

DOI: 10.20542/0131-2227-2024-68-12-49-58

EDN: EKOIQF

PRIVATE CONSUMPTION MODEL IN CHINA

Ekaterina Ya. ARAPOVA,

ORCID 0000-0001-8765-9825, arapova_katrin@mail.ru

Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 76, Vernadskogo Prosp., Moscow, 119454, Russian Federation.

Received 15.07.2024. Revised 11.09.2024. Accepted 02.10.2024.

Abstract. The paper aims to analyze quantitatively the households' final consumption expenditure model in China within the framework of the "dual circulation" policy and stimulation of domestic demand, which underlies the country's 14th Five-Year Plan for 2021–2025. Model identification bases on assessing the impact of six determinants (current income, permanent income, wages, earnings of employees, domestic credit to private sector, and price level) on the households' final consumption expenditure growth and its contribution to the country's economic growth. The Granger causality test underlies the methodological approach of the research. The analysis found that the consumption pattern of Chinese households can be defined as driven equally by current income, debt and price levels. To achieve the maximum consumption effect over 3–4 years, the following conditions must be ensured in the country: expanding access to credit should be followed by a general increase in per capita income, accompanied by lowering prices. Income policy has the dual effect of stimulating the country's overall economic growth through both the demand channel and the investment and/or export components of growth. At the same time, the income elasticity of households' final consumption expenditure remains low: the population's continued high propensity to save is constraining the growth of current consumption and China's transition to a consumption-led economic growth model as well. An alarming trend is the significant mutual influence of debt accumulation and the growth of households' final consumption expenditure. Policies aimed at stimulating private consumption may contribute to worsening China's debt problems in the medium and long term.

Keywords: China, economic growth, households' final consumption expenditure, domestic demand, income level, credit growth, price level, dual circulation policy, Granger causality test.

About author:

Ekaterina Ya. ARAPOVA, Cand. Sci. (Econ.), Director of the Research Center at the Institute for International Studies, Deputy Dean at the School of International Relation, MGIMO University.

МОДЕЛЬ ЧАСТНОГО ПОТРЕБЛЕНИЯ В КИТАЕ

© 2024 г. Е.Я. Арапова

АРАПОВА Екатерина Яковлевна, кандидат экономических наук,

ORCID 0000-0001-8765-9825, arapova_katrin@mail.ru

МГИМО МИД России, РФ, 119454 Москва, пр-т Вернадского, 76.

Статья поступила 15.07.2024. После доработки 11.09.2024. Принята к печати 02.10.2024.

Аннотация. Целью статьи является количественный анализ модели частных потребительских расходов домохозяйств в Китае в рамках политики "двойной циркуляции" и стимулирования внутреннего спроса, лежащей в основе 14-го пятилетнего плана на 2021–2025 гг. Методологическую основу количественного анализа зависимости потребительских расходов домохозяйств от шести детерминант (текущего дохода, постоянного дохода, заработной платы, доходов работников, накопления долгов и уровня цен) составляет тест причинности Грейнджера. По результатам анализа установлено, что модель частного потребления домохозяйств в Китае подвижна в равной мере текущим доходом, кредитованием и уровнем цен. Одновременно эластичность частного потребления домохозяйств по уровню дохода остается низкой, а политика, нацеленная на стимулирование частного потребления, в средне- и долгосрочной перспективе может содействовать усугублению долговых проблем в Китае.

Ключевые слова: Китай, экономический рост, расходы домохозяйств на конечное потребление, внутренний спрос, уровень дохода, кредитование, уровень цен, политика "двойной циркуляции", тест причинности Грейнджера.

INTRODUCTION

Up until the global financial crisis of 2008–2009, the dominant principle of China’s economic development was the adherence to the export-oriented model of “international circulation”¹ based on the advantages of cheap labour in global production chains and the expansion of investment inflows. However, the realisation of the vulnerability of excessive reliance on external demand in the context of the chronically high propensity of the Chinese population to save [1, 2; sources 1, 2] led to a gradual revision of the basic development principles by the country’s authorities towards diversifying the sources of economic growth and rebalancing the economy by increasing domestic demand and consumption, which later got the name of “domestic circulation”.

