006 until 2008. In this phase, Chengdu have implemented the project , giving back the determined ownership to farmers and other means to integration target. In this process, Chengdu have practiced a comprehensive urban and rural plan system, and formed a more perfect system of urban and rural cohesion planning.

3.2. The innovation exploration of Chengdu urban-rural cohesion reformation

3.2.1. Innovation policies promoting free movement of resources

Land resources

Land use system are the key points of urban-rural cohesion development. As it was described in the previous article, the ambiguity rural land ownership and the ambiguous benefits distribution led the problems like it was difficult for land ownership circulation and the loss of arable land after circulation. These are key problems to solving the land circulation issues. Chengdu has three main steps. Firstly, Chengdu have conferred land ownership certificate for all the rural land. In other word all the owners of the land can get a certificate to identify their benefit of the land. From January 2008 the government have conferred 33800 certificates for collective land ownership, 1.66million certificates for collective land-use right, 1.8million Rural Land Contract Management Certificate involving 10million. Secondly, found land transaction platforms. Chengdu found the first rural property rights exchange of china to support platform for transaction of land in the market. Thirdly, Chengdu established arable land protection fund firstly in China. The criteria is about: 360 yuan per acre per year for primary farmland and 270 yuan per acre per year for general farmland. This is to say if someone own 3 acres primary farmland and he keeps cultivating on it, he can get 1080 yuan from government. That is an excellent policy to encourage to protect farmland.

Capital resource

Chengdu have adopted three policies to overcome the difficulties the rural enterprises and agricultural face when they want to obtain capital from market. Firstly, settings up investment companies. Chengdu have organized *Modern Agricultural Investment Company*, *Small Town Construction Investment Company* and *Agricultural Logistics Investment Company* to investment in rural construction directly. Secondly, perfecting the guarantee mechanism by established financial investment rural guarantee company, and the rural land ownership circulation guarantee corporation to improve the guarantee system. Thirdly, banks pilot plan. Testing on some village banks, microcredit banks, as well as agricultural insurance as pilot program to gradually explore the mechanisms of financial reform.

Labour force resource

Household registration system restricts urban-rural cohesion development, affecting the free movement of labor force. Chengdu started from household registration reform to promote free labor flows. Firstly, unified household registration and break barriers of urban and rural. Chengdu introduced a government document in October 2006 to further promote the integration of urban and rural which stipulate that if farmers were domiciled in the cities, they can have urban household registration to enjoy old-age pension,

education and health care secure of city. Secondly, establish integrated urban-rural labor market. Improve situation of farmer workers by job training, employment policy, employment assistance, employment work responsibility system and employment services network. Thirdly, enhance protection system for persons who change from agricultural to non-agricultural status.

3.2.2. Urban-rural integral policy structure

Chengdu have carried out a series of reformation and innovation on planning structure of the city, financial structure and management structures which mainly in the three integration.

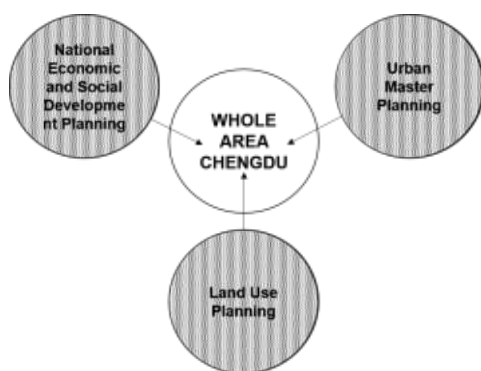


Figure 4. The Planning Integration of Chengdu

Planning integration

Firstly, planning area integration. Chengdu proposed an overall layout concept named whole area Chengdu, looks urban centers, surrounding towns and rural settlements as a whole area to plan (Jiuli Zeng and Peng Tang, 2013). Secondly, the special planning integration. Originally separated national economic and social development planning, urban master planning and land use planning have been unified to ensure that different urban and rural planning department can be highly linked up and regulated.

Urban-rural service system integration

Firstly, the integration of urban and rural public finance system. Chengdu reformed the rural financial management systems and implemented a new way which utilize county government to manage the finance of villages under it. Secondly, municipal finance directly invest into county. For the situation that the finance power of some basic layers government are too weak to guarantee equal accessibility to public service, the municipal finance invested directly in standard basic public services such as rural middle and primary schools, county (village) health centers (stations) and multi-use culture station. Thirdly, the reformation of basic layers management system. The economic function of sub-district administrative office have been abolished and its level of public services and social management capacity have been enhanced.

