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ABSTRACT

Author Liang Jiang

Title In-migration to Suburban Towns of Shanghai, 1980 – 87

(Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Social Science
in the Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Geography,
University of Durham, England, 1989)

The thesis studies the town-oriented migration and the socio-economic development of towns in the suburbs of Shanghai during 1980 – 87. Since the Chinese government started the economic reforms in 1978, an impressive nationwide rural-urban migration has been witnessed in China, along with the rapid economic development both in cities and towns. The thesis presents a correlative link between the town development and the town-oriented migration, especially that of the fast industrialization of towns and the transference of rural labour surplus. Strong localization of rural labour movement is revealed in this study, which shows the effects of regional development as well as the implication of government policies.

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the town-oriented migrants, as well as their motivation to migrate, are analysed in the thesis. The results show that the townward migration is closely related to the recent social and economic changes in China, and the regional difference in the rate of development causes the variation in the migrants' motivation to move and distinctive features of in-migrants. The suburban towns of Shanghai, which are located in a metropolitan area, also received in-migrants from cities, particularly from the parent city, along with the rural migration inflow, due to the effects of large industrial sprawl and deurbanization of the major city. The thesis also presents the features of rural-urban migration and its relevant constraints in China.

IN-MIGRATION TO SUBURBAN TOWNS

OF

SHANGHAI, 1980 - 1987

BY

LIANG JIANG (B.A.)

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in
Social Science in the Faculty of Social Sciences,
Department of Geography,
University of Durham, England

December, 1989

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DECLARATION

None of the material contained in the thesis has been previously submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university and the work represents my own original contribution.

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INTRODUCTION

The rapid town development in China can be considered as one of the greatest achievements accomplished by the rural economic reforms embarked upon by the Chinese government in 1978. It facilitated the large spread of township enterprises along with the relocation of industrial sprawl from the large urban centres. In addition, a great number of job opportunities had been thus created which not only helped to solve the employment problem at those urban places but also gave rise to a nationwide massive shift of agricultural labour surplus to non-agricultural sectors of production. It was estimated that the total number of township enterprises in China had exceeded 18 million by 1989 and, during the last ten years, about 95.4 million agricultural labourers had been recruited by the township enterprises, which accounted for almost 23.8 percent of the total. The state officials acknowledged that the fast development of township enterprises has contributed significantly to the alleviation of a series of socio-economic problems of the country relating to under-employment, poverty of farmers, shortage of consumer goods, as well as the sectoral imbalances of the national economy, that had long puzzled the Chinese government (Cai, A., 1989).

Most of the township enterprises are agglomeratively located in towns in rural areas, thus bringing about the revival and prosperity of these towns, as well as an unprecedented rate of urbanization during the last ten years.

According to the first population census in 1953, after the founding



of the People's Republic of China, there were about 5,402 towns * across the country, but the number decreased by an average of one hundred per annum till 1978. From 1978 to 1987, the number of towns increased by an average of 697 yearly, which had excluded those towns that had been administratively raised to the levels directly under the city or urban district administrations(Li, Q., 1989).

An impressive growth of urban population was also found during the same period. The proportion of urban to the total population increased from 17.9 percent in 1978 to 46.6 percent in 1987, an increase by 28.7 percentage points (State Statistics Bureau, 1988). So far there are no detailed statistics available about the growth of town population, but an estimate was made that 62.4 percent of the total increase of China's urban population during 1978-85 was accounted for the contribution by town population growth (Luo, *at al.*, 1986). This suggests a rapid town development in China.

Although China has very strict control upon migration, human mobility in recent years has appeared to be irresistible with industrialization and economic development. Apart from the influx toward cities, rural towns had also received remarkable in-migration of people, especially those from the countryside.

Ever since 1980, social scientists showed great interest in the urbaniza-

* Administratively, towns in China are normally classified into *Xianxia Jianzhizhen* (organic towns directly under the jurisdiction of a county), *Shixia Jianzhizhen* (organic towns directly under the jurisdiction of a city), and *Quzia Jianzhizhen* (organic towns directly under the jurisdiction of an urban district of a city). Towns here only include those of the first category.

tion and internal migration processes in China and many studies have since been made. Most of them focused on the large concept of rural-to-urban movement with an emphasis on the migration to cities, but few efforts have been made on town-oriented movement within the administrative metropolitan areas. This raises a series of questions such as 'Who have migrated into towns?', 'Does the town-oriented migration bear similarities with other types of migration?', 'Why and how have these migrants moved?', etc..

Shanghai, one of the most important metropolitan cities in China, is composed of a main city and a rather vast rural area where more than 200 towns of different sizes are located. After 1978, these towns also experienced tremendous changes in their development as well as this population migration process. So, Shanghai can be taken as a case study to investigate this new trend of migration processes.

This research attempts to answer the above questions, with an effort to analyse and explore social, economic and individual characteristics of this migration process and motivation for movement that might be typical of other regions in China.

The dissertation consists of four chapters. Based on the hypothesis that the socio-economic changes within an environment create stimuli to migrate, Chapter One is devoted to a descriptive analysis about the system of urban places in the rural suburbs of Shanghai, its recent development and geographical differentials, as well as population changes. In this chapter, the interrelation between migration and social and economic development of towns will be also revealed and discussed.

Selection of migrants is universal as many experts have proved in their

studies (Lewis, G.J., 1982). People who have moved tend to characterize themselves from non-movers in many socio-economic and demographic aspects such as age, sex, education, occupation and marital status. They also vary distinctively among themselves in the same ways because migratory movements are unavoidably affected by a country's, or even regional, administrative and political factors, which is especially true for the case of China. In Chapter Two, town-oriented migrants in the suburbs of Shanghai will be analysed to show their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, as well as the major features of their movement. The analysis will be conducted mainly based on the samples of migrants collected for the research, since no detailed statistics have ever been available to satisfy analysis of this sort.

Chapter Three will focus on the development of urban enterprises of towns and the related rural labour mobility in the suburbs of Shanghai. The town development and the townward population movement are assumed to depend largely upon the development of enterprises there, which has in turn benefited from rural labour mobility. So there must be interrelation between enterprise development and rural labour mobility. And the distribution of enterprises as well as their difference in types will eventually affect the rural labour mobility in its direction and volume as well as the features of movement.

Petersen (1958) once argued that 'If we fail to distinguish characteristics between emigrants' motives and the social causes of emigration – that is, if we do not take the emigrants' level of aspirations into account – our analysis lacks logical clarity'. With this in mind, Chapter Four will concentrate on the analysis of why and how the individual townward migrants in Shanghai have moved, trying to reveal the connection between the individual motivation and the socio-economic incentives that aroused the migration process. Because

unlike birth and death, migration has no physiological component; rather it is response by humans to a series of economic, social and political stimuli within the environment. Such stimuli take the form of attractiveness of a location which can be generated by changes within the environment or in a person's value system (Lewis, 1982). Since migration normally occurs within a definite socio-economic and political environment, which exerts influential constraints to a great extent (as in the case of China) upon migrants' motivation of migration and its fulfillment, the study of individual reasons for movement and ways of fulfillment will reflect the characteristics and changes of that environment. Moreover, it will help us to understand the 'migration laws' of that environment and the consequent socio-economic effects as well.

It is noteworthy to say at this point that this research is based mainly on the analysis of the data collected from a sample survey. The survey was conducted by a group of researchers from the East China Normal University and Fudan University in 1987, aiming to investigate the suburban town development in Shanghai. Four towns were selected with considerations of the representativeness in terms of the types or administrative levels of towns, their social and economic development status, and the distance from the major city. The features of these four selected towns and the urban system of Shanghai will be dealt with in Chapter One.

This survey also contained an investigation of in-migrants. About 1,217 persons were sampled from the total in-migrants of the four selected towns during the period of 1980 to 1987, averagely about 300 persons for each town. Simple random, stratified and equidistant methods of sampling were adopted, based on the estimates of each town's total number of in-migrants of different types by units of urban residents' committees or enterprises. The sampling ratio

varied from town to town, generally between 8 to 23 per thousand. Questionnaires contained altogether 41 questions covering a wide scope of demographic, socio-economic aspects of migration which is typical of Chinese (See Appendix).

CHAPTER ONE

DEVELOPMENT OF SHANGHAI SUBURBAN TOWNS

Shanghai is one of the three largest municipalities directly under the leadership of the central government. It is the most populous and most influential economic centre in China. According to the 1988 statistics, the total population was about 12.5 million by the end of 1987. In the same year the municipality contributed one twelfth of the country's gross industrial output value, one third of the total volume of port freight transport, one sixth of the gross value of foreign trade and one tenth of state revenues (State Statistics Bureau of China, 1988). Shanghai has earned herself a very important position in China.

The prosperity of Shanghai's main city exerts great influence upon the development of its suburban area, especially that of towns. Coupled with the impact of countrywide policy of rural economic reforms, the recent years have witnessed a fast rate of industrialization in suburban towns, which inevitably resulted in a massive shift of agricultural labour force to non-agricultural sectors in the suburbs and a town-oriented migration . According to the official statistics, the percentage of rural labour force engaged in the production of secondary and tertiary sectors reached 66.3 percent in 1987, most of which was aggregated in those towns, as compared to 23.9 percent in 1978 prior to the rural economic reform policy (Shanghai Statistics Bureau , 1988). To understand the town-oriented migration, it is essential to have a review of the environment in which it has occurred. The following section will be devoted to this purpose

by analysing the recent changes in the development of Shanghai's suburban area and focusing on four towns selected for this investigation : Jinshanwei of Jinshan County, Chengqiao of Chongming County, Luodian of Baoshan County and Zhuanqiao of Shanghai County.

1.1 The Suburban Area of Shanghai

The suburban area of Shanghai is comprised of ten rural counties and two recently-nominated municipal urban districts which are separated from the city proper. According to the published 1988 statistics, its area was 6062.6 square kilometres and the population was 5.63 million, which accounted for 95.6 percent and 45.1 percent respectively of the municipal totals.

The suburban area of Shanghai, although generally considered as a rural area of the city, is also one of the regions in China that are densely distributed with towns of different sizes. In 1987, according to the statistics, there were 36 towns directly under the county administrations (including those county seat towns). The number of the urban places is even much larger if the towns under the *Xiang* , i.e. townships (rural administrative units under the county), are included. The distribution density is estimated at about one town per 28.3 square kilometers, much higher than that of Jiangsu – a neighbouring province of Shanghai – which is about one town per 46.78 square kilometres and generally considered as rather high, well above the national average density of one per 169 square kilometres.

Although the density of towns is dense, their population size is less significant. More than 91 percent of these urban places have the registered permanent resident population figures below 10,000. As for the market towns

under the township administration, the size is even smaller (See Figure 1-1). Almost all of them have less than 2,000 residents, and some just around 1,000 permanent residents only. In China, a settlement of more than 2,000 people is considered as an administratively organic town (Hu, H.Y., 1982), so these market towns and their residents are normally excluded from the relevant official statistics.

The urban places in the suburbs of Shanghai can be generally classified into four different levels : satellite towns, county seats, towns under the county administrations, and the towns under the township administrations. According to an investigation in 1987, there were altogether 214 towns in the suburbs of Shanghai : seven satellite towns, seven county seats (the other three were excluded to the level of satellite towns), 26 towns under the county administrations, and 174 towns under the township administrations (Wang, G.X., 1987). These hierarchical levels of urban places in the suburbs of Shanghai differ greatly from each other in size of population as well as in the status of socioeconomic development.

The satellite towns of Shanghai first emerged at the end of the 1950s (Zhong and Zheng, 1987). In order to ease off the swelling population and relax the overcrowding of industries in the major city proper, the municipal government decided to build up satellite towns in the suburbs. Great efforts were made then to move quite a number of industrial enterprises there from the city proper, and investments were also made in building new industries and social infrastructures. This strategic step did contribute to streaming out urban population from the city proper to suburban areas. Later in the 1970s, two huge modern industrial enterprises – the Shanghai Petrochemical Complex and the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex – were built up in the towns of Jin-

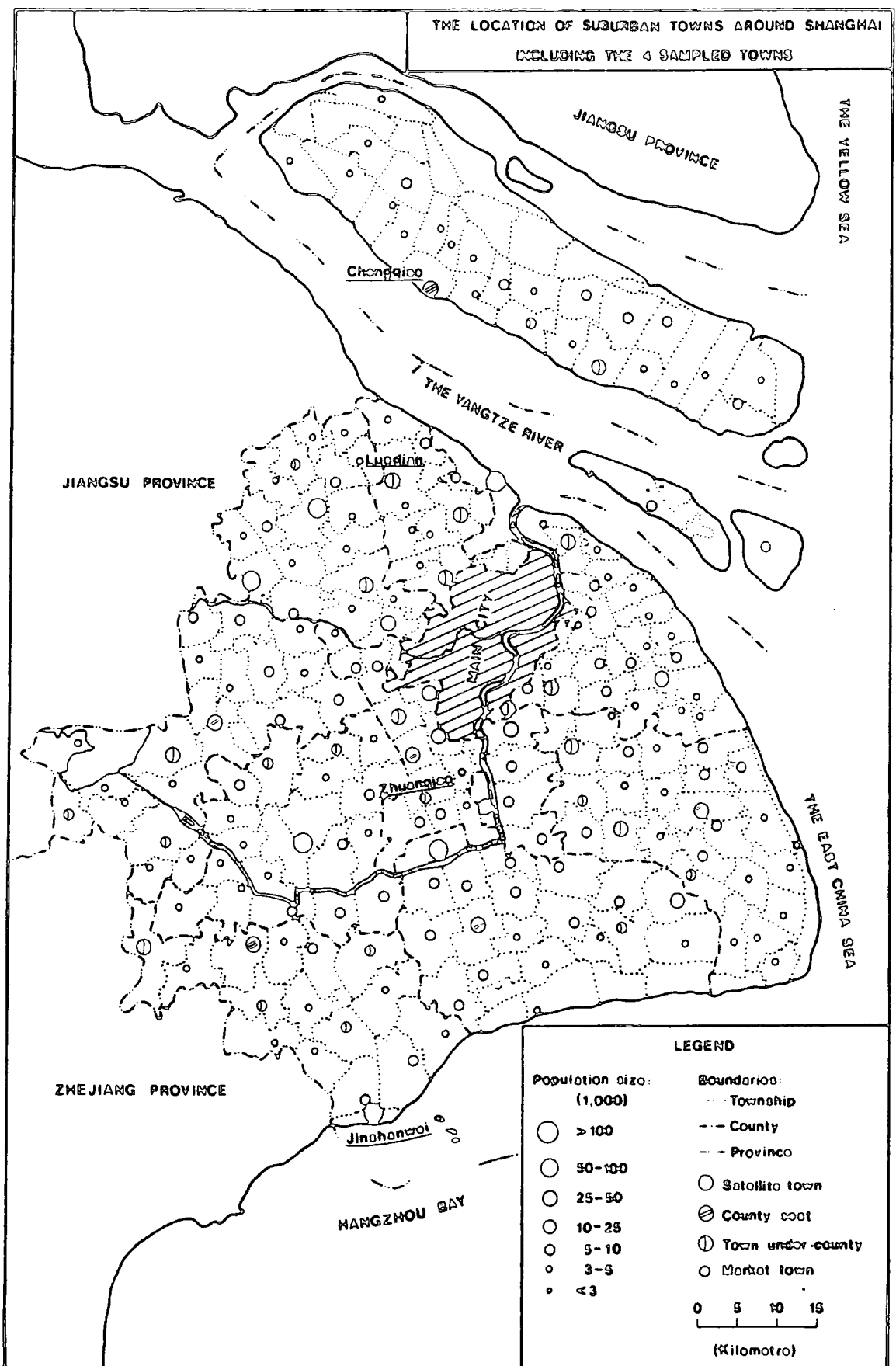


Fig. 1-1 The Location of Suburban Towns Around Shanghai,
Their Population Size & Administrative Level

shanwei and Wusong, which not only increased the streaming out of urban population from the city proper, but also caused in-migration of people from other provinces to these towns (Zhang, W.D., 1984). In a sense, the demographic and socioeconomic development of the satellite towns owe much to the establishment and development of municipal industrial enterprises there. An investigation made in 1983 shows that about 87.92 percent of the municipal enterprises in the suburbs were distributed in the seven satellite towns, while only about 12.08 percent of them were scattered at other levels of suburban towns (Wang, G.X., 1986). This gradual aggregation of municipal enterprises has resulted in rather frequent population mobility to these towns, especially the movement of the employees who come from the city proper. According to a report in 1984, the total population of the seven satellite towns as a whole was 514 thousand, of which about 45 percent were from the main city.

Administratively, county seats and the towns directly under the county administrations are normally the organic ones like the satellite towns. These towns are the socioeconomic centres of each rural area. Being the capitals of the county, the county seats are naturally larger than other towns in both population and land area, where the urban and social infrastructures are also comparatively stronger. Administratively at the same level with *Xiang*, the towns directly under the county are normally the urban units with some rural areas under their administration. The population size of some of these towns is almost as large as that of the county seats, but, by comparison, the percentage of the population engaged in agricultural activities is usually larger.

About 80 percent of suburban towns are those under the township administrations. Although they have the characteristics of urban settlements, these towns are rather weak in infrastructure. Moreover, their inhabitants still

contain quite large proportions of those who are engaged in agricultural production activities. Most of these towns are also the seats of *Xiang* (township) governments, where the industrial enterprises of different ownerships and limited commercial and service facilities are located.

1.2 Development of the Suburban Towns

The development of suburban towns and the population in-migration are closely related to the rural economic reforms in recent years. With the practice of the joint production and contract responsibility system and readjusting the structure of production in the countryside, the agricultural labour productivity has grown at an unprecedented rate. As a result, a shift from agricultural to non-agricultural activities has become a common feature of rural economic growth (Xie and Shi, 1986). In Shanghai, the number of rural labour force still engaged in agricultural activities decreased from 1894.7 thousand in 1980 to 875.4 thousand in 1987, a drop of 53.8 percent. Meanwhile, the proportion of labour force in non-agricultural activities rose from 32.9 percent in 1980 to 66.3 percent in 1987. And, the value of non-agricultural production reached to 83.64 percent of the total value of social production (i.e. the total values of material production of agriculture, industry, construction, transportation and communication, as well as commerce and catering), which was over five times as much as that of agricultural production (Shanghai Statistics Bureau , 1988).