BACKGROUND

The slowdown in the Chinese export in 2008 forced the adoption of an “anti-crisis plan that assumed large-scale investments in the infrastructure and social sphere with a view to provide due employment of the population in the medium and long term and to increase domestic demand” [3]. In the early 2010s already, Beijing embarked on the reforms to “stimulate innovation and productivity growth, rein in wasteful investment, and raise household income and consumption” [4]. During the adoption phase of the country’s 12th Five-Year Development Plan (2011–2015), new economic policy trends became evident. Expanding domestic consumer demand to compensate for the contraction of external demand became one of the priorities of the socio-economic development for the 12th Five-Year period. The declared key instruments for achieving the stated goal included the improvement of the quality of life, development of the financial market and accelerated urbanisation.

The Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (9–12 November 2013) adopted a Resolution of the CPC’s Central Committee on some important

¹ The term was introduced by Chinese researcher Wang Jian. Available at: <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202010/12/WS5f839118a31024ad0ba7df1e.html> (accessed 19.08.2024).

issues of all-round intensification of the reforms. The final communiqué declared several goals viewed as one of the central pillars of the social policy: comprehensive education reform, improving mechanisms for creating jobs and activated employment, establishing a justified and orderly income distribution system, a fairer and more sustainable social guarantee system, and refining the public health reform.

Subsequently, focusing on the “dual circulation” economy, stimulation of domestic demand and promotion of structural reforms became one of the central elements of the country’s 14th Five-Year Economic Development Plan 2021–2025 adopted at the March 2021 dual sessions of the National People’s Congress (NPC) and China’s National Committee of the People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), representing as well a long-term development vision until 2035. The following goals were stated as the main objectives of the five-year period with regard for the long-term development goals until 2035: strengthening the fundamental role of consumption, stimulating consumption and investment to expand the scale of domestic demand, promotion of high-quality and environmentally friendly goods and services, and development of new technologies capable of reducing transaction costs, including by increasing the efficiency of online trade [5].

In 2022, the authorities adopted a Plan for the Strategy to Expand Domestic Demand (2022–2035) [source 3]. According to the plan, by 2035, the scope of national consumption and investments will reach a new level; a comprehensive domestic demand system will be formed; a new type of industrialisation and information technology application will be launched; urbanisation and agricultural modernisation will be undertaken; the construction of a stronger domestic market will demonstrate significant progress [source 4].

Thus, since 2022, China in fact has been officially focusing on the diversification of sources of economic growth and strengthening the domestic consumption-driven model as long-term development goals. At the same time, the country’s authorities still proceed from the need to preserve the maximum openness of the Chinese economy, though with an emphasis on strengthening ties

with neighbouring countries and diversifying external relations [6].

So, what does the PRC's private consumption model represent? What factors are the drivers of household consumption demand? The features of this model determine not only the sustainability of private consumption but also the general trends of economic growth and the success of China's transition to a balanced model of growth driven by domestic consumption.

DISCUSSIONS ON CHINA'S GROWTH MODEL

In defining China's economic growth models, researchers rely on various methodological approaches – most often on the GDP decomposition principle. At the same time, virtually no study covering the period up to the early 2010s characterises the Chinese economy as a system driven by private consumption (Table 1).

Analysing the nature of economic growth, experts of the Asian Development Bank [11] give preference to an extended version of the neoclassical model and factor productivity. In the PRC,

in the 1980s and 1990s, capital was the main source of GDP growth, while labour contribution tended to decline. Consequently, at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, labour-led growth was secured exclusively by capital-led growth. A radical breakthrough was reached in the 2000s when production growth was driven by more than half by capital and total factor productivity-led growth. It incorporates, in addition to the two main factors of production – capital and labour – the role of human capital (through education) and technological development [14, 15]. In 1981–2007, fixed capital per employee in China was increasing by an average of 7.8 % per year [11].

The leading role of investment as a driver of China's economic growth is confirmed by Kim's research. Based on the combination of the GDP decomposition principle and the analysis of the country's resource endowment, he concludes that the Chinese economy is characterised by the domestic investment-based growth model [12, 13].

