



MIGRATION
STUDIES UNIT



**MIGRATION STUDIES UNIT
LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE**

This text may be downloaded for personal research purposes only from LSE Migration Studies Unit Working Papers at www.lse.ac.uk/MSU. Any additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copy or electronically, requires the consent of the author(s) and editor(s). If cited or quoted, reference should be made to the full name of the author(s), editor(s), the title, the working paper or other series, the year, and the publisher.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the LSE Migration Studies Unit.

The paper was originally submitted as a dissertation in completion of the requirements for the degree: MSc Population and Development

The author(s) or editor(s) should inform the Migration Studies Unit at the LSE if the paper is to be published elsewhere, and should also assume responsibility for any consequent obligation(s).

ISSN 1758-499X

© 2011 Guy Taylor

Migration Studies Unit
London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE

www.lse.ac.uk/MSU
www.lse.ac.uk

Migration Studies Unit Working Papers

No. 2011/07

**China's Floating Migrants:
Updates from the 2005 1% Population
Sample Survey**

Guy Taylor



ABSTRACT

Recent decades have seen dramatic changes in China's migration situation. China's floating migrant population grew rapidly during the late 1980s, and continued to grow during the 1990s until in 2000, there were over 140 million floating migrants in China. Floating migrants are now to be found in every Chinese province, in cities, towns and villages, across the country, working in a range of occupations. This dissertation compares data from the 2005 1% Population Sample Survey (NBSC 2007), the most recent large-scale, nationally-representative survey to have been carried out in China, with data from the 2000 Chinese Population Census (NBSC 2002) in order to investigate how patterns of floating migration, and characteristics of the floating migrant population, have changed between 2000 and 2005. Important changes to the spatial distribution of floating migration are identified. Characteristics of the floating migrant population including gender makeup, age structure, type of destination and origin (rural/urban), reasons for migration, time since migration, and size of population are evaluated, and compared with past findings, particularly those from the 2000 Census. Finally, some potential explanations for the changes seen are presented.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

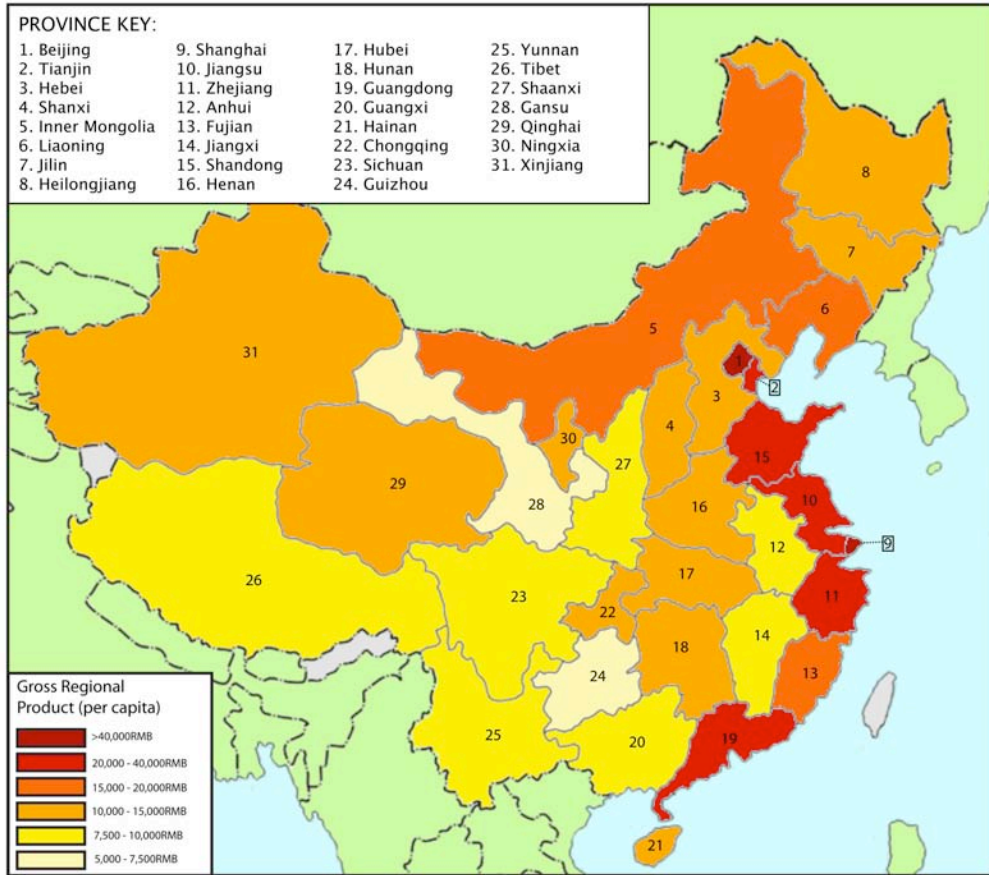
1.	Abstract	4
2.	Introduction	5
3.	Context and contributing factors	6
4.	Data, definitions and limitations	10
5.	Justification	14
6.	Methodology	16
7.	Results	18
7.1.	China's floating migrant population	18
7.2.	Spatial patterns of migration	21
7.2.1.	Interprovincial migration	22
7.2.1.1.	Distance and directionality of interprovincial migrant flows	28
7.2.2.	Intraprovincial migration	29
7.3.	Characteristics of the floating migrant population	32
7.3.1.	Gender and age	32
7.3.2.	Rural and urban aspects of migration	33
7.4.	Reasons for migration and duration of stay	36
8.	Discussion and Conclusions	39
9.	Bibliography	42