With the drastic change in the structure of rural social production, an upsurge of industrialization had been witnessed among all the suburban towns. It can be seen from Table 1-1 that industry played a significant role in the social production and almost 70 percent of the workforce were involved in in-

Table 1-1:

Structure of Production of Suburban Towns, 1986

	Total output value		Employees	
	(million yuan)	%		%
Agriculture	92.38	0.86	40,052	4.9
Industry	8757.19	81.44	569,895	69.8
Construction	887.24	8.25	65,371	8.0
Transport & communication	259.18	2.41	39,799	4.9
Commerce & catering	756.58	7.04	101,136	12.4
Total	10752.57	100.00	816,253	100.00

Source : Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1987.

dustrial production in 1986. Generally speaking, the tertiary sector was rather weak and it was also a common feature of the structure of production in every suburban town. On the whole, the growth of social production appeared to be rather healthy according to the statistics. In 1980, the total output value of production was 4474.11 million *yuan* , which increased by 140.3 percent in 1986, with an average annual growth rate of 15.74 percent.

The industrialization of suburban towns was characterized by the expansion and establishment of a large number of township enterprises as well as municipality and county-owned enterprises. It had made the vast agricultural

labour surplus seek relocation to non-agricultural activities. The situation that the restriction on migration kept a check upon the growth of the urban labour force started to be relaxed. But, at first, because of the former policy upon migration, the shift was principally carried out in a way of commuting without change of residence into the towns. In 1984, the central government issued a new policy which stipulated that those farmers who had already been engaged in non-agricultural activities could settle in the urban areas as long as they could manage their provisions without the government-allocated rations as the urban residents are entitled to. This policy, although still very restrictive in itself, was quite significant nationwide and had somehow opened the long-closed door of urban areas to the farmers (Luo, *et al.*, 1986). The suburban towns of Shanghai were also affected by this great influx as it occurred simultaneously across the country. According to an investigation, five towns in Jinshan and Qingpu counties accepted 2,765 farmers to settle in during the year of 1986, averaging about 553 persons in each town (Zhu, B.S. and Jiang, L., 1987). In Fengxian County, more than one thousand farming families had moved into the towns of the county by investing and building houses there. So, the figure for the suburban towns as a whole can be perceived as rather significant.

The significance of industrialization and agricultural labour surplus shifting to non-agricultural activities lay in that they had not only brought about prosperity of suburban towns, but also the rapid population growth at those small urban places. In 1987, the Statistics Bureau of Shanghai published for the first time the economic indices specifically for suburban towns, which also provided some demographic figures of 1980 and 1986. Although it did not include very small market towns and two large suburban areas (Wusong and Minghang districts) which are geographically separated from the city proper but were administratively raised to the level of city districts in 1984,

the statistics helped to give a view of population growth of suburban towns for the period of 1980 to 1986.

Table 1-2:

Population Change of Suburban Towns, Shanghai, 1980-86

	1980	1986	% Increase 1986/80
Permanent population	703,604	858,292	22.0
Temporary population	21,983	64,856	195.0
Floating population	555,142	930,943	67.7
Birth rate (per 1,000)	12.2	11.4	-
Death rate (per 1,000)	5.9	5.3	-
Natural increase (per 1,000)	6.3	6.1	-

Source : Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1987.

In Table 1-2, the permanent population means the inhabitants who are officially registered as local permanent residents, while the temporary population are those who have moved to live in the towns but do not hold the local permanent household registration. It is the usual practice in China that the official statistics normally classify those without local household registration as

temporary residents, regardless of the length of their stay at the place. Actually, quite a number of them may have stayed there for more than a couple of years, or even longer. Daily commuters and the people who come and go for businesses are categorized as the 'floating population' because of their characteristics of being in constant moving. The natural increase of population, according to the normal practice of statistics, records the residues of births minus deaths of permanent population only.

From the table, fast population growth can be easily seen. The total inhabitants (including both permanent and temporary ones) increased as by many as 27.23 percent during 1980-86. In terms of the growth of permanent population for the period, the average annual rate of growth can be estimated at about 3.37 percent. It appeared to be larger than 2.64 percent for the municipal urban population as a whole, and larger than 2.81 percent for the city proper. Obviously, this rapid growth of population could hardly be achieved by the natural increase, as the birth rate of urban areas is normally low because of the family planning scheme having been strongly enforced. As can be seen in the table, the rates of natural increase in 1980 and 1986 were about 6.3 and 6.1 per thousand respectively. So , the major factor of fast population growth of the suburban towns could perceptibly be the in-migration. The Statistics Yearbook of Shanghai, 1988, published for the first time the migration figures of suburban towns (Shanghai Statistics Yearbook, 1988, p92). But it included three years (1980, 1986 and 1987) only, and the migration numbers of these years were 24,500, 17,300 and 20,900. These figures only covered those who had been locally registered as permanent residents. The actual total number of in-movers could have been much larger.

Another feature of the recent development of suburban towns is the

significant numbers and increases of 'floating population' and the employees of enterprises in the towns. Their numbers in 1986 together exceeded the sum of the permanent and temporary populations. This not only reflects that the booming economy had created a rather huge labour demand and attraction for businesses, but also suggests as well the possible enlargement of urban settlement in future in the suburbs of Shanghai.

1.3 Four Selected Towns

For the purpose of studying town oriented-migration, four towns in the suburbs of Shanghai were selected: Jinshanwei, Chengqiao, Luodian and Zhuanqiao. Consideration has been made in the selection to include different types of towns varying in the administrative level, the social and economic background, as well as the distance to the main city, so that the selected towns represent well the general environment in which the town-oriented migration has occurred. The following is the descriptive analysis of these towns, with an emphasis on their recent social and economic development which created the situation for the migration.

Jinshanwei

The town, which is about 73 kilometres away from the city proper of Shanghai, faces the Hangzhou Bay on the east and south. On the north, it is very close to the highway between Shanghai and Hangzhou of Zhejiang Province, and, on the west, it is bounded by Pinghu County of Zhejiang. Because of its advantageous geographical location, the town was chosen in 1970 as

the locality of the Shanghai Petrochemical Complex – a huge group of modern industrial enterprises – and later developed into one of the satellite towns of Shanghai.

Table 1-3:

Natural Increase and Migration of Jinshanwei, 1980-86

Year	Natural increase	Net migration	Total increase
1980	304	9,441	9,745
1981	490	3,127	3,617
1982	673	3,935	4,608
1983	609	3,808	4,417
1984	663	1,933	2,596
1985	521	3,012	3,533
1986	638	2,089	2,727

Source: Shanghai Bureau of Public Security, Jinshanwei Branch.

The development of the town owes greatly to the building and expansion of the complex. A great number of job opportunities were created and large population mobility (See Table 1-3) both inter-regional and intra-regional has taken place ever since. From the table, a remarkable contribution by in-migration can be seen to the total increase of population at the town during the period of 1980-86. The accumulated number of net migration accounted for 87.5 percent of the total increase for that period of time, whilst the natural

increase seemed to be far from being significant by comparison. By the end of 1987, the number of inhabitants had grown to nearly 100 thousand.

Most of the workforce at this town were employees of the complex which comprises eleven large enterprises and dozens of medium and small ones. The total number of employees was estimated at about 55 thousand in 1987 (Statistics provided by the personnel office of the Complex). Because the complex is under the dual leadership of the State Petrochemical Ministry and the municipality, its employees consist of quite a large proportion of those from the city proper and other provinces as well. Each year the complex would have quite a number of school graduates coming from the main city for jobs through the arrangements of the municipal labour department. This accounted for a considerable part of in-migration to the town.

The economy of this town was mainly supported by the complex. In 1986, the total output value of industry was 2,570 million *yuan*. The complex also made the local collective enterprises considerably benefited in their development, which enabled them to absorb the agricultural labour surplus in its peripheral rural area.

The convenience of transportation may well be another feature attracting in-migrants to the town since municipal investments in infrastructure provided the town with a good transportation system by road, railway, river and sea. Other types of social infrastructure in this town also developed very fast, including a college, a polytechnic school, a vocational school, three secondary schools and six primary schools. A closed circuit television station has also been set up recently. The residential area of the urban inhabitants covers about two square kilometres and almost all the households there are provided with gas fuel supply, which is not common among all the suburban towns.

Facilities for entertainment and recreation are available at the town, such as the cultural palace, cinemas, bathing beach and public parks, etc.. However, complaints are still heard from the inhabitants about the lack of variety in the recreational facilities, as well as in the availability of high quality consumer goods, according to this investigation.

Chengqiao

Chengqiao is the seat of Chongming County and located on the southwest coast of Chongming Island – the third largest island of China. Facing the Changjiang (Yangtze) River on the south, it covers an area of 5.6 square kilometers and is the hub of communication for the west part of the island. In the south of the town, there is a harbour which makes the town one of the two transportation centres of the county connecting the major parts of the municipality of Shanghai.

According to the statistics provided by the town administration, the total number of inhabitants in 1986, including those temporary ones, was 41,702, an increase of 35.9 percent as compared with 1980. And the average annual growth rate for this period is estimated at about 5.1 percent. Being the county seat, the town is the political, economic and cultural centre of the island. The bus service extends to all parts of the county, which provides convenience for the people coming and going for businesses. In 1980, the 'floating population' of this town was estimated at about 5,664 people, but the figure increased to about 7,962 in 1986.

There are three main types of industrial enterprises in the town that have been steadily increasing. These include the enterprises run by the mu-

municipality, county and township. In 1980, there were only 35 enterprises with about 8,934 employees, and six years later the figure rose to 51 with 12,369 employees. The total value of output also rose from 105.16 million *yuan* in 1980 to 290.76 million *yuan* in 1986.

Table 1-4:

Structure of Production of Chengqiao, 1980-86

	Total value of output (million <i>yuan</i>)		Percentage of total (%)		Average rate of annual growth
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980-86
Agriculture	0.80	1.24	0.65	0.38	7.58
Industry	105.16	290.76	85.41	89.46	18.47
Construction	7.06	10.45	5.70	3.22	6.86
Transport & communication	3.28	10.33	2.66	3.18	21.07
Commerce & catering	6.87	12.23	5.58	3.76	10.09
Total	123.13	325.01	100.00	100.00	17.56

Source: Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1987.

Industry played the major role in the development of the town. The total industrial output value accounted for almost 90 percent of the town's structure of production in 1986 (See Table 1-4). The average annual growth rate

of it was 18.47 percent for the period of 1980–1986, which appears to be high. The growth can partly be attributed to the increase of industrial enterprises. The number of enterprises and the total employees in 1986 increased by 45.71 percent and 38.45 percent respectively over those of 1980. The industry of this town was mainly of machinery, instruments, electrical appliances, chemical fertilizers, etc.. The profit made in 1986 reached 34.5 million *yuan*.

Since 1980, the number of farmers in the countryside who wanted to open private businesses in the town has been increasing. By the end of 1986, about 635 farmers had registered for businesses there. At the same time people engaged in the tertiary sector numbered 6,805, an increase of 43.5 percent over 1980.

The town witnessed also a prosperity in commercial and trading activities. Many new shops were set up, including those private ones. In 1984 more than 70 new shops opened, which was unprecedented in the history of the town. Three country fair markets appealed greatly to people for business from both inside and outside of the county. The total volumes of retail sales and country fair trading were 115.99 and 6.94 million *yuan* in 1986, with an average annual growth rate of 17.33 percent and 31.37 percent respectively.

Social and cultural facilities included a town library, a polytechnic school, two high schools and three primary schools.

Luodian

Luodian is located in the northwest part of Baoshan County – a county in the near suburbs of Shanghai. It is an old small town and, administratively,

directly under the county, with an area of 1.5 square kilometres. The total inhabitants of this town were 12,843 in 1986, of which those registered as temporary accounted for 12.46 percent. The average annual growth rate of population was 3.75 percent for the period 1980–1986, which was rather modest. Although it is small in terms of area, the town has a large number of ‘floating population’, coming and going for the economic activities at the town. In 1980, it was estimated at about 4,000 people. But, in 1986, the estimate was about 6,500, an increase by 62.50 percent.

Table 1-5:

Structure of Production of Luodian, 1980-86

	Total value of output (<i>million yuan</i>)		Percentage of total (%)		Average rate of annual growth
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980-86
Agriculture	0.78	1.13	1.55	1.43	6.37
Industry	43.36	66.15	86.05	83.54	7.29
Construction	4.34	6.23	8.61	7.87	6.21
Transport & communication	-	-	-	-	-
Commerce & catering	1.91	5.67	3.79	7.16	19.88
Total	50.39	79.18	100.00	100.00	7.82

Source : Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1987.

The industrial development of the town is rather steady, with an annual growth rate around 8 percent during the period of 1980–86 (See Table 1-5). There are about 39 industrial enterprises including 9 county-run and 2 municipality-run ones. The township enterprises appear to have grown much faster than the county- and municipality-run ones. The number of employees in 1986 increased by 104.32 percent as compared with 1980 and the total output value had been growing at an average annual rate of 25.39 percent.

As it is similar with other suburban towns, the secondary sector occupies an important position in its structure of production and the manpower involved was 5,649 persons in 1986, accounting for 74.6 percent of its workforce. According to the table, a rather healthy growth in commerce and catering can also be seen during this period of time, which indicated indirectly the effect of population mobility on the town.

The town is crisscrossed by three major suburban highways and connected with other towns as well as the city proper by three suburban bus lines. The daily volume of passenger transport averaged about 6,800 persons in 1986, much more than 5,600 persons in 1980 (Figures provided by the local authorities, 1987). This may well be one of the important factors that cause the town to have a large number of floating population. The infrastructure has improved ever since 1978. All the households are provided with electricity and tap water, and the telephone switchboards increased to about 800 in 1986. The overall development of this town had been slow in terms of the growth of the total social production (See also Table 1-5). The average annual growth rate was at about 7.82 percent, which was well below that of all the suburban towns as a whole.

Zhuanqiao

It is located in the south of Shanghai County, only 15 kilometres away from the city proper. One of the trunk lines of suburban transportation and three other highways go through or by the town.

The town used to be a market town under the township and was administratively raised to the level directly under the county administration in 1986. The proximity to the large urban centre of Shanghai had made it greatly favoured in its rate of industrialization as is distinguished in Table 1-6. In this table, a surprising annual growth rate can be seen of its total industrial output value which jumped from 24.77 million *yuan* in 1980 to 241.77 million *yuan* in 1986. This remarkable growth could be partly attributed to the fact that some large municipality-run enterprises were built up there after 1980. According to this investigation, their employees had increased to more than 3,600 and their output value made up 41.3 percent of the town's total.

Meanwhile, the township enterprises also boomed rather fast. The number of these enterprises and their employees jumped 75 percent and 202.34 percent respectively in 1986 above the year 1980. The total output value of the township enterprises had grown at an average annual rate of 22.51 percent during the same period.

Aside from the actual increase in absolute numbers, the fast industrial growth also brought about the structural change in the workforce division at the town. The percentage of workforce involved in the industrial production rose from 61.8 percent to 85.3 percent, whilst those in other sectors decreased accordingly (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1987).

With industrialization, the area of the town had expanded and the in-

habitants increased accordingly. In 1980, the town had an area of only 0.60 square kilometers with about 4,400 inhabitants. But, in 1986, the figures rose to 3.37 square kilometres and 6,915 inhabitants. The number of 'floating population' also increased and was estimated at about 13,017 in 1986.

Table 1-6 :

Structure of Production of Zhuanqiao, 1980-86

	Total value of output (million yuan)		Percentage of total (%)		Average rate of annual growth
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980-86
Agriculture	0.10	0.47	0.34	0.19	29.42
Industry	24.77	241.77	83.43	96.24	46.19
Construction	1.73	3.69	5.83	1.47	13.46
Transport & communication	0.99	1.67	3.33	0.67	9.11
Commerce & catering	2.10	3.62	7.07	1.44	9.50
Total	29.69	251.20	100.00	100.00	42.75

Source : Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1987.

In general, the overall development of the town's economy had been quite remarkable, with the growth rate of social production averaging 42.8 percent per annum during this period (Table 1-6). But, a percentage drop

of the tertiary sector was also seen in the structural production. And, the social and cultural facilities of this town did not seem to deserve compliment, as there were only a few schools, a small cultural centre and a cinema. Despite these, anyhow, the town had a nice shopping centre which provided a variety of services.

We can conclude that the industrialization was the common feature of town development, which consequently created a demand for labour at these urban places and facilitated the shift of agricultural labour surplus to other sectors of production. In the case of Shanghai, there also occurred deurbanization streams from the major city toward suburban towns along with the rural labour inflow. As can be easily perceived in this chapter, the changes in social and economic policies by the government were of great significance to the outset of this transformational process. New policies, particularly that of the rural economic reform, provided the towns with the impetus to break through the long stagnation in their development. The analysis of the four selected towns showed that, whether small or large, or at different administrative levels, or with different social and economic background, all had experienced rather significant socio-economic changes as well as town-oriented migration in recent years. The trend of population concentration at towns was obvious.

CHAPTER TWO

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

The previous chapter has shown a rapid town development and population change in the suburbs of Shanghai, in which the in-migration to those small urban centres is perceptibly important. But who have moved ? What are the major characteristics of movers ? Many experts have said that migration is selective (Lee 1966, Kosinski and Prothero 1975, Mantra 1978, Hugo 1975). People who move differ not only with non-movers but also among themselves in terms of demographic, social and economic characteristics. So, it is believed that in-migrants to suburban towns must bear their own identity which, it is also believed, correlates with regional, social and economic backgrounds. With this concern, the following sections are devoted to the analysis of the samples, so as to reveal the pattern of movement and characteristics of movers toward the suburban towns of Shanghai.

2.1 Types of inflow movements and migrants

The study of internal migration is the more intricate, in that it is not concerned merely with definite movements from one place to another, but with a whole series of complex movements (Beaujeu-Garnier, 1966). It is probably the most commonly adopted that the types of movements are categorized either by the mobility across the administrative boundaries or between rural and urban areas. But, as an administrative unit of area in China is normally comprised

of urban centres and peripheral rural area as well, a crosswise examination of movements across administrative boundaries by those between rural and urban areas may help to identify the major features of recent population inflows to suburban towns of Shanghai.

Table 2-1:

Types of Town-oriented Movements in Shanghai,
Based on the Sampled Migrants, 1980 - 87

	City- to-town	Town- to-town	Rural- to-town	Total
Intra-township	-	-	437	437
Intra-county	-	88	222	310
Intra-municipality	176	39	55	270
Inter-provincial	98	20	59	177
Total	274	147	773	1194

Based on the origins of the sampled in-migrants to suburban towns, Table 2-1 summarizes the types of inflow movements and reveals some quite interesting phenomena. Short-distance movers are obviously dominant among the total and the majority of inflow movements occurred within the administrative area of the municipality, of which the largest proportion fell into the intra-township movement. That the number of movers decreased directly with the level of the administrative units seems to suggest, too, that there is rela-

tively more 'freedom' for the movers within local authorities, who could have been more favoured in competing for opportunities at destination.