One of the most recent and most significant studies aimed at identifying economic growth patterns in Asian countries is the work of experts from the German Max Planck Institute, Baccaro

Table 1. China's economic growth models in foreign researchers' works

Research	Methodological approach	Time range, years	Economic growth model
Palley (2012) [7]	Qualitative analysis of economic policy principles	1950–2009	ELG (export-led growth) (for the period of 1990–2007)
Danju et al. (2014) [8]	Qualitative analysis of economic policy principles	1970–1998	ELG
Felipe and Lim (2005) [9]	Decomposition of GDP. Qualitative analysis of statistical data	1973–2003	CELG (consumption and export-led growth)
Baccaro and Hadziabdic (2023) [10]	Import-adjusted GDP decomposition	1995–2008	BG (balanced growth)
		2009–2018	DDLG (domestic demand-led growth)
Lee and Hong (2010) [11]	Extended Cobb-Douglas production function	1980-e	CLL (capital and labour-led growth)
		1990-e	CapLG (capital-led growth)
		2000-e	CTFPLG (capital and total factor productivity-led growth)
Kim (2017) [12]	GDP decomposition. Regression model (panel data) of production factor endowment	2012–2016	LLG (labour-led growth)
Kim (2021) [13]	GDP decomposition. Regression model (panel data) of production factor endowment	2012–2018	DILG (domestic investment-based growth)

Compiled by the author.

and Hadziabdic (2023) [10]. The study has several notable strengths. First, it applies a comprehensive analysis of GDP structure using a decomposition principle, removing the import component while providing a highly detailed description of differences in economic growth models. Second, it examines two distinct periods—1995–2008 and 2009–2018—allowing for an analysis of the transformation of economic growth models following the global financial crisis. Contrary to expectations, the study did not confirm an export-oriented growth model for China. Instead, the findings indicate a shift from a balanced growth model to one increasingly driven by domestic demand. However, this transition is largely propelled not by domestic consumption intensity but by a significant expansion of investments, which remains the most dynamic factor of aggregate demand.

In most cases, experts describe China's economic growth export-led based on capital accumulation [7, 8]. This view is echoed by several Russian researchers, who emphasize that investment and export components have long been integral to the Chinese economy and will likely remain its main growth drivers for the foreseeable future [16, 17]. China's adherence to an intensive export-led growth model [18, 19, 20] was facilitated during a particular stage by cheap labour [3] and the adoption of borrowed technologies [21]. However, experts note a shift in dynamics after 2015, when domestic consumption began to outpace exports and investments as a contributor to economic growth [3]. The inability to sustain earlier high growth rates has underscored the need to stimulate domestic demand [22, 23, 24]. As a result, China's economy is gradually transitioning from its focus on export-driven manufacturing to greater reliance on the service sector, domestic supply chains, and internal consumption [25]. Amid active monetary stimulus in recent years, the contribution of domestic demand has become increasingly crucial to sustaining China's economic growth [26].

CONSUMER REGIMES TYPOLOGY

In academic discourse, various approaches to defining economic growth models have been thoroughly developed, yet the typology of consump-

tion models remains inconsistently addressed. Most experts base their analyses on aggregate demand models, a broader category that encompasses both private and public consumption as well as investment components.

Classical consumption theories emphasize income as the primary driver of domestic demand, with concepts such as *absolute income* [27] and *permanent income* [28, 29, 30] serving as foundational frameworks. Building on classical theories, Bhaduri and Marglin [31] introduced a distinction in demand patterns based on their reliance on wages or profits. Increased wages — assuming constant labour productivity and income — can stimulate consumption, as working households typically exhibit a higher marginal propensity to consume. However, rising wages may simultaneously have adverse effects on investment, by reducing the rate of return, and on net exports, by diminishing price competitiveness. The overall impact of these opposing effects ultimately determines whether demand is driven by wages or profits.

The Post-Keynesian studies of macroeconomics focusing on financialisation or finance-dominated capitalism gave rise to a notion of “demand and growth regimes under financialisation”. Two extreme and opposing regimes were derived: “debt-led private demand boom” and “export-led mercantilist regime”. The former relies on debt-financed private (consumer) demand as the main source of demand and growth, while the latter focuses on external demand and leads to the growth of foreign sectors' debt [32].

In this paper, the approaches used for estimating the aggregate demand drivers are adapted to analyse private household consumption dynamics. The classification of consumption modes depending on the following consumption drivers is used:

- current income,
- permanent income,
- wages,
- employees' earnings,
- debts,
- price dynamics.