Management system Integration

Chengdu streamlined the existing administrative system. During the reform period, 758 political examinations have been reduced, which have been cut 66% compare with original amount. More than 30 departments have been dismantled and restructured, including planning, agriculture, transport, water supply, forestry and gardening for the integrated management of urban and rural departments. Simultaneously, 30% countries and 47% villages have been dismantled and restructured as well as more than 5000 official staffs have been reduced.

3.2.3. Exploring of intensive development mechanisms Three Aggregations

Reply to the situation that the serious contradiction between people and land, scarce resources and fragile

ecology, Chengdu has explored intensive development mechanism with Three Aggregations as the core idea (Guangyue Li, Min Wang and Jianzhong Wu, 2010). Firstly, industries assemble to the industry aggregation zone. Chengdu centralized 116 original separated small-scale industrial development zones into 20 industry aggregation zone to achieve the goal which develop industry intensively. Secondly, land use assemble to large scale aggregation. The government try to adopt methods like subcontract, lease, and buy a share to transform the existing dispersed small plots land created by land contract responsibility system into agricultural leading enterprises, rural collective economic organizations, professional farmer cooperative organizations or large planter in order to achieve scale management. Thirdly, farmers assemble to towns. Follow the principles like considering local conditions, respecting the will of farmers, paying according to law, promoting steadily , the government built town and rural new communities and guide farmers to transfer from primary industries to the second and third industries.

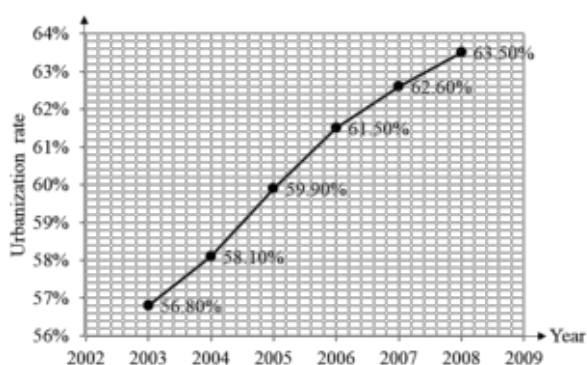


Figure 5. The Urbanization Rate of Chengdu from 2003 to 2008
Source: Chengdu Bureau of Statistics 2009

3.3. The outcomes of Chengdu urban-rural cohesion planning. (Using 6 years data since the starting of reformation)

3.3.1. Outcome 1: urbanization rate raised quickly, reaching the degree higher than standard level of urbanization

One of the most important indicator used to measure the level of urbanization is urbanization rate count by urban resident population. From 2003 to 2008, the urbanization rate of Chengdu increased 6.7%, with a fast growth rate of 1.34% annual.

Table 1. The Standard Structure of World Development Model About Urbanization Capita Built by Hollis B. Chenery

GDP per capita dollar in 1964	<100	100	200	300	400	500	800	1000	>1000
Urbanization %	12.8 mid-value	22	36.2	43.9	49	52.7	60.1	63.4	68.5 mid-value

Source: Zhang Ying and Zhao Min, 2003 cited in Yan Xing, Tian Kun and Gao Jie, 2011

Table 2. The Standard Structure of Urbanization and GDP per Capita According Chinese Situation

GDP per capita dollar in 1964	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900
GDP per capita dollar in 2001	500	1000	1500	2000	2499	2999	3499	3999	4499
Urbanization %	22.1	36.4	44.1	49.2	53	56	58.4	60.4	62.2

Source: Zhang Ying and Zhao Min, 2003 cited in Yan Xing, Tian Kun and Gao Jie, 2011

According to the general law of urban development, the higher level of economic development a country have, higher level of urbanization it will have, and vice versa. Urbanization rate and GDP per capita has a correspondence relation (Table 1).

In 2008, GDP per capita of Chengdu has reached \$ 4213.4 (according to the dollar convert from 2001), and its corresponding population urbanization rate should exceed 60.4% and actual urbanization rate of Chengdu was 63.15% which is higher than the standard level of urbanization (Table 2).