List of figures and tables

Figure 1:	Gross Regional Product (GRP) (per capita) in 2005	3
Figure 2:	China's "three economic belts"	3
Figure 3:	Changes in China's Urban-Rural Income Ratio, 1990-2003	7
Figure 4:	Growth of China's floating migrant population, 1982-2005	19
Figure 5:	30 largest interprovincial migration flows in 1995, 2000 and 2005	25
Figure 6:	Age composition of inter- and intraprovincial floating migrant Population	34
Figure 7:	Time since leaving place of <i>hukou</i> registration of inter- and intraprovincial migrants	38
Figure 8:	Stated reasons for migration of inter- and intraprovincial migrants	39
Table 1:	Age distribution of Chinese population: changing percentages of total population in different age groups, 1995-2005	10
Table 2:	China's floating population, 2000-2005	20
Table 3:	Percentages of the total interprovincial migrant population migrating to eastern, central, and western provinces	23
Table 4:	Changes in sizes of interprovincial and intraprovincial floating migrant populations 2000-05	31
Table 5:	Origin and destination place types of floating migrant populations	36

The currency of China is the *Yuan Renminbi*, often abbreviated to *Yuan*, *RMB*, or *Yuan RMB*. In 2005, 1 RMB was worth US\$0.12, £0.06 or €0.09.

Figure 1: Gross Regional Product (GRP) (per capita) in 2005



Source: (NBSC 2006)

Figure 2: China's "three economic belts"



Source: (Fan 2008, 28)

1. Abstract

Recent decades have seen dramatic changes in China's migration situation. China's floating migrant population grew rapidly during the late 1980s, and continued to grow during the 1990s until in 2000, there were over 140 million floating migrants in China. Floating migrants are now to be found in every Chinese province, in cities, towns and villages, across the country, working in a range of occupations. This dissertation compares data from the 2005 1% Population Sample Survey (NBSC 2007), the most recent large-scale, nationally-representative survey to have been carried out in China, with data from the 2000 Chinese Population Census (NBSC 2002) in order to investigate how patterns of floating migration, and characteristics of the floating migrant population, have changed between 2000 and 2005. Important changes to the spatial distribution of floating migration are identified. Characteristics of the floating migrant population including gender makeup, age structure, type of destination and origin (rural/urban), reasons for migration, time since migration, and size of population are evaluated, and compared with past findings, particularly those from the 2000 Census. Finally, some potential explanations for the changes seen are presented.

2. Introduction

Migration is by no means a recent phenomenon in China; indeed, large-scale migrations have taken place throughout China's history (Ye 2000, 192), and registration documents used to regulate migration have been discovered dating back as far as 685BC, during China's Zhou dynasty (Yu 2002, 24). However, migration is now occurring on a scale unprecedented in Chinese history. In 1982, it is estimated that there were only 11 million floating migrants in China (Liang 2001, 504). Today, almost one hundred and fifty million people are away from their place of household registration. Every year, they are joined by millions more who leave home, sometimes moving to a nearby town, sometimes several thousand kilometres across the country, the majority searching for better financial reward and opportunity. These people make up China's "floating migrant population," (*liudong renkou*).