The income decomposition method, which breaks down total gross national income per cap-

ita to assess the impact of employee income levels – more specifically, wages – enables to clearer differentiate the drivers of private demand. This, in turn, allows for practical conclusions regarding adjustments to government income policies. For instance, it helps determine the impact on aggregate demand if the functional distribution of income shifts in favour of wages over earnings [33]. A consumer regime can be determined by one of these factors or a combination of them.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The quantitative analysis of household consumption expenditure dependence on the proposed set of factors was conducted using the **Granger causality test**, which assesses the ability of one parameter to predict the future values of another. The application of this test enables the achievement of several objectives:

- to assess **the significance of reciprocal effects** between two factors and identify the nature of their interrelation;

- to trace the **delayed effects** of the reciprocal influence of factors, including determining the time lag within which these determinants impact consumption indicators;

- to assess **the contribution of each factor**, allowing conclusions to be drawn about the nature of the consumption pattern by identifying which factors contribute most significantly to its growth through coefficient comparisons;

- to trace both **the isolated influence of individual factors** and the simultaneous impact of a group of determinants on a specified consumption indicator over various time horizons.

Two categories of variables were chosen as dependent factors: the increment rate of household final consumption per capita and the share of households final consumption in GDP. The tested factors' aggregate matches the proposed typology of consumption regimes and includes a number of indicators: current income (GNI per capita growth), permanent income (average annual GNI per capita growth over five years), employees' earnings and wage growth rates, private sector lending dynamics (to assess the debt factor in stimulating consumption) and consumer price

index dynamics. The sources and data coverage period are presented in Table 2. All time series were tested for stationarity using the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) test. Stationarity was confirmed in all cases.

When implementing a quantitative analysis, it is extremely important to assess the impact of factors in two stages: 1) the independent influence of each factor on the level of households' final consumption and 2) the influence of all considered factors in the aggregate with regard to their effect. For instance, capital accumulation can proceed from wages or profits depending on which investments respond more expressly to the expansion of demand or profit share. Labour productivity is also affected by shifts in the functional distribution of income and may be determined by wages or earnings [34]. Similarly, extended lending pre-determines shifts in the structure of incomes and, accordingly, can affect a current consumption level directly and indirectly – through the aggregate income factor.

CONSUMER DEMAND MODEL EVALUATION

The Chinese economy remains far from achieving a sustainable model driven primarily by domestic consumption [35]. Over the past five decades, the share of household private consumption in GDP has shown a steady decline, with the exception of crisis periods when it temporarily increased due to sharp declines in investments and exports. However, in recent years – particularly following the global financial crisis – a fundamentally new trend has emerged. It is connected with the rising so-called efficiency of private consumption in contributing to economic growth. Specifically, the average annual contribution of private consumption to China's economic growth rate has exceeded its share in GDP (Table 3).

The author's calculation results provide several key insights into the nature and drivers of private consumer demand in the PRC. A notable characteristic of the Chinese economy and consumer behaviour is the relatively **low elasticity on income** (Table 4). While the growth rate of GNI per capita significantly influences private consumption growth (also measured per capita), the corre-

Table 2. Indicators and data sources

Name of indicator	Period, years	Designation	Data source
Households and NPISHs Final consumption expenditure per capita (constant 2015 US\$) growth rate, %	1971–2022	<i>HFCE_growth</i>	[source 5]
Households and NPISHs final consumption expenditure, % of GDP	1971–2022	<i>HFCE_share</i>	[source 5]
GNI per capita (constant 2015 US\$) growth rate, %	1995–2022	<i>GNI_growth</i>	[source 5]
5-year average GNI per capita growth rate, %	1996–2022	<i>GNI_5_growth</i>	[source 5]
Domestic credit to private sector growth rate, %	1986–2022	<i>Credit_growth</i>	[source 5]
Average monthly earnings of employees growth rate, %	1971–2021	<i>Earning_growth</i>	[source 6]
Wages, Weekly Earnings Index Growth Rate, %	1982–2016	<i>Wage_growth</i>	[source 6]
Consumer Price Index Growth Rate, %	1986–2022	<i>CPI_growth</i>	[source 7]

Compiled by the author.