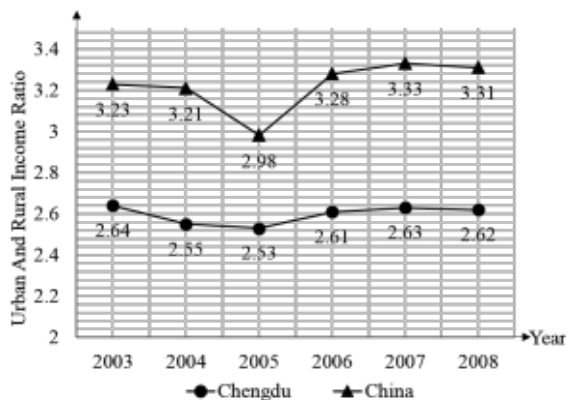


Figure 6. Urban-Rural Income Ratio of Chengdu and China
 Source: Chengdu Bureau of Statistics 2009; Chines National Bureau of Statistics 2009

3.3.2. Outcome 2: the balance urban spatial

expansion mode create by three aggregations . In 2003 and 2007, non-agricultural population annual growth rate of suburban districts and exurban counties of Chengdu have reached 18.1% and 15.11%, respectively, which is much higher than 7.14% in the Center-City. The non-agricultural population increased fast continuously, especially in suburban areas. This rate in 2007 was 21.15% higher than that in 2003.

3.3.3. Outcome 3: the income gap between urban and rural areas kept stable and low

Chengdu urban-rural income gap remained the level below the national average, and maintained stability without widening trend.

Table 3. Urban-Rural Income Gap of Chengdu and China

Year			2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Chengdu	Urban per capita Disposable income	yuan	9641	10394	11359	12789	14849	16943
	Rural per capita Disposable income	yuan	3655	4072	4485	4905	5642	6481
	Urban-Rural Income Ratio		2.64:1	2.55:1	2.53:1	2.61:1	2.63:1	2.62:1
China	Urban per capita Disposable income	yuan	8472	9422	10493	11759	13786	15781
	Rural per capita Disposable income	yuan	2622	2936	3525	3587	4140	4761
	Urban-Rural Income Ratio		3.23:1	3.21:1	2.98:1	3.28:1	3.33:1	3.31:1

Source: Chengdu Bureau of Statistics 2009; Chines National Bureau of Statistics 2009

4. Research on urban-rural cohesion planning in Chongqing

4.1. The review of urban-rural cohesion planning process in Chongqing (using 6 years information since the starting of reformation)

Chongqing urban-rural cohesion planning began in June 2007, after been for the national urban-rural cohesion reform testing area which was approved by the National Development and Reform

Commission. In July 2007, Chongqing founded a leadership group and institution for urban-rural cohesion planning. On September 8th, 2007, Chongqing Municipal Government issued an office document on overall urban-rural cohesion reform which created a better legal environment for the reforms and innovations done by government. On April 28th, 2009, the State Council approved urban-rural cohesion reform program of Chongqing. Since then Chongqing entered a period of urban-rural cohesion reform practice (Yingying Lv and Hongxing Lan, 2011).

4.2. The innovation exploration of Chongqing urban-rural cohesion reformation

4.2.1. Innovation policies promoting free movement of resources

Land resources

Facing the similar problems brought by land ownership system as Chengdu, Chongqing adopted two approaches. Firstly, as similar as Chengdu, Chongqing have also conferred land ownership certificate for all the rural land, which including land contract certificate, forest ownership certificate, homestead certificate and collective-owned construction land certificate etc. Second, *Dipiao* system. Get planning quotas by the reclamation of idle rural construction land and then transform these quotas into *Dipiao* for selling. Other traders can by these *Dipiao* to change them to urban construction quotas which can be used to construct in urban area. In the process, urban got legal quotas for construction, farmers got benefits from selling *Dipiao* and the arable land had been protected.