China's floating migrant population merits study for a number of reasons, which will be discussed in detail later in this dissertation. Floating migrant populations constitute a particularly vulnerable section of society, often lacking access to basic services, and experiencing higher levels of poverty than local non-migrant populations. High levels of migration may lead to problems in both the sending and receiving provinces, which well-informed policies may be able to alleviate. Floating migrants also play a crucial economic role in China, both as channels for remittances and knowledge transfer between urban and rural areas, and as sources of the cheap labour which has played, and continues to play, such a crucial role in China's economic development. Understanding floating migration, and how it is changing is therefore of great importance.

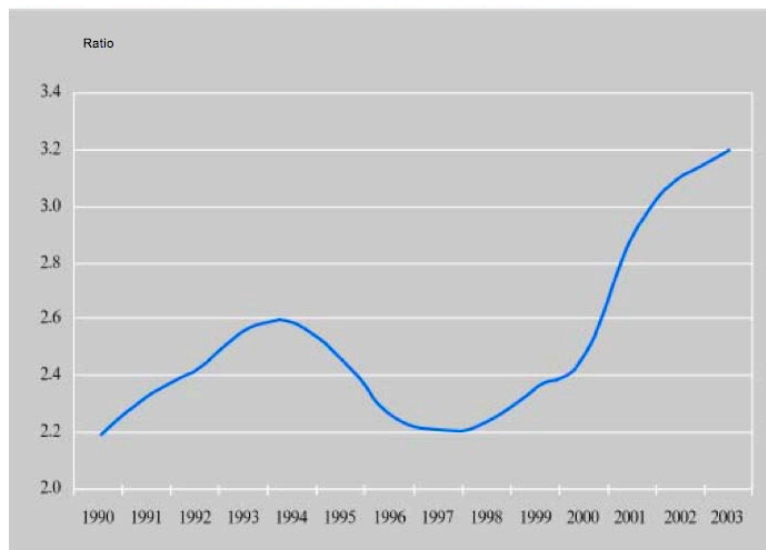
In this dissertation I will investigate how patterns of floating migration, and characteristics of the floating migrant population, have changed between 2000 and 2005, considering the factors that have contributed to these changes. Section 3 sets out the context within which changes are taking place, and outlines some of the contributing factors. Section 4 provides information on the data which will be used to analyse patterns of floating migration and characteristics of the floating population. In section 5, I explain in more detail why study of China's floating migrant population is of importance, and outline how this dissertation adds to understanding of this field. Section 6 gives details of the methodology used in analysing the changes in trends and population characteristics. Section 7 presents my findings, with analysis. Section 8 discusses the findings and presents my conclusions.

3. Context and contributing factors

The changes in the size of the floating migrant population over the past three decades have been the result of a combination of economic, administrative, social and demographic changes that have occurred in China since the end of the Maoist period. Since the introduction of free-market reforms in 1978, China's GDP has grown at an average annual rate of 9.67 percent (NDRC 2006). China's manufacturing sector has expanded exponentially, and exports have grown by 15 percent a year (OECD 2008a), creating a huge demand for low-cost, flexible labour. The majority of this growth has been in the private sector, which now accounts for well over half of China's GDP (OECD 2008b). Economic growth has been heavily biased towards urban regions, particularly those located in eastern coastal provinces. Investment in these areas has been given added impetus by the presence of China's Special Economic Zones (SEZs), created in

coastal Guangdong and Fujian provinces in 1979 to attract foreign investment and increase volumes of exports (Spence 1999, 6). Inequality has risen sharply in China: between 1981 and 2005, China's Gini coefficient increased from 0.28 to almost 0.45, a threshold which many consider indicative of potential social unrest (World Bank 1998, UNDP 2005). According to UNDP, inequality is most acute between the east and west, and between urban and rural areas (UNDP 2005). As figure 3 shows, urban-rural income ratios have also grown rapidly in the years leading up to 2005, increasing from just above 2:1 in the late 1990s to over 3:1 in 2003. During the past three decades, China has become a richer, but less equal country, with high levels of rural-urban, east-west, and interregional inequality (Yao, Zhang and Hanmer 2004, 161).

Figure 3: Changes in China's Urban-Rural Income Ratio, 1990-2003



Source: Based on data of National Bureau of Statistics, 2004.