Table 3. Contribution of private household consumption costs to China's economic growth indicators, % annualised average

Indicator	1970s	1980s	1990–1996	1998–2007	2009–2019	2020–2022
Share in GDP	51.15	51.4	46.27	42.77	36.84	37.77
Contribution of households final consumption expenditures to GDP growth	36.16	38.62	37.75	36.8	37.82	40.11

Calculated by the author on the basis of data [source 8].

sponding coefficient remains below unity. This effect, however, becomes more pronounced over the medium term. Specifically, a 1 % increase in GNI per capita results in a **0.6 % increase in private consumption** over two years, whereas the annualized impact rises to **0.82 % over four years**.

It is significant that the growth of per capita GNI not only drives a substantial increase in private consumption in absolute terms but also raises its share within the GDP structure. This indicates that household income growth influences other GDP components to varying degrees. However, its effect on consumption is particularly pronounced in the short and medium term, leading to a gradual increase in the share of private consumption in GDP. Specifically, this share rises by **0.12 % over a two-year horizon** and by **0.3 % over a four-year horizon** (on an annual average basis).

At the same time, income factors – such as wages and the total income of corporate employees – play a significant role in influencing the dynamics of private consumption's share in GDP. An intriguing trend emerges: these income categories do not directly impact the rates or growth of pri-

ate consumption. In other words, increases in wages and earnings do not lead to a significant expansion of consumption itself. However, their influence is evident in the gradual change of private consumption's share within the GDP structure. Specifically, a rise in wages contributes to a gradual increase in this indicator, by **0.07 % over two years** and **0.08 % over four years**. In contrast, total income growth – largely driven by increases in per capita GNI – has a different effect. Additional increases in employees earning tend to stimulate **savings and investments** rather than private consumption. This behaviour ultimately reduces the share of private consumption in GDP by **0.02 % after two years**.

Inflation also exerts an indirect influence on private consumption growth. While it does not have a significant direct impact, rising prices tend to negatively affect other GDP components. However, private consumption emerges as the least sensitive area to price growth, leading to a gradual increase in its share of GDP over the medium term – by 0.11 % after three years and 0.14 % after four years.

Table 4. Granger causality test results in calculating the isolated impact of each factor on dependent variables

Indicator	<i>HFCE_growth</i>	<i>HFCE_share</i>
<i>GNI_growth</i>	0.60341* (2) 0.820375** (4)	0.123572* (2)
<i>GNI_5_growth</i>		0.296776** (4)
<i>Credit_growth</i>		
<i>Earning_growth</i>		−0.02387* (2)
<i>Wage_growth</i>		0.066828* (3) 0.082346** (4)
<i>CPI_growth</i>		0.109425* (3) 0.136459* (4)

Note. *, **, *** significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% level, respectively.

The value in brackets next to the factor reflects the time lag (number of years) within which the relevant factor affects the household private consumption costs indicator.

Calculated by the author.

The analysis of the aggregate influence of various determinants on households consumption growth identified three significant factors: GNI per capita growth and lending growth have a direct positive impact on private spending, whereas price levels exert an inverse effect. Notably, these effects unfold across different time horizons, as outlined in Table 5.

Table 5. Granger causality test results in calculating the cumulative effect of all factors on dependent variables

Indicator	<i>HFCE_growth</i>	<i>HFCE_share</i>
<i>GNI_growth</i>	0.842489* (2)	0.299647*** (2)
<i>GNI_5_growth</i>		
<i>Credit_growth</i>	0.802330* (3)	0.059300* (2)
<i>Earning_growth</i>		0.074205** (1)
<i>Wage_growth</i>		0.079703* (3)
<i>CPI_growth</i>	−1.021730** (1)	−0.315400*** (1)

Note. *, **, *** significance at the 10%, 5% and 1% level, respectively.

The value in brackets next to the factor reflects the time lag (number of years) within which the relevant factor affects the household private consumption costs indicator.

Calculated by the author.

The lending factor has a significant positive impact on both the growth rate of households consumption and its share in the country's GDP when considered as part of the aggregate impact. However, its significance was not confirmed when

analysed in isolation. Notably, the results revealed a reverse relationship: extended lending does not solely drive the expansion of private consumption; rather, increased consumption over the medium term (four years) also contributes to an expansion of the debt burden that households are willing to sustain.