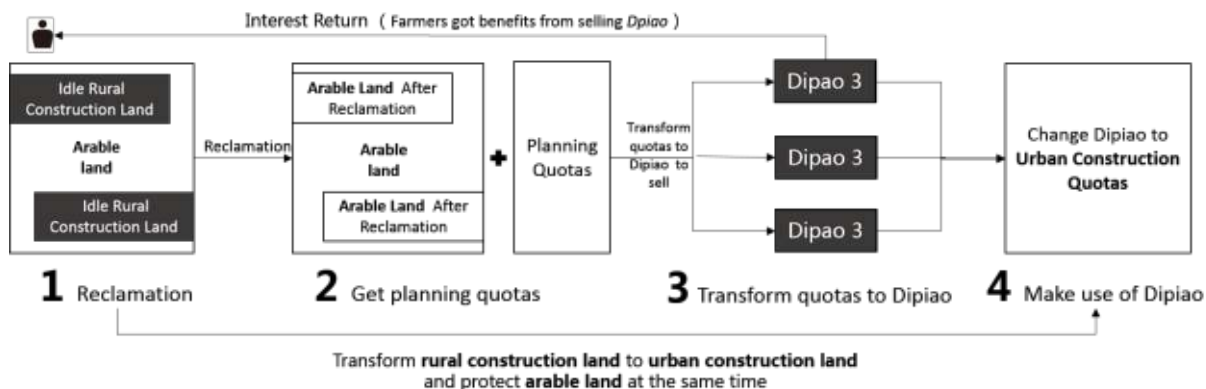


Figure 7. Dipiao system of Chongqing

Capital resource

Firstly, promote bank restructuring. Commercial Bank Wanzhou successful reorganized to Chongqing Three Gorges Bank, Municipal Rural Credit Cooperatives reorganized to Chongqing Rural Commercial Bank, and Chongqing Financial Leasing Companies have been approved. Secondly, develop innovative financial products. Mainly introduce unsecured microcredit to promote development of rural enterprises. Thirdly, the financial policy tilted toward agriculture. Use the services network and financial terminals of rural bank to provide loans, payment, withdrawal, settlement, and other financial services to farmers, cooperatives and agricultural leading enterprises. Finally, experiments on agricultural insurance. Mainly promote agricultural insurance pilot project on three kind of agricultural products including pigs, cows

and oranges.

Labour force resource

Government provided public services for migrant workers in a variety of ways. Firstly, housing security. Improving the living conditions of migrant workers, which was regarded as an important measure to solve the housing difficulties of urban low-income families, has been mentioned in an official housing document in 2008. Secondly, social security. A system to support retirement insurance and serious disease medical insurance and a series of methods to do 26 necessary things in 7 categories have been established for migrant workers. Thirdly, legal right security. A campaign named defending right in hundred days started for migrant workers. Finally, children education security. An official document which titled the children of migrant workers can have the same educational treatment as their urban peers. These policies have supported security for the migrant workers as well as attracted the surplus labors which are still in countryside to go work in cities so that these policies promoting the free movement of labor force.



Figure 8. One Circle and Two Wings Structure

4.2.2. Policy structure: One Circle and Two Wings and urban-rural cooperation in pairs

The main urban area of Chongqing half an hour economic circle regards as the one circle. The Northeast of Chongqing including Three Gorges area with the center of Wanzhou regards as the north wing. Southeast of Chongqing including the ethnic minorities impoverished mountainous area regards as the south wing. Every district of the main urban area will have a brother country to help with in pairs. The main contents of helping include eight

aspects: industry collaborate, employment transfer, educational assistance, scientific and technological cooperation, health resources sharing, personnel exchanges, finance support, poverty alleviation and development etc. Supporting measures include: financial support, building standard rooms, arrange temporary posts for staffs, teacher exchanges, medical training and research consulting etc. Government asked the districts in main urban area must use at least 1% of their financial budget to help their county counterparts, and evaluate their achievement together.

4.2.3. Pilot experiments to explore a variety of suitable models according to local conditions.

Because of the complex situation with wide area and high mountains, countries of Chongqing had some pilot project to explore a variety of suitable models according to local conditions. typical projects are Jiulongpo District, Liangping County, Dianjiang County.

Jiulongpo District promoted farmers use contracted land to exchange for social insurance and homestead

for house. The core policies are to transforming farmers to urban residents with their own resources and support excellent migrant workers going into the city. They also focused on comprehensive industrial development on rural collective construction land and the construction of new rural communities which aim to improve the living conditions of migrant workers.