A crosswise examination of this town-oriented mobility also shows that both intra-township and intra-county (or inter-township) movements contained significant proportions of rural-to-town movers. However, the intra-municipality (or inter-county within the municipal administration) and inter-provincial ones comprised 65.2 percent and 55.4 percent of movers from city origin. As for the town-to-town movers, their numbers were much less significant.

In his study of the migration flows in Britain during 1966-71, Kennett (1977) also found that the movers within the local authorities were more than those movers between local authorities. Obviously, this feature is different from the one revealed here, because they happened within different social systems and different economic backgrounds. The above-stated characteristics of inflow movements toward the suburban towns in Shanghai *māy* have resulted from multiple geographic, social and economic determinants. But the hierarchically centralized planning system by administrative units may also be one of the most influential factors that resulted in relatively larger volumes of human mobility within local authorities. The analysis of job approaches by movers into the four selected towns provided some supporting evidence. Those who got jobs in the towns through the arrangement of local authorities accounted for 54 percent of the sampled movers within the category of intra-township movement, whilst 21.2 percent were within the intra-county movement, and 18.2 percent within the intra-municipal movement. Inter-provincial movers got only 6.6 percent. So, it may be concluded that the decreasing volumes of movements with the administrative units of regions might not be caused merely by the reasons of

'physical distance'. The 'administrative distance' could also have functioned in a way that disadvantaged the movements from other authorities.

The large proportion of city-to-town flows of intra-municipal movement could be attributed mainly to the planned deurbanization of the main city through the dispersion of industries within the municipal administrative area. But the large proportion of city-to-town movers within the inter-provincial movement seems at first difficult to explain (See Table 2-1). However, the analysis of the reasons for movement stated by these movers shows that 47 percent migrated for family-related reasons while 38 percent for job-related reasons.

Normally, 'migration is defined as the movements involving change of permanent residence' (Thomas, 1954, 510), but 'genuine migration obviously means the perceptible and simultaneous shifts in both spatial and social locus' (Zelinsky, 1971, 224). China's internal migration, however, presents more complexity for the typology of its migrants. Ever since the late 1950s, the household registration system has always been strongly enforced, imposing great constraints to population movements (Tien, 1983). People were largely unable to obtain jobs in a strange area other than their native one without the local household registration and so could hardly sustain a living there. Reflection of this constraint is still perceptible, although the strict control upon migration by the government has been more or less relaxed since the beginning of the 1980s.

As a usual practice, the internal migrants are normally examined in China by a combined criterion of two dimensions, i.e. spatial and social (or rather household registration) shifts, by which the migrants are grouped whether or not the change of permanent residence or the shift of household registration

takes place as a result of movements. An individual is considered a permanent migrant only if the move involved a change in household registration.

The in-migrants investigated are accordingly categorized in this research into three types. Type A are those who have changed both their permanent residence and household registration into the towns of destination. They are, in terms of mobility, perceptibly more stable compared with other types of migrants, as they have obtained jobs and housing in the towns. Migrants of Type B, although they have changed their residence into the towns of destination, still have not shifted their household registration. In other words, for some reason they have not yet been officially acknowledged as permanent residents in the towns. They are usually counted as temporary residents in population accounting (Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, A., 1985). It could be expected that, if their employment and economic status stay stable to their satisfaction, they would most probably tend to settle down permanently and eventually be given by the local administration the approval of household registration change. Type C migrants are actually daily or periodic commuters, coming and going between their domiciles outside of the town and their working place inside the town. The number of this type of migrants has been increasing drastically with the fast development of small towns in recent years. Most of them used to be farmers. They shifted from the agricultural sector into the industrial or service sectors because the latter appeal to them with the expectation of better pay and, hopefully, of being registered as non-agricultural or urban in future, which, as is the case in China, grants better treatment in social and political welfare.

Migrants investigated for this study comprise 46.4 percent for those of Type A, 20.5 percent for Type B and 33.1 percent for Type C.

Table 2-2:

Types of Movements by Types of Migrants
Based on the Sampled Migrants, 1980 - 87

Movements by administrative units	Types of migrants			Total
	Type A	Type B	Type C	
Intra-township	34.8	10.3	54.9	100.0
Intra-county	36.9	25.2	37.9	100.0
Intra-municipality	64.4	25.2	10.4	100.0
Inter-provincial	64.7	31.1	4.2	100.0

Each type of migrants has its own characteristics in terms of inflow movements (See Table 2-2). The intra-municipal and inter-provincial movements appeared to have more migrants of Types A and B, whilst the intra-township and intra-county ones more migrants of Type C. This seems to suggest that the availability of housing at the destination towns shared almost equal importance with that of job opportunities for the inter-regional or long distance movers. And the majority of them tended to change their household registration to become permanent residents at destinations.

2.2 Sex composition

Richmond (1969) claimed that as economies develop females take a more active part in the labour force and, therefore, sex selectivity becomes less

significant, as contrary to the general hypothesis that males tend to be more migratory than females. In general, the migration to the suburban towns of Shanghai shows a very strong sex selectivity by a female dominance (Sex ratio=84 males per 100 females). The female in-migrants make up 54.4 percent of the total, while the male proportion accounts for 45.6 percent, with a difference of 8.8 percentage points lower than the females. Also, many studies of internal migration in developing countries indicate considerable numbers of women migrating as dependents (Thadani and Michael, 1978). In the case of inflow to suburban towns of Shanghai, a similar phenomenon can also be seen. Those who have migrated as dependants were found to include 63.3 percent of females. It is specially true of marriage migration. When marriage requires migration, it is usually women who move (Gugler, 1986). About 80.5 percent of females were observed among those who migrated for marriage.

Table 2-3

Sex Composition of In-migrants of 4 Selected Towns (%)

	Total	By towns :				By place of origin :		
		Jinshanwei	Chengqiao	Luodian	Zhuanqiao	City	Town	Rural
Sex ratio	84	167	43	58	117	143	91	67
Male (%)	45.8	62.5	30.2	36.8	53.8	58.9	47.6	40.2
Female (%)	54.2	37.5	69.8	63.2	46.2	41.1	52.4	59.8
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In this study, the sex ratio is lower than 100 for the 20-49 age groups,

while for the older age groups it is above 100. This strong age-sex selectivity for the in-migration to small towns may be largely attributed to the following reasons : wives joining their husbands in the town, job-transferring, return migration flow of those who were in the past sent to the countryside during the 'Cultural Revolution', job-assignment and marriage. These reasons are typical of female migration to urban areas in present-day China. For younger adult age groups, marriage migration obviously accounts for a bigger proportion of all the reasons (11.9 percent within the 20-24 age group, and 17.3 percent within the 25-29 age group), while for the older ages, joining husbands and job-transferring, as well as return migration of those formerly sent to the countryside tend to be the major reasons of the female in-migrants, according to the results of cause analysis.

Although female dominance is common for all the three types of migrants, Type C has a more significant portion of female in-migrants (60.5 percent) than the other two types. The sex ratio is 65.3 for Type C, and 94.6 for both Types A and B. As migrants of Type C are mainly daily or periodic commuters, or, in other words, the economically-motivated movers, their female-dominated movement results largely from the substantial growth in the secondary (particularly the light and processing industries) and tertiary sectors of the economy at these towns, which obviously increases the availability of female-dominated employment.

An examination of in-migrants' places of origin also shows remarkable differentials in sex composition. Urban areas, especially cities, seem to have relatively more male out-migrants, whilst the rural area has more female out-migrants (Table 2-3). The proportion of females increases inversely with the level of origin places , while the male proportion increases directly. This is

also reflected in the age compositions of different types or locations of towns of destination, because satellite towns or the towns near the big city centre normally receive more in-migrants from larger places of origin (See the sex ratios of Jinshanwei and Zhuanqiao in Table 2-3).

2.3 Age composition

'In general, there is plenty evidence to support the hypothesis that persons in their twenties and early thirties are the most mobile. The reasons often advanced as to why young adults are the most mobile of all age groups revolved around the fact that they are often beginning their working life and, therefore, are prepared to take advantage of new opportunities as they arise without the economic and social ties which constrains older groups to their place of residence' (Lewis,1982). Proportions migrating within England and Wales, and Australia, by age during 1966-71 were presented as examples by Lewis. Also, even in the Third World, similar patterns of age selectivity have been identified by a number of studies (eg. Connell,*et al.*, 1976; Browning and Fendt, 1968). The town-oriented migration in the case of Shanghai's suburbs was also found to bear the similarity.

According to the samples, migrants in their early twenties and early thirties are the most numerous of all age groups, accounting for 18.1 percent and 20.7 percent respectively of the total in-migrants. Females are just a bit younger than males. The proportion of 15-34 age of each population is 61.8 percent for females and 60.1 percent for males (See Table 2-4 and Figure 2-1).

Difference in age compositions of different types of migrants seems to be quite outstanding. By the average age of migrant populations, Type A's is

Fig. 2-1 : Age Distribution of In-migrants by Sex

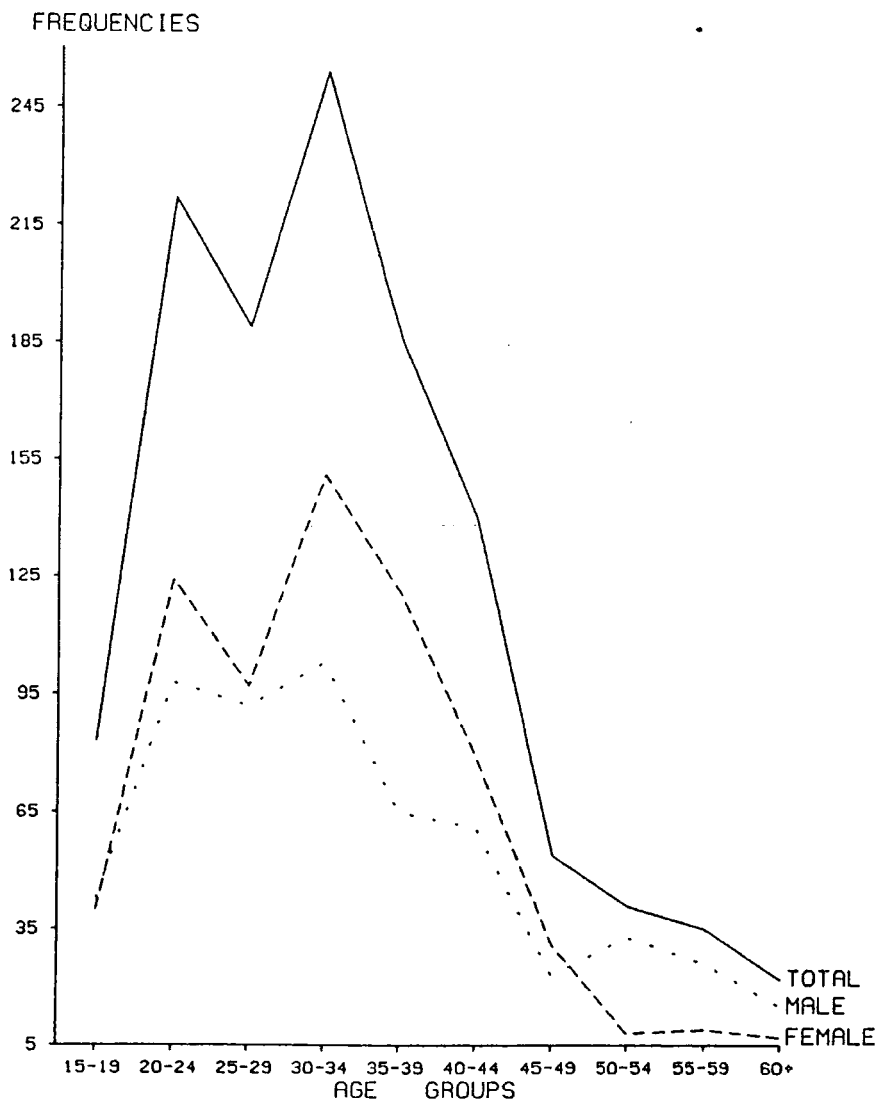
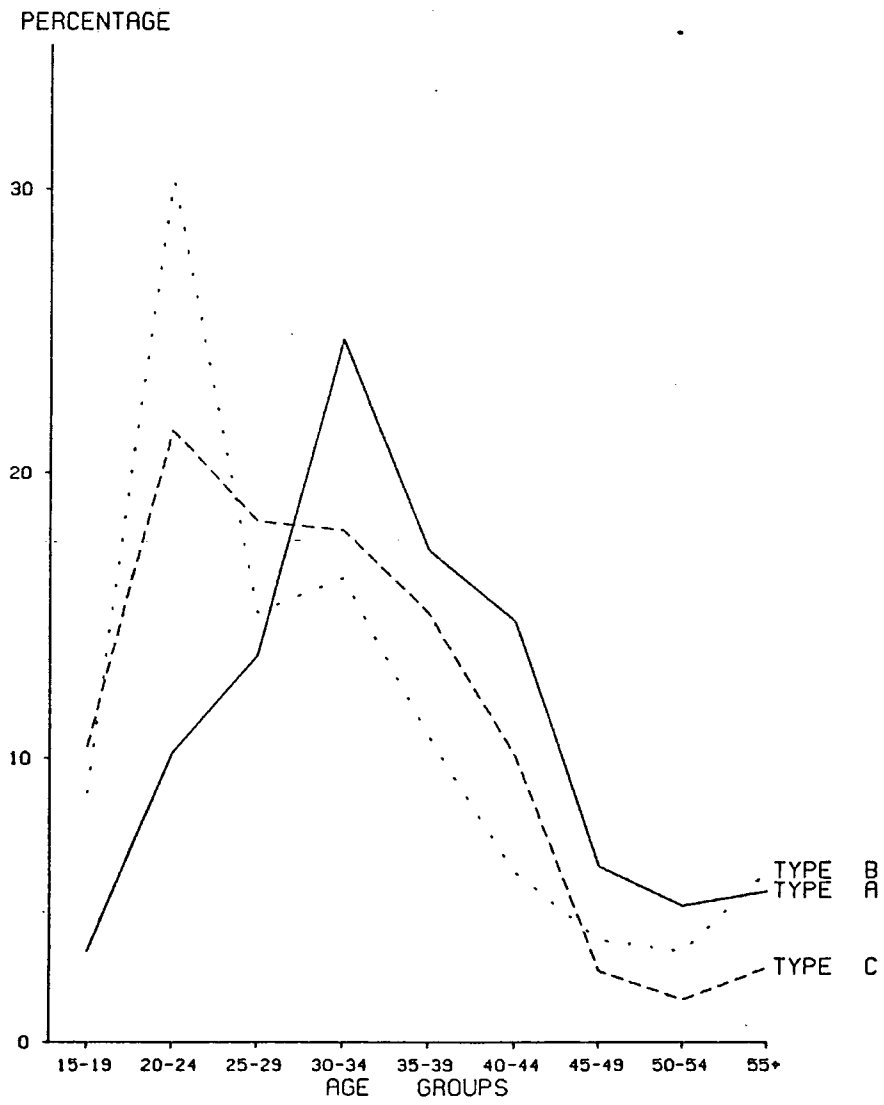


Fig. 2-2 : Age Compositions of 3 Types of Migrants



well above average, while those of both Type B and C are below that of the total migrant population. The difference can be seen even clearer by examining the proportions of migrants aged 15-34 years of each type (See Table 2-4).

As the government has always been very strict in the control of immigration to urban areas, the permit to permanent residence and household registration shift are by no means easy to obtain by migrants, especially for the young. So, in terms of age composition, a rather wide spreading curve, although it is in declining tendency, extends beyond the 30-34 age group of Type A (Figure 2-2) and the proportion aged 15-34 within it is obviously much smaller than among Type B and C migrants (See also Table 2-4). Because most in-migrants of Type B and C, in essence, are mainly the labour force recently absorbed by the enterprises in towns, despite whatever reasons they claim to have for movement, their age compositions tend to be younger.

Migrants of rural origin are normally younger, because people in rural areas generally join the labour force at an earlier age, while those of urban origin tend to be older because the higher levels of education as well as more employment opportunities for the young in urban areas affect the age structure of out-migrants. But disparities also exist between the more and less urbanized areas (See Table 2-4).

It is also seen from the table that the average age of in-migrants by place of origin is older for those from cities, and younger for those from towns and rural areas. Accordingly, the percentage of migrants aged between 15 to 34 goes up from 46.1 percent for those of city origin to 67.0 percent for those of rural origin. This is also reflected in the types of movements by the fact that the intra-municipal and inter-provincial movements, especially the latter one, have smaller proportions of migrants aged 15 to 34, because they contained a

Table 2-4

Mean and Median Age of In-migrants of 4 Selected Towns

	Mean age	Median age	Migrants between 15-34 age (%)
Total migrants	33	32	61.0
Male	31	31	60.1
Female	32	32	61.8
Migrants by types:			
Type A	36	34	51.7
Type B	31	28	70.5
Type C	31	29	68.1
Migrants by towns:			
Jinshanwei	33	32	65.3
Chengqiao	32	32	60.1
Zhuanqiao	36	33	54.2
Luodian	31	31	64.4
Migrants by place of origin:			
City	38	35	46.1
Town	34	31	62.5
Rural	31	30	67.0
By types of movements:			
Intra-township	32	31	65.2
Intra-county	32	30	65.9
Intra-municipal	33	32	64.6
Inter-provincial	37	38	41.1

considerable number of migrants from city origin (Table 2-1).

2.4 Educational composition

Empirically, the more intelligent and better educated more often have a motive to migrate than those with less intelligence or education (Hofstee, 1952). And many studies of migration showed that the better educated normally outnumbered those with less education (Thomas, 1938; Bogue, 1959; Shryock and Nam, 1965). This investigation also presented the same phenomenon.

The in-migrant population is characterised not only by a young age composition but also by rather high educational attainments. The level of junior middle school attainments is the most prominent of all educational levels and the population accounts for 48.7 percent of the total (Table 2-5). What is worth mentioning is that those with senior middle school and technical school attainments together with those college and university graduates make up 35.7 percent of the total in-migrants, while the illiterate or semi-literate only account for 4.4 percent. The evidence proves the assumption that the in-migration to the suburban towns of Shanghai involves more migrants with relatively higher levels of education, because of the availability of more educational institutions and better educational facilities on the one hand, and, on the other, higher qualifications required for job positions in the region.

Generally speaking, the educational level of female in-migrants is lower than that of the males. Of the male population, for example, the illiterate or semi-literate account for 2.3 percent but 6.1 percent among the females; and those with senior middle school, technical school and university education account for 35.7 percent of the males, but 27.1 percent of the females.