Interestingly, in the case of aggregate impact, the price factor becomes more significant. Rising prices lead to an increase in deferred demand among Chinese households, resulting in reduced consumption on a one-year horizon. Additionally, the lending and price factors were found to amplify the income growth effect, with the relevant coefficient being higher over a two-year horizon compared to their independent impacts.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The performed econometric calculations show that the private household consumption pattern in China can be defined as driven equally by current income, lending and price level. At the same time, the income policy has a dual effect: it stimulates the overall economic growth of the country, being effective when implemented both through the demand channel and through the investment and/or export components of economic growth. Households consumption elasticity remains low in terms of income: the people's continuing high propensity to save restrains the growth of current consumption and China's transition to a consumption-led economic growth model.

Achieving the maximum consumer effect in the country over a horizon of three to four years is possible on the condition that extended access to lending is followed by a general increase in per capita income accompanied by curtailed inflation. The population would be ready for current consumption spending when it can sustain affordable loans (mainly mortgage and consumer loans). It is important to guarantee comfortable loan service secured by steady income increment and stable prices favouring the growth of income not only in nominal but also in real terms. The same combination of factors (along with the growth of all income categories) will ensure as well the overall positive growth of households' private consumption share in the country's GDP. Howev-

- El'yanov A. Technological Progress and Economic Policies at the World Economy's Periphery. *World Economy and International Relations*, 2005, no. 4, pp. 74-85. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://doi.org/10.20542/0131-2227-2005-4-74-85>
18. Гельбрас В., Кузнецова В. КНР. *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*, 2001, № 8, сс. 119-128.
Gel'bras V., Kuznetsova V. China. *World Economy and International Relations*, 2001, no. 8, pp. 119-128. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://doi.org/10.20542/0131-2227-2001-8-119-128>
19. Мельянцев В.А. Экономический рост в развивающихся странах: достижения, контрасты и парадоксы. *Восток*, 2001, № 1, сс. 69-83.
Melyantsev V.A. Economic Growth in Developing Countries: Achievements, Contrasts and Paradoxes. *Vostok*, 2001, no. 1, pp. 69-83. (In Russ.)
20. Намозов О. Китай, ВТО и мировая экономика. *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*, 2002, № 11, сс. 77-83.
Namozov O. China, WTO and World Economy. *World Economy and International Relations*, 2002, no. 11, pp. 77-83. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://doi.org/10.20542/0131-2227-2002-11-77-83>
21. Шевченко Я.Н. “Китайская модель” развития в официальном и академическом дискурсе: проблема универсальности и самобытности. *Российское китаеведение*, 2023, № 2 (3), сс. 28-43.
Shevchenko Ya.N. The “Chinese Model” of Development in the Academic and Official Discourse: Universal Applicability and Independence of the Concept. *Russian Sinology*, 2023, no. 2 (3), pp. 28-43. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://doi.org/10.48647/ICCA.2023.99.12.007>
22. Рамазанов Ж.Ш. Социально-экономическая модель Китая и уроки для России. *Известия Томского политехнического университета*, 2009, т. 314, № 6, сс. 13-15.
Ramazanov Zh.Sh. The Socio-economic Model of China and Lessons for Russia. *Bulletin of Tomsk Polytechnic University*, 2009, vol. 314, no. 6, pp. 13-15. (In Russ.)
23. Дынкин А.А., Барановский В.Г., рук. проекта. *Россия и мир: 2022. Экономика и внешняя политика. Ежегодный прогноз*. Москва, ИМЭМО РАН, 2021. 136 с.
Dynkin A.A., Baranovsky V.G., project leads. *Russia and the World: 2022. Annual Forecast: Economy and Foreign Policy*. Moscow, IMEMO, 2021. 136 p. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://www.imemo.ru/files/File/ru/publ/2021/Prognoz-2022pdf.pdf> (accessed 14.08.2024).
24. Арапова Е.Я. Китай: международное взаимодействие в условиях внутренних вызовов. *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*, 2018, т. 62, № 6, сс. 77-85.
Arapova E.Ya. Trends of International Interaction amid Contemporary Challenges. *World Economy and International Relations*, 2018, vol. 62, no. 6, pp. 77-85. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://doi.org/10.20542/0131-2227-2018-62-6-77-85>
25. Алешин А.А., Баронина Ю.А., Борисова А.Р. и др., ред. *Глобальное управление: кризис или трансформация? (Мировое развитие. Выпуск 22)*. Москва, ИМЭМО РАН, 2021. 225 с.
Aleshin A.A., Baronina Yu.A., Borisova A.R. et al., eds. *Global Governance: Crisis or Transformation? (World Development. Issue 22)*. Moscow, IMEMO, 2021. 225 p. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://www.imemo.ru/files/File/ru/publ/2021/2021-001.pdf> (accessed 14.08.2024).
26. Быков А.А., Толкачев С.А., Пархименко В.А., Шаблинская Т.В. Экономический рост Китая в 2010–2017 годах: анализ с позиций методологии “затраты-выпуск” и современной денежной теории. *Финансы: теория и практика*, 2021, № 25 (2), сс. 166-184.
Bykov A.A., Tolkachev S.A., Parkhimenko V.A., Shablinskaya T.V. Economic Growth of China in 2010–2017: Analysis from the Perspective of the Input-Output Methodology and Modern Monetary Theory. *Finance: Theory and Practice*, 2021, no. 25 (2), pp. 166-184. (In Russ.) Available at: <https://doi.org/10.26794/2587-5671-2021-25-2-166-184>
27. Keynes J.M. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1936. 472 p.
28. Friedman M. *A Theory of the Consumption Function*. Princeton University Press, 1957. 243 p.
29. Hall R., Mishkin F. The Sensitivity of Consumption to Transitory Income: Estimates from Panel Data on Households. *Econometrica*, 1982, vol. 50, iss. 2, pp. 461-481.
30. Campbell J., Mankiw N.G. Permanent Income, Current Income, and Consumption. *Journal of Business & Economic Statistics*, 1990, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 265-279.
31. Bhaduri A., Marglin S. Unemployment and the Real Wage: the Economic Basis for Contesting Political Ideologies. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1990, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 375-393.