Source: (UNDP 2005, 21)

During the same period, restrictions on population movement have been relaxed in important ways, making migration increasingly possible. China's household registration, or *hukou* system, forms the cornerstone of the system of population movement control in

China (Davin 1999, 4). The *hukou* system was initially implemented in the late 1950s to control the free flow of labour between urban areas, where the state provided food, employment, and housing, and rural areas, which did not receive state benefits. This ‘unequal exchange’ between the agricultural and industrial sectors was initiated by the government with the aim of promoting industrial development in prioritised urban areas (Chan and Zhang 1999, 821). Under the *hukou* system all citizens are classified as either rural or urban, and registered in a household registration book (*hukou ben*). One’s *hukou* status determines one’s rights to welfare, employment, and land, and people were formerly only permitted to work and reside at their place of *hukou* registration, which, in most cases was the same as their place of birth. *Hukou* could normally only be transferred in a few specific circumstances, through a complex and time-consuming administrative process, and conversion of a rural *hukou* to an urban *hukou* was especially difficult (Davin 1999, 5).

While *hukou* status is still important today, its significance has diminished in various ways. The government now allows non-state-owned enterprises to provide migrant workers with temporary urban resident cards, allowing them to live in cities where they do not have *hukou*, provided they are employed and can support themselves (Liang 2001, 501). As a result, people can now leave their place of *hukou* registration and seek employment elsewhere. Further reforms to the *hukou* system were implemented in late 2001, allowing medium-sized cities and some provincial capitals to remove the limit on the number of rural labourers who could apply for permanent residence status (IOM 2005, 73). Nevertheless full *hukou* transfer remains a complicated and difficult process. While these changes have been taking place, the decollectivisation of agriculture has

given rise to large productivity gains in the countryside, and a consequent increase in the agricultural labour surplus, estimated at between 150 million and 200 million (Fan 2008, 6). For many of these people, migration is the only means of expanding the limited range of opportunities open to them in the countryside.

Finally, demographic factors, and the age structure of the Chinese population have had an important influence on migration (Davin 1999, 71). High levels of fertility (around 6 births per woman) during the 1950s, followed by a rapid drop in fertility during the 1970s (Peng and Guo 2000), resulted in a population with a high proportion of young adults during the 1980s and 1990s. Young adults, as Davin points out, have a high propensity to migrate (Davin 1999, 71). As table 1 shows, in 1990, the largest groups in the Chinese population were the 15-19 year olds and the 20-24 year olds: 21.75 percent of the population was aged between 15 and 24 and 30.77 percent between 15 and 29, constituting an extremely large pool of potential migrants. By 2000, 15-24 year olds made up 15.9 percent of the population, and 15-29 year olds 25.36 percent. By 2005, just 14.6 percent of the population was aged between 15-24, and 21.14 between 15-29. Thus the proportion of the population having a high propensity to migrate by virtue of young age fell from around 31 percent to around 21 percent between 1995 and 2005.

In summary, increased levels of inequality, improved opportunities for employment, and relaxation of restrictions on movement have all served to increase levels of migration, whereas the ageing of China's 'demographic bulge' which constituted a large source of potential migrants during the 1990s, meant that by 2005, a smaller proportion of China's population was at an age where propensity to migrate is high.

Table 1: Age distribution of Chinese population: changing percentages of total population in different age groups, 1995-2005

	1995	2000	2005
Total	100	100	100
0-4	7.29	5.55	5.34
5-9	10.68	7.26	6.24
10-14	8.77	10.09	7.97
15-19	7.38	8.29	8.50
20-24	8.74	7.61	6.10
25-29	10.17	9.46	6.54
30-34	8.82	10.25	8.51
35-39	6.95	8.78	9.72
40-44	7.41	6.54	8.69
45-49	5.54	6.88	6.76
50-54	4.24	5.09	7.28
55-59	3.85	3.73	5.34
60-64	3.47	3.36	3.93
65 and above	6.69	7.09	9.07

Sources: (Davin 1999, NBSC 2001, NBSC 2007)

4. Data, definitions and limitations

In this dissertation, I compare data from the 2005 1% Population Sample Survey of China and the 2000 Chinese Census to investigate how patterns of migration, and characteristics of the floating migrant population have changed between these years. I also use data from the 1995 1% Sample Survey to provide some context to the changes that occurred between 2000 and 2005. Further background is provided by Liang's analyses of the 1995 1% Sample Survey and 2000 Census (Liang 2001, Liang 2004), to which this dissertation serves as an update. Data relating to spatial patterns of migration, gender, age, time since migration, and rural-urban origin/destination are analysed, as are the reasons behind the changes which took place between in this period.