The higher level of in-migrants' educational attainments seems to bear a relationship with the younger age composition of the in-migrants. For the level of senior middle school attainments and above, the younger age groups share rather big proportions and the percentage declines with age .

Table 2-5

Educational Attainments of In-migrants (%)

	Illiterate & semi- literate	Primary school	Junior middle school	Senior middle school (incl. technical school)	College & university	Total
Total	4.4	15.7	48.7	25.3	5.9	100.0
Male	2.3	13.1	48.8	27.5	8.2	100.0
Female	6.1	18.0	48.7	23.2	3.9	100.0
By types :						
Type A	4.1	13.9	43.6	30.0	8.5	100.0
Type B	2.8	18.7	43.4	28.3	6.8	100.0
Type C	5.9	16.3	59.3	17.0	1.5	100.0
By place of origin :						
From city	2.1	11.0	36.5	35.5	14.9	100.0
From town	2.6	10.9	42.7	36.5	7.3	100.0
From rural	6.0	18.1	55.5	18.3	2.1	100.0
By types of movement:						
Intra-township	6.6	17.3	58.2	15.2	2.7	100.0
Intra-county	3.2	17.8	46.8	29.3	2.9	100.0
Intra-municipal	2.2	7.7	40.2	37.3	12.5	100.0
Inter-provincial	4.7	18.9	42.1	25.3	8.9	100.0

Disparities in educational attainments can also be seen among different types of in-migrants, which appear to reflect some implication of urban in-migration policy. Normally, better educated people are more likely to be accepted as permanent residents in towns as long as they wish. They have more chance of migration as they are privileged by their educational background. Most of them can be easily accepted through job-transferring, institutional recruitment and official assignment (these comprise a rather large proportion of legal or officially approved migration in China). So it is no wonder that those with senior middle school education and above make up 38.5 percent of the in-migrants of Type A, while among the other two types, especially Type C, they are much fewer.

In terms of the types of movements, those who migrated within or across larger administrative areas appeared to have larger combined proportions of migrants with educational attainments of senior schools and above (Table 2-5). This seems to suggest that, in the case of China, migrants of higher educational status tend to be advantaged in movements within and across larger administrative regions.

Migrants from cities or towns usually have bigger proportions of the better educated and are most likely to move to more industrialized places or urban places which are located very near big urban centres. From Table 2-5, it is observed that the percentages of those of city or town origin with senior middle school education and above are 50.4 percent and 43.8 percent respectively of each migrant population. And, quite expectedly, the percentages for Jinshan and Zhuanqiao are also high, being 55.5 percent and 33.3 percent respectively.

2.5 Marital status

In this investigation, some interesting phenomena were revealed by the analysis of post-migratory change in the marital status of migrants. For the in-migrants of Type A and B, the unmarried made up 40.3 percent of the total in-migrant population before migrating into towns, but the percentage has

Table 2-6

Marital Status of In-migrants of 4 Selected Towns (%)

	No. of cases	Married	Unmarried	Other status	Total
Pre-migration	812	58.3	40.3	1.4	100.0
Post-migration	817	77.6	21.1	1.3	100.0
Unmarried before migration :	327	47.4	52.3	0.3	100.0
Of which registered as :					
Non-agricultural	232	56.5	43.1	0.4	100.0
Agricultural	95	25.3	74.7	0	100.0
Of which from :					
City	96	61.5	38.5	0	100.0
Town	78	44.9	53.8	1.3	100.0
Rural	153	38.2	61.8	0	100.0

changed to 21.1 after migration (Table 2-6). It does not mean that the migration behaviour of those in-migrants resulted totally from the reason of marriage

(although some did so), but because some of them married for many other factors, such as their growing up, or satisfactory environment of settlement, etc.

Of the total in-migrant samples, there are about 327 in-migrants who were unmarried before migration, 47.4 percent of whom married after settling down in towns of destination, and 52.3 percent remaining single (Table 2-6). A critical examination of the post-migratory marital status of those unmarried in-migrants by place of origin, or by category of household registration, or by types of migrants, reveals a serious discrimination in the marriage of the disadvantaged. By places of origin, the proportion getting married of each population after migration declines drastically from the origin of city to that of rural area, while the proportions remaining single present a sharp contrast by a straight-forward increase. Of 174 remaining unmarried after migration (who were single before migration), those of rural origin make up 54 percent. The same contrast also exists among in-migrants of different types and of different status of household registration. In urban areas of China, whether or not people hold the urban household registration (*Chengzhen Hukou*) or whether or not they are registered as non-agricultural (*Feinongye Hukou*) have long been decisive factors influencing every aspect of their social and economic life. The prospective marriage of in-migrants after migration is no exception in being affected in this way. As the in-migrants of Type A have obtained urban household registration, the percentage getting married after migration is expectedly much higher than that of those remaining single (in this investigation, it is as high as 61.5 percent.) By contrast, it is only 26.5 percent for the in-migrants of Type B, who have not yet obtained the urban household registration although they have been living and working in the towns. Those holding agricultural household registration are obviously the most unfavoured by the evidence, in that as many as 74.7 percent of those single before migration still remain unmarried

after migration.

2.6 Employment status

One of the most interesting and important characteristics of the sampled in-migrants is the fact that 85 percent of them were employed prior to migration. These employed migrants were distributed mainly in state-owned and collective-owned enterprises (the latter was dominant by 41.9 percent), with relatively smaller proportions being employed by individual enterprises or in farming and other forms of employment. The pre-migration unemployment rate was only about 15 percent, of which about 60.6 percent were students, 16.1 percent active servicemen, 7.2 percent housewives, 7.2 percent unemployed youths, 5.6 percent retired and 3.3 percent in other forms of unemployment.

There is no doubt that migration would certainly bring about some change in employment status of individual migrants. The result of analysis not only shows that 91.7 percent of the unemployed have been employed after migration increasing the post-migratory employment rate of in-migrants, but that about 27.6 percent of those employed before migration changed their status of employment after migration.

In China, to be employed by the state-run firms or enterprises is usually termed to have held 'iron bowls', which not only gives a sense of job security and other beneficial treatment such as that in medicare, but also a sense of higher status in society as well. But this seems to be changing quite rapidly as other forms of ownerships have been booming. So it is interesting to note that about 52.9 percent of those who have changed their employment status after migration transferred to the collective-owned enterprises, while only 26.2 percent

transferred to the state-owned enterprises and 13.4 percent to individual-owned enterprises. Despite the general fact that migrants normally transfer from lower status of employment to a higher one in migration, a reverse phenomenon is also noted that about 19.4 percent of those employed by the state-owned enterprises before migration transferred to lower status of employment after migration, of which 88.6 percent changed to the collective-owned enterprises in the towns. It is mainly because, nowadays, some large collective enterprises have been able to offer more attractive pay and benefits than the state-run ones which have much less flexibility in offering a rise in salaries and improvement of benefits as well. The evidence also demonstrates, to a certain extent, that the recent economic development has stimulated the collective-owned enterprises in small towns much faster than those of any other ownerships, which, in turn, has played a major role in absorbing in-migrants into towns. It can be further supported by the fact that about 86.6 percent of Type C migrants (who are daily or periodic commuters working in towns) are employed by the collective-owned enterprises.

Sex differentials were also noted in terms of employment by different types of ownerships. Migrants employed by the collective enterprises comprised about 65.3 percent of females, whilst those employed by the state enterprises contained a dominant proportion of males by 63.7 percent. Presumably, males are generally better trained and educated than females. So the reasons may be largely attributed to the fact that the state enterprises usually require more skilled workers because of their relatively more sophisticated ways of production, whilst the collective enterprises are mostly those of processing type and the requirements upon labour quality may tend to be favourable toward females. Of course, this generalization might not be satisfactory enough, because more complicated reasons of other aspects may also be involved.

2.7 Occupational composition

Before migration, the occupational composition of the employed in-migrants shows that the number of production workers is the biggest of all, making up about 38 percent of the total employed. The remaining occupations with above 10 percent of the total are the agricultural labourers (14.0 percent), office clerks (13.4 percent) and technicians (13.3 percent). The people working for the commercial, service and catering trades account for only 8.4 percent. The recent in-migration of more technicians and office clerks to suburban towns, although they are smaller in numbers than the production workers, leaves such an impression that small towns now possess more attraction not only to ordinary labourers, but also to skilled workers and professionals.

Table 2-7:

Occupational Change of Migrants (%)

	Pre-migration	Post-migration
Leading personnel	4.0	4.8
Technicians	13.3	11.1
Office clerks	13.4	30.0
Workers of trade & service	8.4	13.2
Ordinary workers of production	37.9	36.2
Agricultural workers	14.0	0.3
Other occupations	9.0	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0

The post-migratory occupational structure differs greatly from that of pre-migration (See Table 2-7). What is the most outstanding is that the proportion of agricultural workers dwindles to as low as 0.3 percent, almost by a loss of 97.9 percent over that of pre-migration. As for the other occupations, varied degrees of increase or decrease are noticed. That the unemployed before migration obtained jobs after migration probably contributed to the change. But the change of occupation by those employed before migration seems to be more influential. About 49.5 percent of the employed before migration changed their occupation after migration, of which about 35.4 percent changed to be office clerks, 29.5 percent to industrial production workers and 17.2 percent into commerce, service and catering. This occupational shift of in-migrants reflects to a certain extent the profile of labour absorption by suburban towns due to the readjustment of economic structures in recent years. The minor change in the low proportions of technicians and relatively small percentage of it in occupational composition support such an assumption that, in general, the industrial development of those suburban towns still remains in a low status of technology although much progress has been made in increasing production quantity. And the outstanding shift of the employed in-migrants to the occupations of office clerks and commerce, service and catering as well as the notable proportions of these in post-migratory occupational composition indicate, on the other hand, the economic development of suburban towns has been on its way of transformation to commercialization as well as more industrialization, which results in the increasing demand of these occupations.

2.8 Conclusion

To sum up, the pattern of town-oriented migration in the suburbs of Shanghai showed that the majority of migrants have moved within the administrative area of the municipality, in terms of the movements by the administrative boundaries. As for the movements between rural and urban areas, however, the dominance of rural-to-town movement was revealed, which proved the assumption that the major feature of town-oriented migration during the period of 1980-87 has been rural labour surplus inflow attributable to the rural economic reform. But the significant proportion of the rural-to-town movers was found mainly within the category of intra-county movement. This, in a sense, suggests a strong localization of rural labour mobility. Meanwhile, deurbanization of the main city was also perceptible, which makes another feature of town-oriented migration in Shanghai.

In general, the female migrants outnumbered the males, but disparities can be easily seen in terms of age, types of origin and destination, as well as other socio-economic aspects. Almost 60 percent of the rural out-migrants were females, whilst, in contrast, the males made up nearly 60 percent of the city out-migrants. The female dominance of Type C migrants (*i.e.* commuters) appeared to be very outstanding as compared with those who have obtained residence in the towns. This phenomenon may be largely due to the recent growth of light and processing industries, as well as catering and service sectors at the destination towns that provided increasing job opportunities for women. The age composition of town-oriented migration showed a preponderance of migrants in their early twenties and early thirties. But the temporary migrant populations (Types B and C) had a much younger age compositions than the permanent migrants. And the migrants of rural origin were in general

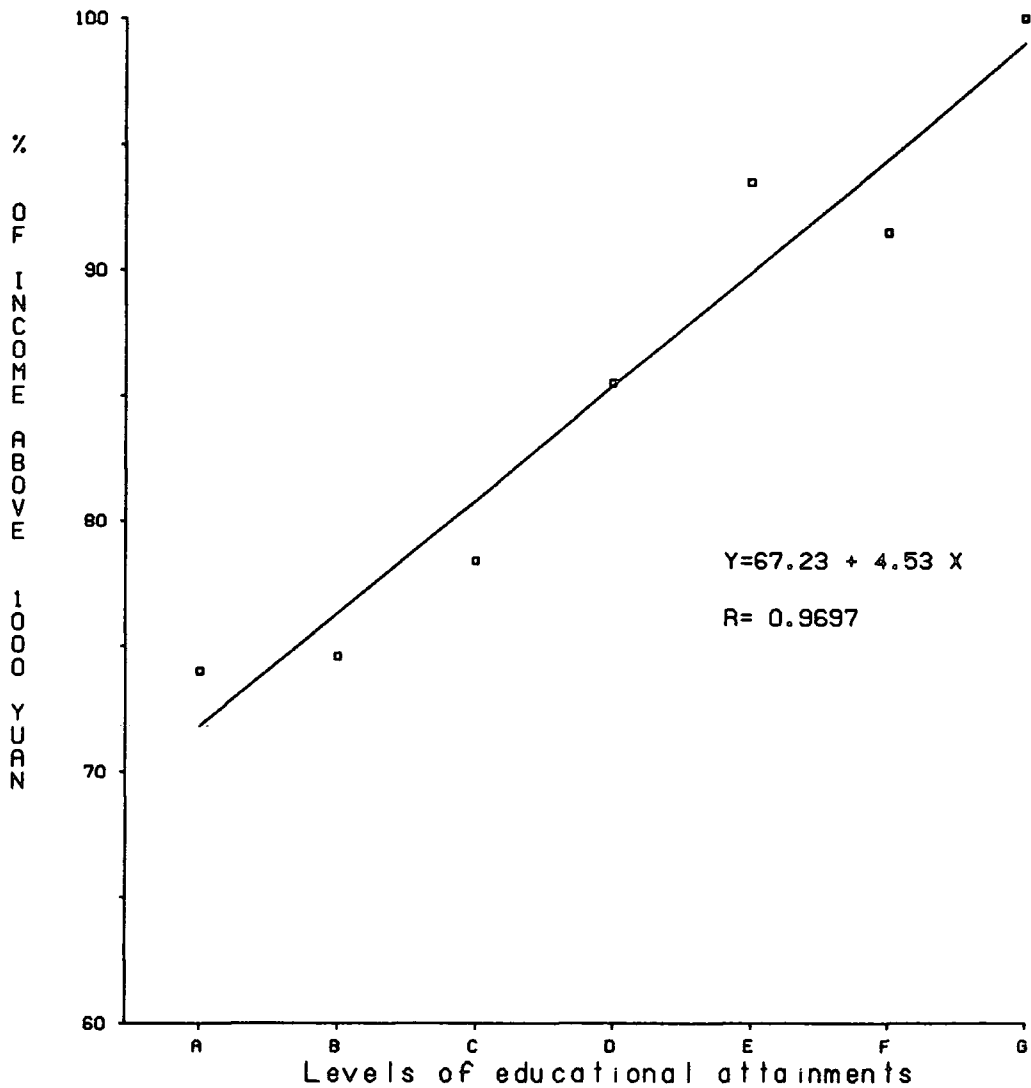
comparatively much younger than those from urban area. These characteristics of migrants in age suggest that, in a sense, the town-oriented migration resulted partly from the need of town development, particularly its demand for labour.

The town-oriented migration in this investigation was found to have a significant population of its migrants with the educational attainments of senior middle schools and above, as urban job opportunities usually require better educational attainments. It was also found that the better educated, especially those of senior middle school attainments and above, had been somewhat favoured in the movements within the larger administrative units and in obtaining residence as well as the shift of household registration at the places of destination.

That the better educated outnumbered those with less education seems to be related with the possibility of high income that appealed to them. The post-migratory income status of migrants showed that the better educated migrants obviously had larger proportions of those whose annual income was above 1,000 *yuan* as compared with the less educated. The regression analysis revealed a strong positive relationship between the educational attainments and their post-migratory income (See Figure 2-3).

Post-migratory changes in the marital status of migrants revealed some social discrimination attributable to the household registration system and the types of the places of origin. For those remaining unmarried whose pre-migratory status was single, more than half of them were from the rural area. A significant proportion of those who obtained urban household registration at the destination got married as compared with those who did not obtain the local registration.

Fig. 2-3: Relationship Between Income and Educational Attainments of Migrants



A= Illiterate or semi-literate

C= Junior middle school

E= Vocational or polytechnic school

G= Post-graduates

B= Primary school

D= Senior middle school

F= College or university graduates

One of the most interesting aspects of the sampled migrants is their change of employment status and their high rate of employment prior to the migration. Quite a number of migrants changed their employment status from state-owned enterprises to collective-owned ones, as they have increased their attractiveness by better pay and more benefits. In addition, the substantial growth in towns' secondary and tertiary sectors of economy caused another interesting aspect of town-oriented migration by the fact that almost half of the sampled in-migrants changed their post-migratory occupations and a significant number of them transferred to office staff, industrial workers, and workers of commerce, service and catering as well.

Migration is closely bound to a wide process of socio-economic change, and so is the town-oriented migration in Shanghai. The above study may help to understand what has happened in the suburbs of Shanghai and, further, detect its impact upon future development.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT OF SUBURBAN ENTERPRISES AND RURAL LABOUR MOBILITY

Clarke (1971) argued that modern migrations arise from the growing inter-regional differences in the rate of economic development and in the availability of labour, along with the growing pressure of population upon resources in rural areas.

According to this investigation, the town-oriented migration in the suburbs of Shanghai revealed that more than half the sampled migrants were of rural origin. This rural-urban movement was inextricably entwined with the economic growth in the suburbs of Shanghai, which was featured by the structural change of rural economy and fast rate of industrialization of suburban towns. This facilitated the shifting of agricultural labour surplus to non-agricultural activities and eventually resulted in a large concentration of rural labour force in suburban towns. Its significance is that it increased the rate of urbanization and population growth of the suburban areas of Shanghai.

The following sections are devoted to the descriptive analysis of urban enterprises of towns and the consequent rural labour mobility.

3.1 Suburban enterprises

3.1.1 Structure and system of suburban enterprises

Before we start the discussion of this subject, it is noteworthy to point out that the term 'suburban enterprises' used here means the enterprises of all types in the suburbs of Shanghai, unless they are specified.

The enterprises of the suburban towns of Shanghai have developed into a quite unique structure and system of their own, which largely resulted from the special economic status of Shanghai in the whole country.

In terms of the administrative subordination, the enterprises can be categorized into different levels of leadership, under which they are run: the central industrial ministries, municipality, county and township, etc.. According to the official statistics in 1987, there were in all the suburban towns about 540 enterprises under the leadership of the central ministries and the municipality. The number of county-run enterprises was more than 350 and the township-run enterprises almost reached as many as 7,000 (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1988).

In terms of ownership, the enterprises can be grouped into state, collective, private, joint ownership of the state and collective, the joint ventures with foreign counterparts, as well as the co-operative ones. On the whole, the enterprises of collective ownership are preponderant. Take the industrial enterprises for example, in 1987 collective enterprises made up 67.9 percent of the total while state enterprises and those of other ownership accounted for 22.1 percent and 10 percent respectively.