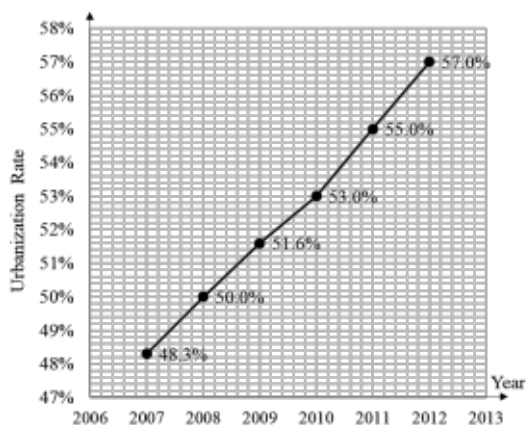


Figure 9. The Urbanization Rate of Chongqing from 2007 to 2012
Source: Chongqing Bureau of Statistics 2013

Liangping County developed specialized farmer cooperatives which organized specialized farmers who plant same agriculture products together, so that to solve the contradiction between decentralized planting and the overall market demand.

Dianjiang County chose 50 village to exploring conditional mode to reform step by step with the principles which are smaller units, multiple mo low risks.

4.3. *The outcomes of Chongqing urban-rural cohesion planning. (Using 6 years data since the starting of reformation)*

4.3.1. *Outcome 1: urbanization rate raised quickly, while still have gap with standard level of urbanization*

During 6 years reform period from 2007 to 2012, the urbanization rate of Chongqing increased 8.7%, with a rapid average annual rate of 1.74%. However, according to the standard rates of urbanization level mentioned above, in 2012, GDP per capita of Chongqing has reached \$ 6191, which is \$ 4472.5 converted from 2001. With this situation the urbanization rate should be above 60% in theory while the fact is just 57% in Chongqing. Therefore the urbanization rate level falls far behind the standard level.

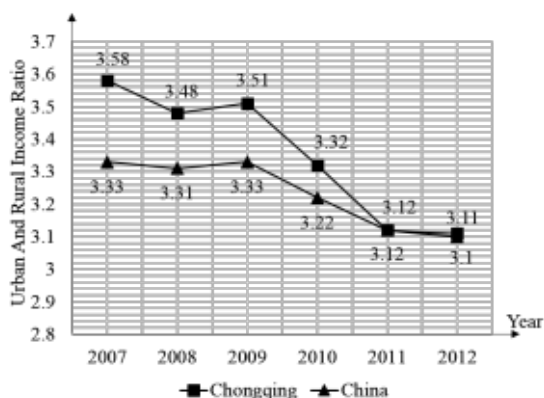


Figure 10. Urban-Rural Income Ratio of Chongqing and China
Source: Chengdu Bureau of Statistics 2013; Chines National Bureau of Statistics

4.3.2. *Outcome 2: the income gap between urban and rural areas reduced and reached the national level*

Urban-rural income gap of Chongqing have been larger and far above the national average. After the implementation of urban-rural cohesion reform, the income gap has declined markedly. In 2011 and 2012, it reached the national average level.

Table 4. Urban-Rural Income Gap of Chongqing and China

Year		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Chongqing	Urban per capita Disposable income yuan	12591	14368	15749	17532	20250	22968
	Rural per capita Disposable income yuan	3509	4126	4478	5277	6480	7383
	Urban-Rural Income Ratio	3.58:1	3.48:1	3.51:1	3.32:1	3.12:1	3.11:1
China	Urban per capita Disposable income yuan	13786	15781	17175	19109	21810	24565
	Rural per capita Disposable income yuan	4140	4761	5153	5919	6977	7917
	Urban-Rural Income Ratio	3.33:1	3.31:1	3.33:1	3.22:1	3.12:1	3.10:1

Source: Chengdu Bureau of Statistics 2013; Chines National Bureau of Statistics

5. Comparison Research on urban-rural cohesion planning between Chengdu and Chongqing

5.1. Politics comparison research.

Table 5. Politics Comparison Research of Chengdu and Chongqing

	Promote Free Movement of Resources			Policy Structure	Special policies
	Land Resource	Capital Resource	Labour force resource		
Chengdu	1 Confer land ownership certificate 2 Found land transaction platforms 3 Arable land protection fund	1 investment company 2 guarantee mechanism	Relax household registration restriction	Urban-rural integral policy structure	Three Aggregations
Chongqing	1 Confer land ownership certificate 2 Dipiao system transaction platforms +arable land protection	Innovative financial products	Support security to attract farmers	One circle and wings and urban cooperation in pairs	Pilot experiments
Conclusion	Same	Similar	Similar	Totally different	Totally different