32. Hein E. Financialisation and Tendencies Towards Stagnation: the Role of Macroeconomic Regime Changes in the Course of and after the Financial and Economic Crisis 2007–2009. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 2019, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 975-999.
33. Hein E., Meloni W.P., Tridico P. Welfare Models and Demand-led Growth Regimes before and after the Financial and Economic Crisis. *Review of International Political Economy*, 2021, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 1196-1223. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2020.1744178>
34. Storm S., Naastepad C.W.M. *Macroeconomics beyond the NAIRU*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2012. 304 p.
35. Yang X., Sicular T., Gustafsson B. China's Prosperous Middle Class and Consumption-led Economic Growth: Lessons from Household Survey Data. *The China Quarterly*, 2024, no. 258, pp. 479-494. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741023001261>
36. Li J., Tochen R., Dong Y., Ren Z. Debt-Driven Property Boom, Land-Based Financing and Trends of Housing Financialization: Evidence from China. *Land*, 2022, no. 1, 1967. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3390/land11111967>

SOURCES

1. *Asian Development Outlook 2009. Rebalancing Asia's Growth*. Asian Development Bank, 2009.
2. *Asia and Pacific Regional Economic Outlook. Building a Sustained Recovery*. Washington, International Monetary Fund, October 2009.
3. Outline of the Plan for the Strategy to Expand Domestic Demand (2022–2035). *Xinhua News Agency*, 14.12.2022. Available at: <https://cset.georgetown.edu/publication/china-domestic-demand-plan/> (accessed 14.08.2024).
4. China International Import Expo. Targets Set for Increasing Consumption. *China Daily*, 15.12.2022. Available at: <https://www.ciie.org/zbh/en/news/exhibition/policies/20221215/35655.html> (accessed 13.07.2024).
5. *World Bank Databank*. Available at: <https://databank.worldbank.org/> (accessed 15.06.2024).
6. *International Labour Organization Statistics*. Available at: <https://ilostat.ilo.org/> (accessed 15.06.2024).
7. *International Monetary Fund*. Available at: <https://data.imf.org/> (accessed 15.06.2024).
8. *United Nations Statistics Division*. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/UNSDWebsite/> (accessed 15.06.2024).