Different administrative affiliations and ownerships of enterprises nor-

mally mean varying sources of employees, due to the governing regulations relating to the labour supply by the relevant departments. Municipality-run enterprises receive their employees from a wider scope of sources within the whole administrative area of the municipality, especially the source directly from the central city; while the county-run enterprises limit the sources of employees within the county administrations. In terms of ownership, the state enterprises normally do not employ non-urban-registration holders as full (permanent) workers, but the collective enterprises get their employees from both urban and rural household registration holders. The proportion of non-urban-registration holders tends to be smaller among the employees recruited by county collective enterprises, but larger among those employed by the township enterprises.

3.1.2 Development of suburban enterprises

The enterprises of suburban towns started to develop in the late 1950s, and were mainly those of supply and marketing co-operatives, textiles, handicrafts, food-processing and farm machinery. Both the size and number were very small.

In the early sixties, a natural disaster and catastrophic chaos caused by the so-called 'Great Leap Forward' movement in the late fifties that led a massive rural labour force to move blindly to non-agricultural activities resulted in a drastic drop of agricultural production and a consequent countrywide famine (Jowett, 1989). The government was forced to revert to the emphasis upon agriculture. Meanwhile, a large-scale mobilization of urban residents to the countryside for farming was launched, in order to strengthen agriculture and, at the same time, to alleviate the heavy burden of urban grain food supply. This movement in the 1961 - 64 period caused a countrywide urban-rural migration

surge containing 30 million people (Kirkby, 1985).

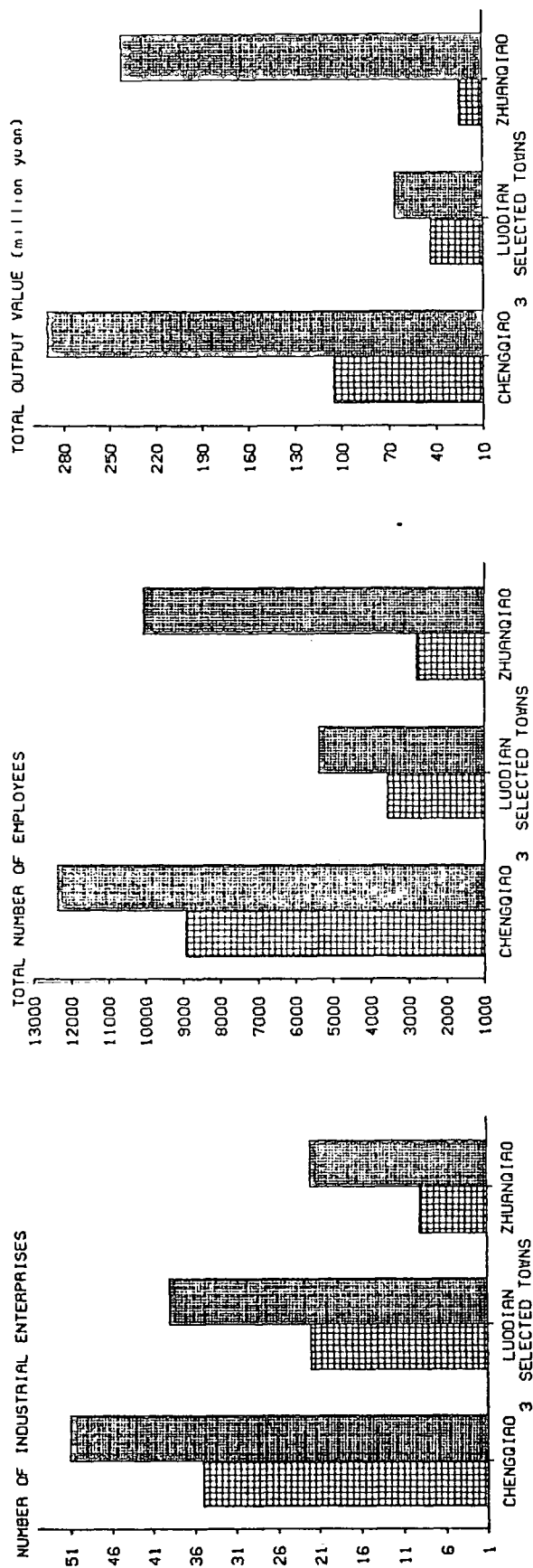
The suburban towns of Shanghai were also influenced and conditioned by the then national situation as well as by the continuous disturbance caused by the political turmoil of the 'Cultural Revolution' in the following period. As a result, little investment was raised to develop the enterprises and hence their growth slowed. The mid-70s was generally considered a revival period of the enterprise development, but their tremendous growth did not take off until 1978 when the government started the rural economic reform.

In this investigation, 36 enterprises of the four selected towns were sampled for analysis, of which there were eight enterprises that were established before and during the fifties, accounting for 22.2 percent of the total samples. Thirteen were built up during 1960 to 1978, making up 36.1 percent only. But what is surprising is that fifteen were set up during 1979 to 1986, constituting 41.7 percent. It indicated that the suburban enterprises had developed rather fast during that period.

Of all the suburban enterprises, the industrial enterprises seemed to have grown quite significantly. Figure 3-1 illustrates the 1980 and 1986 statistics about the industrial enterprises of 3 selected towns. It can be seen from the figure that each town had achieved a big rise in just six years. The increase in the number of industrial enterprises resulted in a fast growth of the workers in industry and the total output value of production as well. The geographical differentials in the industrial development can also be observed by the rate of increase which can be easily computed from Figure 3-1. The percentage of growth in the number of enterprises and their employees for these towns indicated that, during this period, Zhuanqiao obtained the increases of both by

Fig. 3-1. GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES OF 3 SELECTED TOWNS, 1980-86

Light = 1980 Year
 Dark = 1986 Year



144.4 and 260.2 percent respectively; Luodian 77.3 and 51.3 percent; and Chengqiao 45.7 and 38.4 percent. This enables us to see that Zhuanqiao, a small town close to the city proper by location, appeared to have a faster rate of industrial development than Chengqiao which is larger in size but distant in location. The same is true of Luodian if it is compared with the other two towns.

Table 3-1:

Growth of Township Enterprises, 1980 - 87

Year	No. of enterprises	No. of employees	Total income (million yuan)
1980	3,250	406,500	21.20
1981	3,311	450,800	25.43
1982	3,450	482,400	29.14
1983	3,909	535,600	35.49
1984	4,880	606,200	43.15
1985	5,850	702,400	64.64
1986	6,452	788,700	81.07
1987	6,906	835,800	108.15

Source : Shanghai Statistics Yearbook, 1988.

The most extraordinary feature of suburban enterprise development is the growth of township-run enterprises. Their recent development was actually initiated by the structural change of rural economy after 1978. Most of

them had been established by a locally collected fund and bank loans. The technological aid of large industries from the city and the large rural labour surplus formerly confined in the agricultural sector offered a favourable environment for their take-off. Table 3-1 indicates the surprising yearly growth of the suburban township-run enterprises from 1980 to 1987. Both the numbers of enterprises and their employees in 1987 increased by 112.5 percent and 105.6 percent respectively over those in 1980. The total income of the enterprises increased by 410.1 percent, with an average growth rate of 26.2 percent yearly.

Table 3-2:

**Growth Percentage of Industrial Enterprises & Employees
By Administrative Affiliation, 3 Selected Towns, 1980-86**

	Municipality-run	County-run	Township-run	Total
Chengqiao :				
Enterprises	0	64.3	35.7	100.0
Employees	8.3	55.3	36.4	100.0
Luodian :				
Enterprises	0	30.0	70.0	100.0
Employees	25.1	10.6	64.3	100.0
Zhuanqiao :				
Enterprises	23.1	30.8	46.2	100.0
Employees	49.7	5.0	45.3	100.0

The growth of enterprises also varies from town to town, which is typi-

cally reflected in the difference of the geographical location and administrative levels of towns. For example, in Luodian and Zhuanqiao (towns directly under the county), the percentage of the increases of both township-run enterprises and their employees appeared to be much greater than that of the municipality and county-run ones in the towns (See Table 3-2). Of the total increases of the enterprises and employees of each town, they were 70 percent and 64.3 percent respectively of Luodian, and 46.2 percent and 45.3 percent respectively of Zhuanqiao. Chengqiao, a county seat town, seemed to have much higher percentages of both for the county-run ones. Geographically speaking, the towns closer to the central city had more significant increases in both the number of enterprises and their employees.

3.2 Rural labour force inflow into suburban towns

3.2.1 The role of suburban enterprises

According to the official statistics, the period 1978–87 witnessed a remarkable structural change of rural labour force in the suburbs of Shanghai. A drastic drop in the proportion of primary sector was observed. The percentage of the rural labour force engaged in the primary sector decreased from 76.1 percent in 1978 to 33.7 percent in 1987. Meanwhile, the percentage of those engaged in the secondary sector increased from 20.2 percent to 50.8 percent and that of the tertiary sector grew from 3.7 percent to 15.5 percent (Shanghai Statistics Bureau, 1988). This structural change of rural labour force implied a significant shift of agricultural labour surplus toward non-agricultural activities and a tremendous spatial mobility of the labour. An investigation made in 1985 showed that 550,000 rural workers had moved to concentrate in suburban

towns of different levels, accounting for 35 percent of the total non-agricultural rural labour force in the suburbs (Zhu, B.S., *et al*, 1986). So, it can be perceived that this spatial mobility of rural labour force toward suburban towns may be largely attributed to the 'push' of rural areas where the practice of joint production and the contract responsibility system resulted in a large agricultural labour surplus, and, more significantly, the 'pull' of the development of suburban enterprises that has made it possible.

The suburban enterprise development is generally indicated by growth of the total output values which can be achieved possibly through improving technology and introducing competition so as to raise the productivity, and also through enlarging the production scale by increasing the number of workers. The recent development of suburban enterprises has been achieved mainly in these two ways, but, increasing the number of workers seemed to be more important. Of the 36 enterprises selected from the four towns for the investigation, there were 29 showing an increase in their employees since 1980, making up 80.6 percent of the total. The total increase was 6,776 workers, and each one had an average increase of 234 workers. The growth rate was estimated at about 34.1 percent which did not include the increase of temporary workers. By analysing the growth of total output value of these 29 enterprises, it was observed that about 60 percent of the increase was achieved through the increase of workers, while the rest was obtained through raising productivity.

Most of the enterprises had about 60 percent of their employees from elsewhere than from the towns where they are located. As the demand for labour had been greater than the supply from within the towns, the suburban enterprises naturally had to turn to the source of rural labour force for their development. It thus can be concluded that the development of subur-

ban enterprises has eventually facilitated the shifting of rural labour force to non-agricultural activities and consequently spurred their movement to and concentration in the suburban towns. The result of this study showed that the rural labour accounted for about 60 percent of the total in-migrants to the four selected towns, of which 40 percent were those who had been farmers before migration.

The suburban enterprises have played a very important role in increasing the attraction of towns to the rural labour force. First, they offered job opportunities, which obviously appealed greatly to the agricultural labourers. It had been observed that the rural labour was absorbed by the enterprises in several ways. The majority of them were directly recruited as permanent workers (*Zhengshi gong*) or as non-permanent workers (*Feizhengshi gong*) that included temporary, contract and seasonal workers. Some of those were recruited because the land where they lived or worked had been taken for the use of expansion or building of enterprises. Secondly, the development of enterprises made great contribution to the development of towns through turning over profit tax. For example, every township government had taken 30–40 percent yearly of the profit tax turned over by the township enterprises for investments in urban facilities and infrastructure, which strengthened their appeal to the rural labour since the movement by them to large urban places like the city proper is very restricted.

3.2.2 Major features of rural labour force inflow

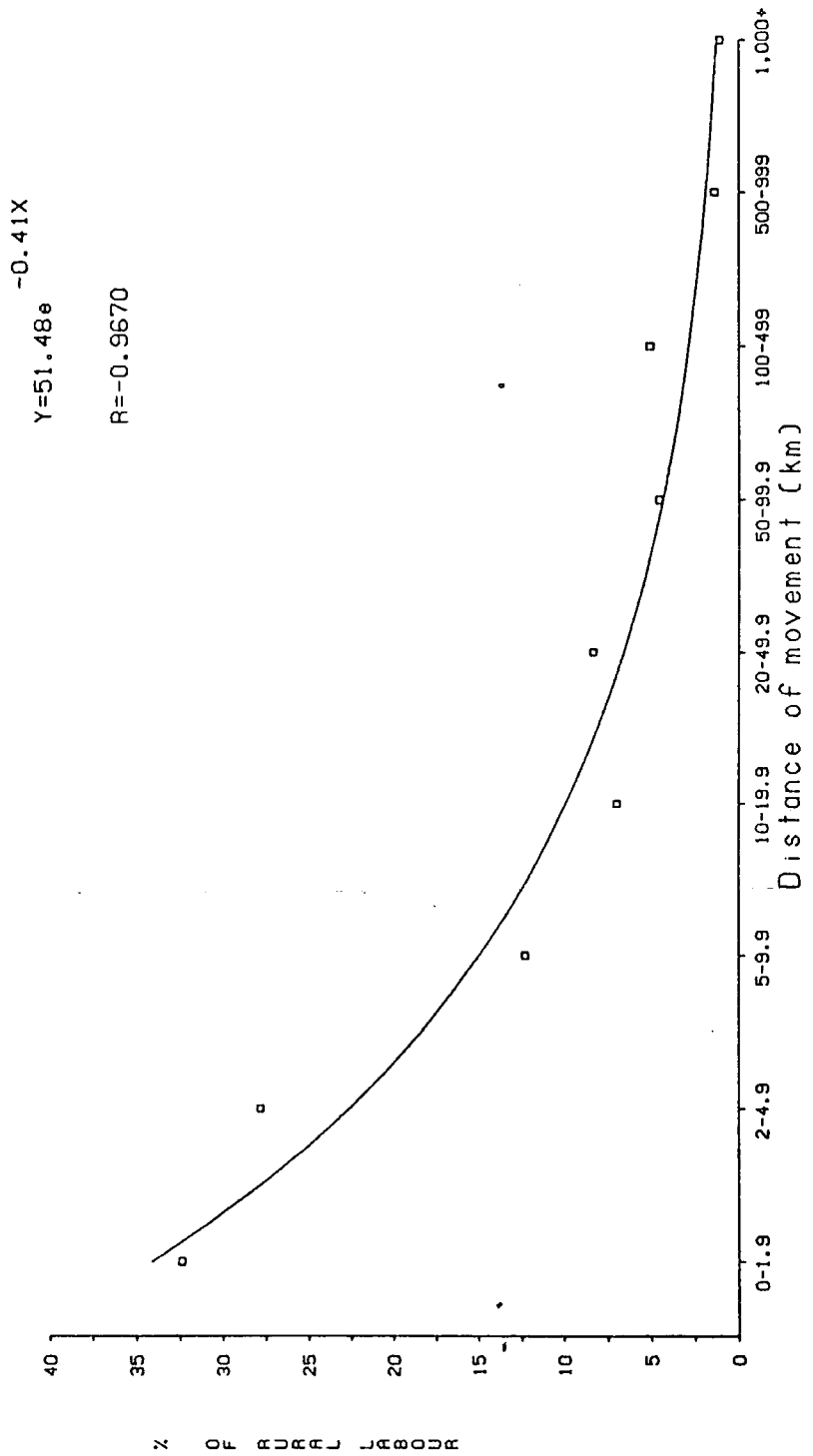
a) Migration-distance relationship of the inflow

It has been long established in the studies of migration that the probability of migration between two places diminishes as distance increases because of the function of intervening opportunities between two areas. In this study, a negative form of curvilinear relation was found between the volume of rural labour moving into towns and the distance between the place of origin and destination. Figure 3-2 illustrates the observed proportions of rural labour moving into towns at each distance and a declining exponential curve fitting the observed data. The correlation coefficient R was calculated at about -0.9670 , which suggests a very strong negative relation between these two variables. In comparison with that of the total cases for this research ($R = -0.8622$), their negative correlation appeared to be much stronger. This strengthens the assumption that the influence of urban enterprise development on the movement of rural labour into towns diminishes as the distance increases.

In other words, the influence of enterprise development is stronger toward the rural labour force and the proportion of them moving into towns appears to be larger when the distance is shorter, or the inflow of rural labour decreases at an exponential rate with the distance.

In terms of the administrative areas, the intra-county movement presented a preponderance of rural labour inflow, which accounted for 85.3 percent of the total. But a closer look revealed that more than half of the intra-county movement was accounted for by the intra-township one - a movement from rural vicinities to the town under the same administration, while the inter-township movement made up only 33.7 percent. By contrast, the inter-county (*i.e.* intra-

Fig. 3-2. PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF TOWN-ORIENTED RURAL LABOUR
MOVEMENT WITH DISTANCE



municipal) and inter-provincial movements seemed to involve much fewer rural in-migrants, the percentage being 7.1 and 7.6 percent respectively of the total in-migrants of rural origin (Refer to Table 2-1).

This distance decay feature of rural labour movement into towns explains that the development of enterprises in each town exerts strong influence upon the rural labour mobility mainly within a quite limited distance and the rural labour tend to move to the nearby towns.

b) Transferring direction and areal difference of rural labour mobility

Most of the rural labour moving into towns were absorbed by the collective-owned enterprises (in terms of the ownership of enterprises) and the industrial enterprises (in terms of the division of sectoral production). Although generally smaller than the state-owned enterprises, the collective-owned enterprises played a significant role in recruiting the in-migrating rural labour, as they were numerous. The result of this investigation shows that about 77.7 percent of the in-migrating rural labour were employed by the collective enterprises. The state-owned enterprises and those of other ownerships (including private ones) took in respectively 12.5 percent and 9.8 percent only. Also, because the majority of suburban enterprises , especially those of the collective-owned, were industrial, about 73 percent of the in-migrating rural labour shifted to the secondary sector of production in the towns. About 26.8 percent transferred to commerce, catering and service, which indicated the potential capacity of absorbing rural labour by the tertiary sector of production with the industrialization of suburban towns.

Another significant feature of this rural labour movement toward suburban towns is that quite a number of farmers – about 7 percent in this investigation – quit farming and opened private businesses (mainly service type) or

set up small factories by joint efforts. As for those who came from the countryside and set up vending stalls in the towns, the number was much larger; in Luodian, for example, vendors increased to more than 300 persons. This is closely related to the effects of recent social and economic policies issued by the government for the rural area, which provided the rural labour mobility with a new transferring direction - private sector in towns.