Chengdu and Chongqing adapted similar politics to promote the free movement of resources in urban and rural area. Both of them focused on break the barriers between urban and rural. Because of the similar situation of them, both of them concentrated on three kinds of resources which are land, capital and labor resources. These three kinds of resources problems are caused by the urban-rural dualistic system in China. Therefore the universal methods to the urban-rural dualistic system problem is to try the break the barriers of this three resources between urban and rural.

Nevertheless, Chengdu and Chongqing have absolutely different policy structure for urban-rural cohesion planning. This policy structure of Chengdu is a kind of all-in-one integration means that organize all the resources and materials of urban and rural together to put them into a same market. The key tool here is market. In other words, Chengdu want to found a market for all these resources to promote urbanization. The situation in Chongqing is completely changed. This policy

structure of Chongqing is try to use urban area to assist rural area in urbanization to reach urban-rural cohesion. The key tool here is government power.

5.2. Reason analyses

5.2.1. Apparent causes: Geography and city scale differences

Chengdu is located on the plains, with a total area of 12,400 km², central city and the surrounding countryside contact closely make it is more easily for urban area to radiate the area around the it. The gap between center city and the surrounding countryside was relatively small. Therefore integration planning and the three aggregations can be better implemented. However, Chongqing is located in the mountains, with a total area of 82,000 km², center city and the surrounding countryside are separated by mountains so that their connections are weak that makes it is more difficult for the center city to radiate the surrounding. Therefore, urban-rural cooperation in pairs is easier to imply. And because the complex situation each district and country should to explore the suitable mode for their local conditions.

Urban and rural areas of Chengdu have equal size. Chengdu had 6 million urban population, the rural population was also 6 million, that means it is big city lead big country which makes it easy to develop integration urban-rural cohesion planning policy structure. However, Chongqing had 7 million urban population, to lead 25 million rural population. Leading power of the center city is obviously insufficient. Therefore the government make use of gathering-diffusion effects of main urban areas to promote urban-rural cohesion planning process.

5.2.2. Root causes: Political background differences

The apparent causes seems reasonable, while in the author s opinion political background of this two city should be the root causes. We all know that a health market need a series of long-term policies to establish that means it will take a longtime. The data of Chengdu also proved this idea. Thus facing the problems which were not that much serious, the government chose to give the power to the market even though it will take a longtime. However, the government of Chongqing is not that much patient, they want something faster to solve this tricky problem with serious situation. The leader of Chongqing want to see the outcome in short time (most of them just have 5 years term). In other words, if Chongqing have more patient, they can also try to establish a healthy market while the leader don t have that much time to see the achievement. Therefore they chose to rely on government power instead of market order.

5.3. Conjecture

From the current data we may believe that Chongqing have better outcomes, since its income gap between urban and rural fell faster and the margin of decrease are bigger than that in Chengdu. However we can imagine that if the leaders of the government changed and the new comers came to power which means the government pressure disappeared and they didn t have an ordered market, could this outstanding outcome been maintain? The answer is no. Nevertheless, not all the cities can take up

with the method adopted by Chengdu for not all the cities have condition to wait. So efficiency and durability are both important. Therefore both government and market should be responsible for urban-rural cohesion planning.

6. Conclusion

Urban-rural dualistic system is the production of primary stage of social development in China. It is not suitable to remain in the way to urbanization. The aim of urban-rural dualistic system reformation is to break the barriers which restrict the free movement of resources. Chengdu and Chongqing have tried many different policies for urban-rural cohesion while they adopted completely contradict methods according their own situation. Chengdu relied on market and Chengdu relied on government power. The former will takes a long time and the later cannot stable. In author s opinion, the market should lead urban-rural cohesion with the support of government s authority. After all efficiency is just relying on just government power and ignore the order of market is just like somebody couldn t see beyond the end of his nose. However, both of them are indispensable.

7. References

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