Areal difference in the rural labour mobility to towns was quite obvious according to the results of the study. The towns of Chengqiao and Luodian which are distant from the large urban centre - the city proper - seemed to have more in-migrants of rural origin, while the proportion was much smaller in Zhuanqiao which is near the city proper (see Table 3-3). Jinshanwei, one of the city satellite towns, although quite distant from the city proper, had a very small proportion of rural in-migrants. The reasons were probably related to the development and distribution of different types of enterprises at each town. Those satellite towns or towns near the city proper, usually have more or large sized enterprises subordinate to the central industrial ministries or relevant departments of the municipality . These enterprises are normally state-owned and their principal labour recruitment is generally biased toward the urban source; this investigation showed that about 76.1 percent of the in-migrants employed by the state-owned enterprises were of urban origin, while those from rural areas only accounted for 23.9 percent. As for that of the collective-owned enterprises, things were just opposite; the percentage urban was 24.3 percent, whilst that of rural origin was 75.7 percent. These inevitably influenced the volume of rural labour inflow to each town.

Generally, the collective-owned enterprises , or, in other words, the county and township-run enterprises, were also very important in absorbing

the rural labour force, as indicated in Table 3-3 . But, in the case of Jinshanwei, the state-owned enterprises appeared to have recruited a more significant number of rural labour than the collective-owned ones, because the state-owned enterprises in this town greatly outnumbered the collective-owned . So, naturally , the majority of in-migrant rural labour there were absorbed by them, even though their major source of labour supply was urban.

Table 3-3:

Comparison of Rural Labour Mobility, 4 Selected Towns

	Chengqiao	Luodian	Zhuanqiao	Jinshanwei
% of rural in-migrants	74.7	91.2	47.8	22.7
% of the employed by enterprises :				
State-owned	0	1.8	22.2	79.4
Collective-owned	100.0	87.8	47.4	20.6
Other ownership	0	10.4	30.4	0
% of transferring to:				
Secondary sector	71.6	77.6	57.3	94.1
Tertiary sector	28.4	22.4	42.7	5.9

Sectoral transferring of inflowing rural labour mostly directed to the secondary sector rather than other sectors. This again strengthens the assumption that the new enterprises exerted a strong influence upon the in-migration to suburban towns.

In conclusion, there is a reciprocal relationship between the development of suburban enterprises and the town-oriented rural labour mobility. The growth of enterprises facilitated the mobility of rural labour force which, in turn, provided them with workforce in need. Both were inter-related with each other within the context of the then social and economic environment. Obviously, regional differences exist in the rate of socio-economic development and in geographical locations as well, which inevitably affect the rural labour mobility in the direction and volume of movement.

Some features of this mobility have been observed, especially that of the transferring directions as well as their areal difference. The former demonstrated that the rural labour mobility tends to have a strong localization because of the limited influence of the enterprise development relative to distance, and the latter showed that the distribution of enterprises and their types exert a determining influence upon transferring directions of the town-oriented rural labour mobility.

CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRANTS' MOTIVATION AND THE TOWN-ORIENTED MIGRATION

Human migration is caused by a variety of social, economic as well as individual factors. The causation of the town-oriented migration has been analysed and discussed in the previous chapters from the perspective of social and economic growth. Through this, we have been able to see at the macrolevel that the recent socio-economic changes are of great importance to the occurrence of this migration. However, since migration decision-making concerns concrete individuals and their aspirations are closely bound to their socio-economic environment, we can not make a sound conclusion without taking an individually based analysis of migrants' motivation to move.

This chapter tries to analyze the migrants' motivation in migration by the reasons for movement stated by the individual movers, so as to reflect the characteristics of the recent in-migration to the suburban towns of Shanghai. And, since the human migration (rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban) in China has long been under the strict control of the government, the fulfillment of individual migrants' desires for movement is affected or rather confronted by a variety of regulations and policies. Therefore, the analysis of the ways of migration seems to be necessary for the same purpose.

4.1 Major reasons for movement

In response to the question "Why do you move" by the in-migrants who have shifted their residence into the suburban towns of Shanghai, a variety of causes or reasons that motivated their migration behaviour are observed in this investigation. The reasons stated by those individual in-migrants are grouped into five major categories in Table 4-1. From this table, it can be seen that the 'employment and job-related reasons' and 'marriage and family-related reasons' are obviously the most influential in the migration decision making of individual migrants and the volume of in-migration flow to the suburban towns. Well above half of the total volume of in-migration is motivated by these two categories of reasons.

Normally, acceptable individual reasons for movement by the authorities in China are employment and job related or marriage and family related ones, but it is by no means easy to say that individual wishes in this respect may be fulfilled whenever one wants to. The government has always taken a firm control of the in-migration to urban areas, especially to large cities like Shanghai, by allocating quotas to each city or town. And each bigger administrative area would further divide the quotas to the sub-areas that are administratively affiliated to it. So, the suburban towns of Shanghai are no exception in the sense that their in-migration is also under the control of the municipality, to which they are affiliated. This practice by the government, particularly reflected in the operation of the household registration system, may be understood as the outcome of necessity resulting from the very centralized economic system that has been adopted ever since the 1950s. Its significance is that it has effectively kept the urban areas from being affected by the unwanted influx of rural people who try to seek better status there.

The outstanding proportion of those holding 'employment and job related reasons' gives a mistaken impression that the individual movement to suburban towns of Shanghai might easily lead to finding a job there. Therefore, examining the subsets of those major motivation categories will be useful to reveal the true fact of individual migration decision making. Things will be made clear if we further distinguish the reasons for seeking work, better jobs, and better paid jobs, as well as opening private businesses (See Table 4-1) as active or independent personal reasons, and the reasons for job-transfer and job-assignment as passive or dependent ones. Because the former are purely out of the individual motivation of migrants, whilst the latter are actually initiated by the request of the authorities. It shows that the share of independent personal reasons for employment or job-related movement accounts for only 30.8 percent, while the dependent ones account for as high as 69.2 percent. The dependent share of 'employment and job related reasons' is also quite significant with respect to its proportion of the total sample, of which makes up 27.1 percent. By comparison, the independent share is far less significant, although it motivates 12.1 percent of migration.

Looking at 'marriage and family-related reasons' joining family reasons are obviously more influential than the reasons to move for marriage. As marriage migration usually occurs in short distance movement because of many other perceptible obstructing factors and as spatial movement in China is by no means easy because of the restrictions upon shifting household registration, the actual or potential movement only for marriage reasons can reasonably be expected in small numbers. And so, it is not strange to find it being less significant in individual migration decision making.

Table 4-1:

Reasons for Migration Given by the Migrants
Who Shifted Residence

Major categories of reasons	%	Sub-categories of reasons	%
Employment- & job-related	39.2	Job-transfer	22.2
		Seeking better jobs	5.0
		Job-assignment	4.9
		Seeking better paid jobs	2.8
		Opening private business	2.6
		Seeking work	1.7
Marriage & family-related	29.9	Joining family	24.4
		Marriage	5.5
Policy- & regulation-related	15.3	Due to implementation of policies or regulations	10.0
		Demobilized from military service	5.3
Seeking better status	7.6	Hoping to hold urban household registration	5.3
		Seeking better living conditions	2.3
Other reasons	8.0	Not stated or other reasons	5.8
		Education of self	2.2
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

It is also noted that about 15.3 percent of migrants stated their reasons for migration were related to the policies and regulations of the government, of whom about 65.6 percent stated that the opportunities provided by the im-

plementation of recently-revised social and political policies were responsible. Demobilized military servicemen, according to the long-established regulations in China, are always privileged to be assigned to jobs in urban areas, no matter whether their origins were rural or urban before entering the military service. Consequently, for many years, military service had always been one of the greatest expectations of a better future by the rural young people. So, demobilized in-migrants make up a significant number of the total migration to urban areas.

The outstanding proportions of migration reasons relating to 'joining family', 'job-transfer' and 'due to the implementation of some social policies' given by the in-migrants to suburban towns of Shanghai can be associated with the special features of the area's geographical, economic, social and political environments. Being a part of Shanghai Municipality, the suburban area receives very strong industrial radiation from the central city which is one of the most urbanized cities in China, and for many years it has moved a number of industrial enterprises to suburban towns as well as located new ones there. Besides its human migration is also affected to a great extent by the well-established socio-economic system of the central city. Because of the geographical advantage and overcrowdedness in the central city, the suburban towns attracted many state industrial ministries and municipal industrial bureaux to build up a great number of industrial enterprises there. Quite a number of the employees of those enterprises are of other urban origins.

Most of the workers of these municipal enterprises are from urban origins and employed there mainly through job-assignment and job-transfer which are normally arranged by the related governmental bodies. In the meantime, preferential treatments, such as housing and supplementary allowances, are offered to the employees, so as to encourage them and their families to settle

down permanently. That is one of the governmental policies to deal with the overcrowding in the large urban areas.

During the ten years of 'Cultural Revolution', most of the then school graduates in the suburban towns were also mobilized and sent to rural areas or state farms to receive so-called re-education. But after 1980, those young people have been allowed to return to their home towns or other towns according to the stipulations of the new policies, which formed a quite big stream of influx into both cities and towns (Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, A., 1985). The territorial expansion of those suburban towns and land utilization for the expansion of industrial enterprises can also be one of the quite important factors that brought about the rapid growth of urban population in recent years. Some new policies have thus come into being that the rural people working or living on the land which is taken over for use can be allowed to be urban registered and hence be given jobs in the town. So, in a sense, the variation of government policies has affected to a great extent the migration decision making of individual migrants.

Migration is one of the important ways by which people can improve their lives. People migrate for many reasons : to escape distressed areas, to find better jobs, etc.. Despite the discouragement and control by the government upon the spatial shift of human movement, quite a number of in-migrants to suburban towns of Shanghai have still moved to seek better living conditions and have hoped to hold urban household registration. It is because, on the one hand, the economic urban-rural differentials are still the source of the motivation to move, and, on the other hand, socio-psychological determinants of non-economic factors are also relevant . People of rural origin tend to think highly of urban areas which obviously provide better living conditions, and job opportunities, as well as more recreational facilities. And, with similar inten-

tions, people of less urbanized areas of origin are often motivated to move to more urbanized areas or the areas which are in the vicinities of big urban centres with a hope of moving farther there. The idealized concept of better life in urban areas by people of rural origin mainly results from the perceptible hardships of agricultural work and poor conditions of living in the countryside. To many of them, urban life still appeals greatly despite the recent improvements that have been achieved in the rural areas. And it is especially true of the rural young people, as seen by the evidence that about 81.8 percent of those young in-migrants who were students before moving stated their reasons of migration being 'want to be shifted to urban household registration'.

4.2 Areal differentials and migrants' motivation

Migration decision making of migrant populations is believed to be associated, characterized and affected by the multi-aspect features of the places of both origin and destination. But 'how' and 'why' it is made to function is often a subject of great interest in studies of regional migration. Thus, the spatial analysis of individual migrants' reasons for movement is made here.

In the case of in-migration to suburban towns of Shanghai, the development status and local regulations of each town, as well as the implementation of policies issued by the central government seem to be important in influencing the numbers of in-migrants with different reasons for movement, which is reflected by great variation in percentages of each major category of reasons (See Table 4-2).

Jinshanwei, a satellite town of Shanghai central city based on the huge Shanghai Petrochemical Complex, attracts more than half of its in-migrants

for employment and jobs, which indicates the big demand for labour in the town. According to the investigation, most of the enterprises of this town have close relationship with or are the affiliated branches of the Complex which is under the dual leadership of both the Shanghai Municipal Industrial Bureau and the State Ministry of Petrochemistry. The employees of these enterprises include a large proportion of other urban origins, especially from the central city of Shanghai. In a sense, therefore, the urban sprawl of the central city has contributed enormously to the rapid population development of this town. A closer examination of the reasons related to employment and jobs held by the in-migrants to this town shows that about 56.8 percent and 24.8 percent are of job-transfer and job-assignment respectively. These two are also quite outstanding by 32.1 percent and 14.0 percent respectively among all the reasons stated by the in-migrants to the town. By comparison, those of the other three towns which obviously have less opportunities to offer appear to be much smaller in terms of the percentage, although they are also quite big in number among the reasons stated by the in-migrants to each town (See also Table 4-2). From this, one can see that the availability of more opportunities of jobs and employment at the destination will exert a strong 'pull' upon the migrants.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, 'marriage and family related reasons' are quite prominent among the migrants' motivations to move. And, within this category, 'joining family' account for 81.6 percent, while 'marriage' only 18.4 percent. Each town shows the same characteristics of this sort of migration, but it is also limited by many constraints. The government's general control upon in-migration to urban areas can be one important restrictive influence, but the areal differentials in locality, as well as in social and economic development may be also important.

Table 4-2:

Reasons for Migration Given by Migrants
by Towns (%)

Reasons	Jinshanwei	Chengqiao	Luodian	Zhuanqiao
Employment & job-related	56.5	27.6	29.8	33.3
Marriage & family-related	18.8	30.7	17.0	45.9
Policy & regulation-related	8.1	24.1	38.3	7.5
Seeking better status	8.5	11.1	7.4	3.9
Other reasons	8.1	6.5	7.4	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

For example, Zhuanqiao is a town which is very close to the central city of Shanghai. In the last ten years, the number of industrial enterprises has been increasing rapidly there. Some of these enterprises belong to the administrative levels of county and municipality and are big both in size and the number of employees, quite a number of whom are from other towns of the county or directly from the central city. As little housing was available in the town, these enterprises felt it necessary to provide accommodation for their employees, so they built some small residential areas with the help of the

local administration. As a result, the increasing availability of housing made it possible to encourage more and more employees to settle down. It also caused a chain in-migration of family members of these employees. Table 4-2 shows the town has a large proportion of in-migrants with migration reasons related to marriage and joining family, which is not only the most important of all the reasons stated by the in-migrants to this town but also much larger than those of other towns.

But things for Chengqiao – a county seat – are different. Its large proportion of the marriage and family-related reasons can be associated with the town's geographic location and the socio-economic difference between urban and rural areas in the county to which the town belongs. Being the county seat with convenient transport to the mainland of the municipality, it naturally becomes the centre of attraction in the town-oriented movement of that region. Thanks to the recently relaxing control upon migration and the town's socio-economic growth, those who migrated for these reasons have been able to find jobs there.

Old towns seem to have more in-migrants with reasons of movement relating to the opportunities given by the government policies and regulations. The old towns have been in the past greatly influenced by the variation of policies of the central government concerning urbanization and population development. Every time a new policy was issued, there would be either an inflow or outflow of people. The historical event of a great number of young people being sent to the countryside during the 'Cultural Revolution' is largely responsible for the recent influx of return migration there with the release of new policy, according to which most of those are eligible to return.

It is found that the socio-economic development status of the town

and the urban-rural differentials between the town and its vicinity also have impacts upon the migration reasons, especially upon the reasons relating to seeking improved status, as migrants with these reasons are largely from the nearby rural areas. And, what is more interesting is that these reasons seem to be affected more or less by the distance between the town and the central city. There is no doubt that the socio-economic development of a big urban centre will radiate its influence to suburban areas and it certainly reduces over distance. One may expect, therefore, that the urban-rural differentials between the suburban town and its rural vicinity will tend to be greater with the distance from the large urban centre.

Zhuanqiao is a town only 15 kilometres away from the central city, and the percentage for this set of reasons appears to be relatively much lower (3.9 percent). This may be because the urban-rural differentials between the town and its rural vicinity are less obvious than those far away from the central city. Chengqiao is a town located in Chongming County which is a large island separated from the main city by the Changjiang (Yangtze) River. Because of the unfavorable geographical location which handicaps the transportation and communications, regional economic development there is relatively backward and urban-rural differentials are greater than in some near parts of Shanghai's suburbs. So, the percentage of migrants leaving for the purpose of seeking better status is larger than that of any other selected towns.

4.3. Migrants' motivation and their demographic characteristics

Migration motives are often affected or, in some sense, determined by the individual demographic characteristics. No matter whether or not there are any other intervening factors that constrain the motives to move, demographic selectivities have always affected the individual reasons of movement of migrants. The analysis of this is of help to understand regional migration and the associated societal and economic backgrounds of related regions.

In the case of in-migration to suburban towns of Shanghai, migrants of different sex vary distinctively in the reasons of movement. On the whole, both sexes share outstanding proportions of reasons regarding employment and jobs as well as joining family and marriage. But dissimilarities in proportion can be seen by comparison. Of the male migrants, about 45.6 percent migrated with the reasons related to employment and jobs, which is obviously much larger than that of 33.3 percent of the females. But, for the reasons relating to marriage and joining family, the proportion of the females exceeds that of the males by about 14 percentage points, with 36.8 percent versus 22.7 percent (See Table 4-3).

In terms of the subsets of the employment and job-related reasons, discrepancies between both sexes can also be seen. Job-transfer is still of the largest share of each sex, but for males it is obviously larger than for females (59.1 percent of the males and 53.6 percent of the females respectively). It is because job-transfer is usually initiated by the administrative arrangement rather than original personal intention and, generally, the males are more acceptable than females at the destinations. As for the other subsets of this category of reasons, however, it is interesting to note that the females seem to have larger

proportions. For instance, among the females, those who migrated because of less job opportunities or unsatisfactory posts at the place of origin or better paid jobs at the place of destination were 7.1 , 13.6 and 7.9 percent respectively; while those of the males are only 2.2, 12.2 and 6.6 percent respectively. From this, one can perceive that the prejudice against women in employment still exists, which eventually motivates more women than men to move for these reasons. Nevertheless, administrative interference can be seen by the fact the percentage of the female migrant population through job-assignment is higher than that of the males (See also Table 4-3).

Age selectivity is not obvious with most categories of reasons which include the employment and job related reasons. However, it can be seen from Figure 4-1 that almost every age group has a preponderance of migrants moving for the job-related reasons except those older than 55-59 age. Normally, as many studies of the same nature regarding developing countries have proved, one would expect that the migrants of younger age groups would migrate more for employment and jobs than the older migrants. But it is obviously not the case in China, which has a strong influence of governmental policies and regulations controlling human migration. Most employment and job opportunities in urban areas are controlled and arranged according to the demand by the local administration and relevant industrial departments and so the age selectivity in this respect is less significant. This is reflected in this investigation by little variation in the proportions of the age groups younger than 45-49, and also, the striking peak proportion of this reason in the 50-54 age group which has 77.3 percent who migrated for job-transfer.

Nevertheless, the reasons relating to seeking better status seem to be biased upon the younger age groups and their proportion decreases with age.

Table 4.3:

Reasons for Migration by Sex (%)

Categories of reasons		Male	Female
Employment- & job-related		45.6	33.3
Of Which :	Job-transfer	59.1	53.6
	Seeking better jobs	12.2	13.6
	Job-assignment	11.6	13.5
	Seeking better paid jobs	6.6	7.9
	Opening private businesses	8.3	4.3
	Seeking work	2.2	7.1
Marriage & family-related		22.6	36.8
Of Which :	Joining family	90.0	76.8
	Marriage	10.0	23.2
Policy- & regulation-related		14.4	15.9
Of Which :	Due to implementation of		
	policies or regulations	54.4	76.1
	Demobilized from military services	45.6	23.9
Seeking better status		7.3	7.8
Of Which :	Hoping to hold urban		
	household registration	69.0	69.7
	Seeking better living conditions	31.0	30.3
Other reasons		10.1	6.2
Of Which :	Not stated or other reasons	77.5	65.4
	Education of self	22.5	34.6
Total		100.0	100.0

The regression analysis shows a rather strong negative correlation between these two variables ($r = -0.8820$). Migrants with this category of reasons are largely of rural origin which can be supported by the evidence that 69.4 percent of this category are 'wanting to be urban-registered', of which 62.8 percent are below the age of 29.

Figure 4-1 also shows that the marriage and family-related reasons are the second largest one influencing the migrants aged between 25 to 59, but for those younger than 39 age, about 35 to 56 percent were accounted for by marriage and the rest accounted for by joining spouses at towns.

Educational attainments also influence migrants in their reasons to move, according to this investigation. The proportion of the reasons relating to the employment and jobs tends to increase with the levels of education (See Figure 4-2). In contrast, the reasons relating to marriage and joining family as well as to the implementation of governmental policies and regulations tend to diminish slightly with levels of education. People with higher levels of education have stronger propensity to move. Most of them move with the arrangement of relevant governmental departments. For example, the proportions of the reasons relating to job-transfer and job-assignment are 34.8 percent and 19.7 percent respectively of those with college and university education, but they are only 12.0 percent and 0.8 percent respectively of those with only primary school attainments. By contrast, proportions of other reasons are obviously larger among those with lower levels of educational attainments than those with higher levels.

Different types of migrants also show dissimilarities in their reasons to move. In terms of the reasons relating to employment and jobs, migrants with shift of household registration have a proportion of 32.9 percent, of which 87.6

Fig. 4-1 : Reasons for Movement by Age

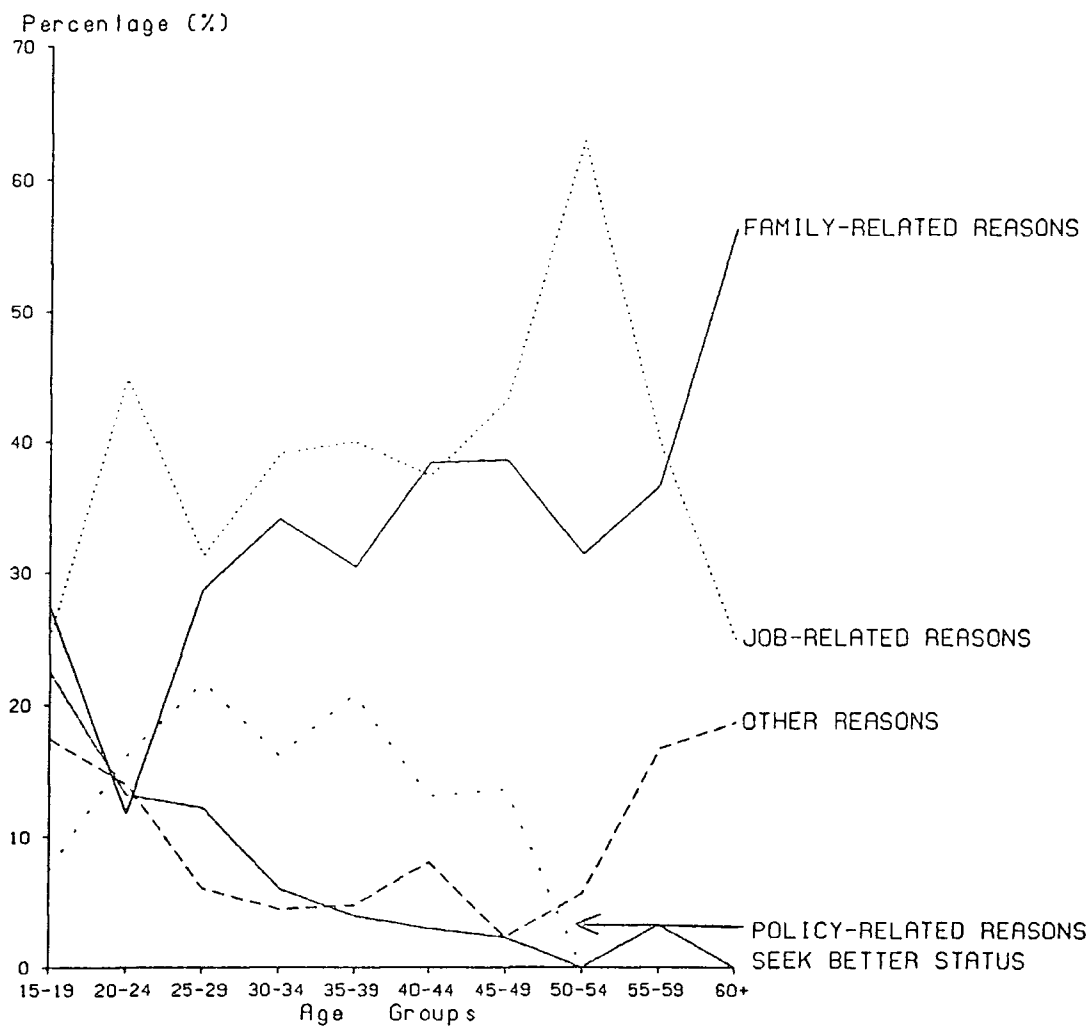
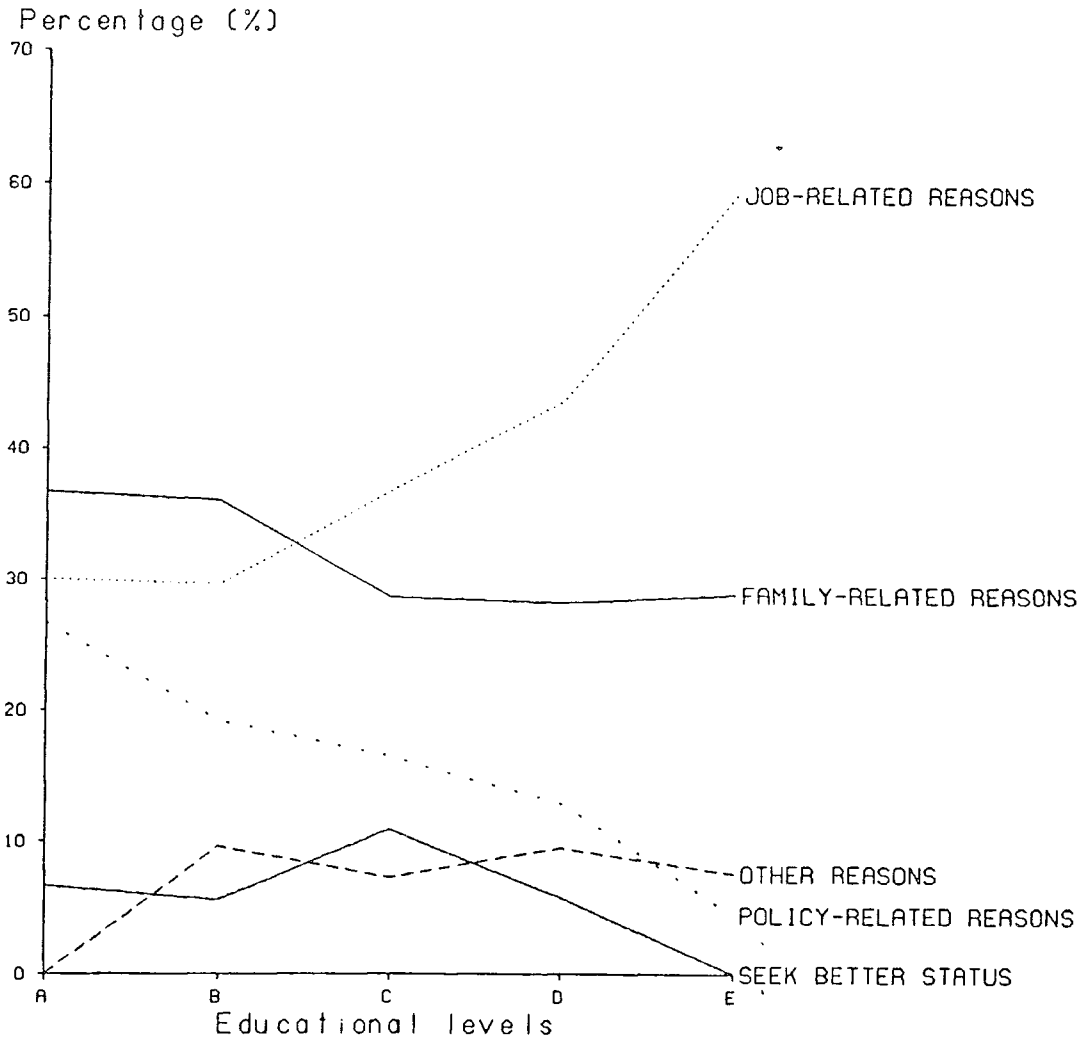


Fig. 4-2 : Reasons for Movement by Education



A= Illiterate or semi-literate

B= Primary school

C= Junior middle school

D= Senior middle school

E= College or university
graduates

percent gave the reasons of job-transfer and job-assignment. By comparison, however, the migrants without shift of household registration account for 52.6 percent, of which only 43.5 percent are those with reasons regarding job-transfer and job-assignment . A general impression suggests that the migrants without shift of household registration show more 'freedom' or stronger propensity in their migration decision making that originally comes from the individual motivation to seek improvement. This can be further identified by the evidence, according to the results of this investigation, that their proportion of the reasons regarding seeking better status account for 17.7 percent, which is about 14.5 percentage points more than for those with shift of household registration.

4.4. Migrants' motivation and ways of migration

The fulfilment of migration decision by individual migrants depends largely upon the availability of possible opportunities at the place of destination. Moreover, the varied political or administrative influences, as in the case of China, are by no means unimportant factors affecting the fulfilment of individual migration behaviour. Thus there is inconsistency between the reasons of movement and the ways to fulfill it.

In order to see how the migrants move into the suburban towns of Shanghai, the question "By what ways have you moved into the town ? " was asked in the questionnaire. Tables 4-4 and 4-5 show the categories of ways of migration and how each major category of migration reasons is fulfilled by the major ways of migration.

From Table 4-4, strong governmental influences can be easily seen in ways of migration. For the last ten years, some issues of new social and econo-

Table 4.4:

Ways of Migration Stated by the Migrants
Who Shifted Residence

Major categories	%	Sub-categories	%	% of major category
Job-related ways	44.5	Job-transfer	26.8	60.3
		Job-assignment & replacement	9.8	22.1
		Recruitment by enterprises	7.8	17.6
Policy-related ways	30.6	Implementation of policies	19.2	62.8
		Demobilized to civilian work	6.1	19.6
		Policy encouraging farmers to settle in urban areas	5.4	17.6
Kinship-related ways	16.2	Recommendation or help by relatives or friends	6.9	42.4
		Marriage	5.1	31.1
		Migration dependants	3.7	22.7
		Seeking refuge with relatives or friends	0.6	3.8
Other ways	8.7	Not stated or other ways	5.0	57.7
		Schooling	1.8	21.1
		Retirement	1.8	21.1
Total	100.0	Total	100.0	

mic policies have greatly relaxed the past strict control upon population mobility to urban areas, especially those policies that permit the return of people who were in the past sent to the countryside and the young people to replace the working posts of their retiring parents in urban areas, as well as the policy issued in 1984 that allows the farmers to settle in the urban areas (mostly in small towns) if they are able to invest or open businesses there. These also offered opportunities to the in-migrants with other non-related reasons of movement , as can be seen from Table 4-5.

Job-related ways are always important for the movers to urban areas and, in this investigation, they top them with 44.5 percent. According to the relevant regulations, the movers to an urban area are normally required to get an assurance of employment prior to migration, except for special cases. Otherwise, no shift of household registration would be officially approved and hence longer residence would be considered illegal. Since the opportunities being officially assigned with jobs are often limited, job-transfer has been common and, perhaps, the most adopted means to achieve officially-approved migration. For example, about 33.2 percent of the in-migrants with marriage and family-related reasons have moved into the towns by this way.

Recruitment by the enterprises can be regarded as a newly emerged opportunity to the in-migrants. In the past, the demand for manpower by the enterprises in the urban areas was usually planned and arranged by the labour departments of the local administrations which, in turn, were supervised by those of higher levels of administrative units. And the source of supply was restricted to those urban-registered inhabitants, especially to those local ones. Since the economic reform started, the enterprises, especially those collective-owned ones in small towns, have been officially permitted with the freedom to

recruit personnel they need, apart from the administratively-allotted quotas. It hence becomes one of the job-related ways to the in-migrants. Although it is smaller in proportion than some other ways of migration like job-transfer in this investigation, it can be expected to grow larger in future with the industrialization of small towns and as the local urban labour resources become short in supply.

More evidence can be found in this investigation to show the increasing importance of this way of migration. For example, 35.7 percent of the migrants seeking work, 34.8 percent of those seeking better paid jobs, 30.2 percent of those wishing to be urban-registered, 21.1 percent of those seeking better living conditions, and 20.0 percent of those seeking better jobs, have all migrated through this way. Thus, it can be seen that the recruitment by enterprises tend to attract the in-migrants who are dissatisfied with their status at the places of origin and are looking forward to the improvements at the places of destination.

Kinship-related ways are still one of the major approaches to migration, although they are not easily achieved because of governmental restrictions upon informal migration (rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban). Generally, the restrictions are looser in the less urbanized areas, especially small towns, than in the more urbanized areas such as large urban centres like the city of Shanghai. As is shown in Table 4-4, about 16.2 percent of the in-migrants moved into the four selected suburban towns of Shanghai by these ways, of which those with the help of their relatives or friends account for 42.4 percent. Of the migrants with the reasons relating to seeking better status 35.5 percent have moved through these approaches (Table 4-5). To be more specific, it is found that the relatives and friends of migrants at the places of destination seem to

play quite an important role in the movement of migrants. The movers receive the information of accessibility from their relatives and, through their recommendation and help, fulfill their motivation to move. This informal approach seems to be similar to the approach of recruitment by enterprises, which is more favoured by the migrants who are dissatisfied with their status at the places of origin and looking forward to that of the places of destination. 37.2 percent of those wishing to be urban-registered, 31.6 percent of those seeking better living conditions, 25.0 percent of those seeking better jobs, and 21.4 percent of those seeking work, have utilized these kinship-related ways to achieve their migration.

Table 4-5:

Ways of Migration by Reasons for Movement (%)

Ways of Migration	Reasons for Movement				
	Employment and job-related	Marriage and family-related	Regulations and policy-related	Seeking better status	Other reasons
Job-related	67.1	38.5	7.2	38.7	33.3
Policy-related	22.9	18.9	87.2	17.7	16.7
Kinship-related	6.9	32.4	0.8	35.5	12.1
Other ways	3.1	10.2	4.8	8.1	37.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.5. Areal variation in ways of migration

Similar to the reasons of migration, the ways of migration are also marked by areal differentials. A close examination reveals certain similarities in the areal characteristics between the reasons and ways of migration, although there are slight differences. So, it may be argued that, in a sense, the association between the reasons and ways of migration coexists with the areal characteristics of economic and societal status, as well as of other aspects.

By examining the four selected towns in this investigation, it seems that the dominant ways of migration are the job-related for the towns of higher administrative levels and the towns which are located nearer to the central city. For Jinshanwei the proportion is as large as 74.9 percent and for Zhuanqiao, although it is smaller in comparison by almost 40 percentage points, it is still the dominant way for the in-migrants (See Table 4-6). This phenomenon can be explained by the areal characteristics and compositional features of in-migrants to these towns. First, these towns have more large municipal-owned industrial enterprises in virtually an industrialized sprawl of the central city to suburban areas. Secondly, the in-migrants to these towns comprise large proportions of those who were of city origin (60.0 percent of Jinshanwei and 21.2 percent of Zhuanqiao) and those who were employed by the state-owned enterprises at the place of origin before movement (66.5 percent of Jinshanwei and 45.8 percent of Zhuanqiao). According to the relevant regulations and usual practice, the labour supply of the state-owned enterprises is controlled by the relevant labour departments of government and favourably open to the people of urban-registration and who were formerly employed by the enterprises of the same ownership. Most of those migrants move through the way of job-transfer which makes up more than 50 percent respectively of the job-related ways in each

town.

By contrast, the policy-related ways are dominant in the two towns of Chengqiao and Luodian, of which the way through implementation of policies accounts for 83.1 percent and 78.2 percent respectively of each town. This is actually related to the significant proportions of migrants into these towns giving the policy and regulation-related reasons for movement (See Table 4-2). For these two old towns, according to this investigation, used to be affected greatly by the past policies that resulted in an out-migration of people and now the adjusted policies allowed them to return. This fact shows again the impact of government policies upon the internal migration in China and varying degrees of the impact with areal difference.

Areal difference also exists in the kinship related ways of migration. If we look into the subsets of this category, it is found that the old towns seem to have more migrants who move in with the help and recommendation of their relatives. But Zhuanqiao is found to have about 49.4 percent of migrants of this category who move in through marriage and 47.2 percent as dependants.

4.6. Social and demographic variation in ways of migration

Different types of migrants show great differences in ways of migration. With regard to the educational levels of migrants, those with high educational attainments tend to move by the job-related ways, while those with low educational attainments tend to rely more on the opportunities provided by the government policies and their relatives. The percentage of the job-related ways adopted by the in-migrants rises from 16.7 percent of the illiterate or semi-literate to 74.2 percent of those college or university graduates, whereas

the percentages of the policy-related and kinship-related ways decline with increased educational levels from 46.7 percent and 20.0 percent to 16.7 percent and 3.0 percent respectively. The reasons are quite obvious. The better educated are usually more favoured in movement by the administrations of both places of origin and of destination through employment or job-transfer. So, it may be argued that the difficulty of access to job opportunities at the places of destination tends to turn more migrants of low educational levels to other means of migration.

Table 4-6:

Ways of Migration Stated by Migrants
by Towns (%)

	Jinshanwei	Chengqiao	Luodian	Zhuanqiao
Job-related	74.9	26.6	19.6	35.0
Policy-related	19.2	41.7	59.8	23.6
Kinship-related	1.5	26.6	16.3	23.6
Other ways	4.4	5.0	4.3	17.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Male and female migrants also differ significantly in their ways of migration. About 49.5 percent of the male migrants migrated through job-related ways in their movement, which is almost 10 percentage points more than the females, but the percentage of the kinship-related ways for the females is 10.3 percentage points more than the males. Further analysis shows that more female migrants migrated through ways of marriage and being migration dependants, while, in comparison, the proportions of the males are much smaller.

Migrants moving with or without the shift of household registration are also found to differ greatly from one another in ways of migration. Those with shift of household registration mostly move through formal ways like job-transfer, job-assignment and implementation of policies, the proportions of each being 32.0 percent, 10.0 percent and 22.4 percent respectively. But the migrants without the shift of household registration have large proportions of those who move by the informal ways like the kinship-related ones and the recruitment by the enterprises, the percentages being 27.0 percent and 18.5 percent respectively. This kind of contrast may well be assumed to bear a relationship with the relevant regulations and policies of the government upon migration. Migrants who are accepted with the shift of household registration are mostly those who hold the reasons of movement being fully in accordance with the regulations (especially that of the household registration system) or due to the administrative or official arrangement. But the migrants who have changed residence without the shift of household registration are largely those who move only because of employment or some other informal factors. So, naturally, the difference is reflected in their ways of migration.

To sum up, the preponderant number of migrants who migrated for employment and job-related reasons strongly suggests that the existing job opportunities at the destination towns are one of the major causes that motivated the town-oriented migration. The marriage and family-related reasons are also very prevalent and their remarkable proportion here indirectly reflects that the recent development has made the towns more attractive to migrants.

Apart from economic reform, the influence of the government's social policies and regulations was also obvious, which can be explained by the fact that some migrants took advantage of the adjusted regulations and policies in their motivation to migrate.

Further analysis of migrants' reasons for movement reveals some remarkable features of the town-oriented migration in terms of areal, social and demographic differences, which somehow bear similarities to migration in general. Each major category of reasons given by the migrants varies significantly in proportions from place to place, which seemingly links with the conditions of both places of destination and origin.

Male migrants showed a preponderance of those with job-related reasons, whilst the majority of women migrants migrated for marriage and family-related reasons.

Age selectivity was not obvious in the migration for job-related reasons, which it can be argued resulted from the effects of the administrative control upon labour mobility as a significant proportion of the job-related reasons was accounted for by job-transfer. By contrast, age selectivity was strong for the reasons of seeking better status by an obviously declining tendency of the proportion with age.

Migrants with higher educational attainments tend to move for job-related reasons, whilst the family-related and policy-related reasons seem to motivate more migrants of lower educational levels.

The outstanding inconsistency between the reasons for movement and ways of migration reveals that the town-oriented migration is also affected by the social and administrative restrictions. Despite this, the dominance of job-related ways through which migrants have migrated for different reasons strengthens further the assumption that the job opportunities at towns which resulted from the recent industrial development have facilitated the town-oriented migration.

Quite a significant number of migrants who migrated through the opportunities provided by the government regulations and relevant social and economic policies forms the second largest feature of the town-oriented migration in this respect. In a sense, it suggests that this migration was somehow still under the influence of government.

In the final analysis, migrants' reasons for movement and their ways of fulfillment are closely related to the recent socio-economic changes but also affected by relevant social regulations and policies.

CONCLUSION

This research has proved that the town-oriented migration is closely related to the town development from the perspective of economic growth. A substantial growth in secondary and tertiary sectors of production of towns increased their labour demand as well as the attraction to their inward population movement. This new trend of urbanization occurring in the vast rural area of China could not have happened without the recent reforms in the economic system that started in effect from 1978. These reforms, which began with the practice of the contract responsibility system in agriculture, brought about the structural change of rural economy as well as the rapid social and economic development of towns in rural areas, and hence encouraged the population redistribution toward these small urban centres.

But the difference in the rate of development always exists, as is shown in this study of the case of Shanghai. Selective relocation of large industries from big urban centres can cause areal differences in the rate of development of towns as well as the variation in the source and volume of in-migration attributable to China's relevant regulations about labour supply and administrative stipulations. The sampled towns of Jinshanwei and Zhuanqiao (especially the former) had a preponderance of in-migrant population from urban source mainly because they received more industrial radiation from the major city and thereby a fast rate of town development was brought about.

The tremendous growth of industrial enterprises at towns was the major feature of the towns' economic growth and responsible for the town-oriented migration. All the towns sampled for this investigation showed a preponderant

proportion of industrial production in their economy. This increasing industrialization of towns contributed to the improvement of their social and economic environment and thereby appealed greatly to the population movement with job opportunities and improved living conditions.

What is more significant is that this industrialization process greatly facilitated the rural labour force mobility: its transference and concentration. A huge agricultural labour surplus was able to relocate in the secondary and tertiary sectors in the towns. And inevitably, the rural labour force mobility comprised the major part of the town-oriented migration.

It is noted that the townward transference and concentration of rural labour force showed a very strong tendency of localization and its volume of townward movement decreased exponentially with distance further away from towns. This can be argued to result from the reason that, on the one hand, despite the areal difference in the rate of growth, every town was experiencing enterprise development which appealed relatively more to the nearby rural labourers since their long-distance movement may eventually encounter more difficulty. On the other hand, the relevant government policies actually encouraged them to go and work in those nearby towns without giving up their village residence (*li tu bu li xiang*). Or, if they have the means, 'to leave the village' to set up enterprises there (Fei, X, 1984 and Beijing Evening Paper, 4 July, 1984). This can also be partly regarded as the result of governmental efforts in solving the rural under-employment through channelling them into numerous towns and avoiding their blind infiltration into cities.

Aside from the rural labour inflow toward towns, migrants from city origin, especially from the parent city, were also found to be significant.

The townward population migration in the administrative metropolitan

areas would involve a significant number of migrants from cities, particularly from the main city of the region, in addition to the migrants of other origins. The reasons are obvious. First, the industrial sprawl of the major city toward suburban towns inevitably relocates some urban labour into towns and, secondly, the increasing urban pressure of large places (such as overcrowding) would also push people there to seek better relocation in suburban towns.

The intra-local authority movement features the town-oriented migration as is shown by this research. The majority of townward migrant population migrated within the administrative area of the municipality and, within it, the preponderant proportion was found in smaller administrative units. So it is argued that , unlike cities which normally have more long-distance inter-regional migrants because of their large spreading influence, towns can only find the majority of their in-migrants coming from the administrative units near their location because of their limited influence. Long-distance movers , unless they feel it necessary , would naturally rather choose cities than towns as their targets since the latter are obviously less developed and less attractive.

Individual migrants' motivation for movement was closely related to the recent socio-economic changes . Most migrants gave their reasons for movement relating to the employment and jobs, which ,in a sense, suggests that the availability of job opportunities was responsible due to the economic growth of towns. Marriage and joining family were also influential causes that motivated quite a volume of townward migration. As most of these migrants were of working age and their being employed in towns was essential for movement, their migration motivation also indicated indirectly that the opportunities provided by the town's social and economic development were important.

It was found that the areal social and economic variations of destinations as

well as the geographic distance between the towns and the larger urban places caused the areal difference and characteristics of migrants' motivation directing to those places , just as demographic characteristics of migrants distinguished their motivation to move from each other. So, it can be concluded that, in this sense, the regional differences can result in migration inflows with distinctive features of migrants.

China is a country with a very centralized social and political system which influences almost every aspect of her development . The recent changes in social and economic policies by the government greatly facilitated not only the town development but also the townward population movement. The fact that about three quarters of the sampled in-migrants in the research have migrated through job and policy-related ways reflected the effects of these changes.

Although it is generally agreed that the townward migration is less restrictively controlled than the cityward migration in China and the recent relevant government policies have somewhat lifted much of the restrictions upon migration (Luo, M. *et al.*,1986), the governmental control can still be perceived in this research. The obvious inconsistency between migrants' motivation for movement and their ways of fulfillment, as well as a significant proportion of migrants who have migrated through the authorized job-transfer, indicated that authoritative intervention was still quite strong and , in a sense, the passive movement was still preponderant.

The social and demographic characteristics of the townward migrant population bear some similarities with modern migration in general: the female migrants outnumbered the males; young adults accounted for a dominant proportion of the in-migrants; and the better educated migrated more than the less educated.



It has been generally argued that migration has a beneficial effect on economic and social development of the recipient areas (Gaude and Peek, 1970; Berg, 1965). So conceivably, there must be also beneficial effects that could have been or will be brought about toward towns by the town-oriented migration.

Presumably, that most townward migrants were at working age and the majority of them were young adults would greatly satisfy the need in labour force for the town development. With the present under-developed technology, the economic development of towns will have to depend largely upon the human resources. It can be said that the recent fast growth of township enterprises would have been impossible without participation of in-migrant labour force, according to this investigation. Furthermore, the better educated in-migrants would improve the quality of the workforce in the towns and hence benefit the expansion of production.

The migrant labour force will bring about changes in the occupational and industrial structures of workforce in the towns. Some occupations or work, especially those hard jobs that are disliked in the towns, will be taken by the migrants and quite a number of in-migrants who are skilled and technical workers will satisfy some industries which cannot find the right personnel they need in towns ; thus helping to rationalize the labour distribution in the interests of the planned economy of towns.

The town-oriented migration will also unavoidably encourage competition in towns. No matter for what motivation they have migrated, migrants all hope to achieve something through migration. For this purpose, they will have to compete to earn their own status through hard work, which is a challenge to the town resident employees of enterprises. That many rural migrants set

up private enterprises and small businesses in towns will not only add to the economic prosperity there but also introduce competition with those of other ownerships. In a sense, this competition can stimulate further the social and economic development of towns.

After migration, the migrant has to adapt to a 'new' social, economic as well as cultural environment (Lewis, 1982). The 'new' environment will more or less affect or even change the migrants' old tradition and concepts regarding their social life. The townward migrant population comprise a preponderance of young adults and females and those from the countryside account for a very large proportion. So their traditional concept of early marriage and big family can be expected to be assimilated to the urban ones of late marriage and small family as the family planning scheme is strongly enforced in urban areas and the urban constraints such as limited housing and high cost in child-rearing, etc. will also make them think of delayed marriage and having less children. So, in this sense, the town-oriented migration can help reduce the rural fertility and implement the family planning scheme.

In a word, the beneficial effects can be many, but, Böhning (1972) and Paine (1974) once argued that even when migration is generated by economic development it can in turn create problems and difficulties for the societies involved. Probably, the biggest problem that will be caused by the townward migration might be the increasing pressure upon the insufficient social facilities and weak infrastructures of towns. According to this investigation, although the migrants' assessment of socio-economic and living environment of towns showed a general satisfaction, that around 40 – 50 percentage points for each item were entered as the same as or worse than that of the origin places, suggests that the general environment of towns is far from being optimistic.

In-migration can make housing problems of towns even more difficult and the local authorities will have to organize funding to solve it. A report about the townward migration in Zhejiang Province showed that quite a number of migrants of rural origin had to be advised to return to the countryside, because the overburden upon the towns' social facilities such as insufficient housing, crowded traffic, etc. (Zhang, J., 1987). Another report (Wang, 1987) said that, in Shengze town of Jiangshu Province, some skilled young women migrant workers of rural origin had returned to the countryside only because the imbalanced sex ratio of population in the town which was caused by the in-migration, making it difficult for them to find spouses for marriage. And this in turn caused a loss of skilled workers in the township enterprises there.

To conclude, the town-oriented migration was generated by the recent socio-economic development in China which was initiated by the recent changes in the social as well as economic policies of the government. The significance of the town-oriented migration is that it accelerates urbanization in China, and for the metropolitan areas like Shanghai, it is certainly a recommendable way of deurbanizing the overcrowding main cities.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Translation)

1. What's your sex ?
2. When were you born ?
3. Which level of education have you attained ?
 1. Illiterate or semi-illiterate
 2. Primary school
 3. Junior middle school
 4. Senior middle school
 5. Polytechnic or technical school
 6. Higher education (university or college)
 7. Post-graduate
4. What's your present marital status ?
 1. Single
 2. Married
 3. Divorced
 4. Widowed
 5. Other
5. How many members are there in your family ?
6. Are you the head of the household ?
7. What's your relationship with the head of household ?
 1. Spouse
 2. Child (including son-in-law or daughter-in-law)
 3. Grandchild (including grandson-in-law or granddaughter-in-law)
 4. Parent (including parent-in-law)
 5. Grandparent

6. Brother or sister
7. Other

8. What's your current status of employment ?

Employed :

1. by state-owned enterprises
2. by collective enterprises
3. by joint ventures corporations
4. by the household enterprises of your own family
5. by the household enterprises of other families
6. by private enterprises
7. self-employed
8. farming
9. other types of employment

Unemployed :

10. housework
11. waiting for job-assignment or for entry to a higher schooling
12. retired or handicapped
13. military serviceman
14. student
15. other types of unemployment

9. Which industry are you currently working for ?

1. Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, and fishery
2. Coal mining
3. Chemical industry
4. Technical and electrical industry
5. Building material industry
6. Food processing, brewery and tobacco industry
7. Textile and clothing industry
8. Papermaking and printing
9. Stationery and teaching aids manufacturing industry
10. Local products and sundry goods industry
11. Building industry
12. Transportation and communication

13. Commercial trade
 14. Service
 15. Production and management of housing, electricity, gas and water
10. What's your current occupation ?
1. Personnel of various techniques and specialities
 2. Leading or responsible personnel of enterprises, and governmental, political & public organizations
 3. Office workers
 4. Workers of commercial trade
 5. Workers of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry & fishery
 6. Production workers
 7. Workers of transportation
 8. Building workers
 9. Other workers
11. What's your type of job ?
1. Full time workers (*Zhengshigong*)
 2. Temporary workers (*Lingshigong*)
 3. Contract workers (*Hetonggong*)
 4. Seasonal workers (*Jijiegong*)
 5. Self-employed
 6. Others
12. By what approach did you get the job ?
1. Arrangement by governmental departments
 2. Arrangement by collective economic organizations
 3. Recruitment or invitation by enterprises
 4. Recommendation by relatives & friends in the *Zhen* (town)
 5. Recommendation by relatives & friends outside of the *Zhen*
 6. Job transferring
 7. Opening private businesses
 8. Others
13. Where is your working place ?

1. Urban area of the *Zhen*
 2. Rural area of the *Zhen*
 3. Other *Xiang* (rural administrative unit under the county)
 4. Other *Shi* (city) or *Zhen*
14. Do you have a second job (part-time job), apart from the one previously stated ?
15. What sort of part-time job do you have, if you have any ?
16. What is your annual income (including salary or wages, bonus, allowances, and dividend) ?
17. What category does your household registration belong to ?
1. Non-agricultural
 2. Agricultural
18. Are you registered at the *Zhen* ?
19. Do you live in the *Zhen* ?
20. From where did you move to live or work in the *Zhen* ?
1. the same *Zhen* (rural part of the *Zhen*)
 2. the same county
 3. the same province
 4. other provinces
 5. abroad
21. Was the place you moved from urban or rural ?
1. City
 2. Town
 3. Rural areas
 4. Others
22. How far is the place of origin from the *Zhen* (distance of movement) ?
23. Do you have any relatives at the place of origin ?
1. No
 2. Spouse

3. Children
 4. Parents
 5. Brothers or sisters
 6. Other relatives
 7. Friends
24. When did you move into the *Zhen* ?
 25. What's your marital status before you moved into the *Zhen* ?
 26. Were you employed before migration ?
 27. Which industry did you work for before you moved in ?
 28. What was your occupation one year before migration ?
 29. By what way did you move into the *Zhen* ?
 1. Job-transferring
 2. Job-assignment
 3. Seeking refuge with relatives or friends
 4. Demobilization or transference to civilian work (of servicemen)
 5. Marriage
 6. As migrant's dependent
 7. Schooling
 8. Retirement of enterprises
 9. Due to the implementation of government policies
 10. Recruitment of enterprises
 11. Encouragement by the recent government policy that conditionally allows the farmers to settle in the urban areas
 12. Recommendation or help by relatives or friends
 13. Others
 30. Why did you want to move into the *Zhen* ?
 1. Job-transferring
 2. Marriage
 3. Joining family
 4. Lack of employment opportunities at the place of origin
 5. Dissatisfaction with the job at the place of origin

6. Better paid job offered at the *Zhen*
7. The *Zhen* offers jobs you skilled or specialized in
8. Better living conditions at the *Zhen*
9. Better political treatment of urban residents
10. Want to be urban-registered
11. For education or vocational training
12. Having opened private businesses at the *Zhen*
13. Others

31. Who decided your migration ?

1. Yourself
2. Spouse
3. Children
4. Parents
5. Brother/sister
6. Other relatives
7. Units/departments concerned

32. Did any of your relatives/friends move together with you into the *Zhen* ?

33. When you moved in, were there any of your relatives/ friends who were living or working in the *Zhen* ?

34. Did you ever receive any help from your relatives/friends in accommodation and employment when you just moved in ?
If yes, by what means ?

1. No
2. Providing information about housing and jobs
3. Renting houses for running businesses or accommodation
4. Lending money
5. Offerring free accomodation
6. The question unsuitable
7. Others

35. What sort of housing do you have now ?

1. Rented private houses

2. Lodging in private houses without paying rent
3. Self-owned houses
4. Dormitory owned by units or collectives
5. Houses assigned by enterprises or departments concerned in the *Zhen*
6. Others

36. What were your principal difficulties when you just moved in ?

1. Housing
2. Employment
3. Inadaptation to the job
4. Being unfamiliar with the place and people
5. Medical care and schooling
6. Food grain and fuel
7. Opening or running businesses
8. Others
9. No difficulties

37. Are those problems solved ?

1. Basically solved
2. Partially solved
3. Unsolved

38. Will you compare the following items by labelling each 'Better', or 'Almost the same', or 'Worse', or 'Hard to compare', or 'Not comparable or unsuitable' ?

1. Occupation
2. Income
3. Housing
4. Transportation
5. Communications with family
6. Children's education conditions
7. Health care
8. Self education

9. Recreational conditions
 10. Shopping
39. How frequently do you pay return visit to your place of origin, after moving into the *Zhen* ?
1. Never
 2. Once
 3. Twice
 4. Several times
 5. At regular intervals
- 40.
1. If you don't live in the *Zhen*, do you intend to move in?
 2. If you live in the *Zhen*, but are not officially registered, do you intend to settle in and be officially registered ?
41. If your answer is 'No', why didn't you intend to settle in the *Zhen* ?
1. Ageing
 2. Having contracted farmland and houses to look after at home
 3. Having a big family to care for
 4. Satisfied with current status
 5. If settle in the *Zhen*, there will be problems in housing, food grain ration, and etc..
 6. Difficult to find a suitable full-time job
 7. Not allowed by the government policies or regulations
 8. Others

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