The 2005 survey was carried out by the National Bureau of Statistics of China, and used a stratified multistage cluster sampling method to survey 16,990,000 people in 345 cities, 2869 counties, 21,182 townships, and 61,820 villages across China. The survey form had a specific section for migrants, which collected information on place of origin, place of current residence, age, gender, time of arrival in current location, reason for migration, and place of usual residence 1 and 5 years ago. The survey claims to be nationally representative with results directly comparable between provinces (NBSC 2007). In total 1.325 percent of China's population was sampled. Results of a post-enumeration survey found a net undercount of 1.72 percent of the population, lower than the 1.81 percent undercount reported for the 2000 Census (NBSC 2007, Lavelly 2001, 763). The 2000 Census was a nationwide survey, and attempted to survey every person in every household in China. The Census consisted of both a short and a long form, the latter being administered to a 10 percent sample of households (Lavelly 2001, 755). The long form contained a number of questions on migration, covering most of the questions contained in the 2005 Sample Survey, with some extra questions. The 1995 1% Sample Survey, carried out in October 1995, also contained questions directed at migrants, and collected data on place of origin and destination. Less information was collected in the 1995 survey than in either the 2000 Census or 2005 survey.

For the 2000 Census and 1995 and 2005 Sample Surveys, measures were taken to improve the measurement of the floating migrant population. Firstly, respondents were classified as floating migrants if, at the time of the survey, they were residing in a location where they did not have *hukou*, and had been away from their place of *hukou* registration for more than six months. This was an improvement on surveys and

Censuses carried out prior to 1995, where respondents were only classified as migrants if they had been away from their place of registration continuously for more than a year. Since many migrants return home at least once a year, normally for the Spring Festival holiday (a lunar festival, falling on different dates each year between 21st January and 20th February), the method used prior to 1995 resulted in an undercount of the floating population, as seasonally-returning migrants were excluded. Secondly, in both the 2000 Census and 2005 Sample Survey, the reference date was set as 1st November. As Lavelly points out (Lavelly 2001, 757), the crucial rationale for using this date is to enumerate migrants at their actual, rather than legal residence: previous surveys used a 1st July reference date. Since 1st July falls less than six months after the Spring Festival, this would also result in an undercount of floating migrants who return home during the Festival. This issue is resolved by using 1st November as the reference date. The 1995 Sample Survey was conducted with an October reference date, which also resolves the problem, as October falls more than six months after Spring Festival. While these changes all represent improvements on previous surveys, the number of floating migrants recorded will still be an underestimate, as floating migrants staying for less than six months are not recorded.

As Lavelly points out with reference to the 2000 Census, the fact that floating migrants are highly mobile and can be notoriously problematic to count can further reduce the reliability of data. Many floating migrants may not complete the requisite administrative procedures, and may therefore attempt to avoid being surveyed. Furthermore, local officials may wish to minimise the recorded population of their region (Lavelly 2001, 765), often to ensure that birth quotas or population growth targets are not exceeded.

These factors all serve to reduce the reliability of the data and conclusions drawn here should therefore be treated with a degree of caution until further evaluation of the data has been carried out.

Definitions used to classify rural and urban residence further complicate the issue. As Fan notes, definitions of urban population and places are complex in China, and have not remained constant. Furthermore, data are usually collected based on the spatial administrative hierarchy rather than definitions of rural and urban (Fan 2008, 25). In the 2005 Sample Survey and 2000 Census, four categories of *hukou* registration place are used. From most urban to most rural these are 1) 'street' (*jiedao*), 2) 'town residents' committee' (*zhen de juweihui*), 3) 'town villagers' committee' (*zhen de cunweihui*) and 4) township (*xiang*). As a broad generalisation, migrants whose *hukou* registration is at a street or town residents' committee may be classified as urban, and those registered at a town villagers' committee or township as rural (Fan, pers. comm. 2008). Places of destination are also classified into four categories: 1) City (*chengshi*), 2) Town (*zhen*), 3) Rural (*xiangcun*) and 4) Urban (*chengzhen*). Urban is an umbrella category combining both city and town classifications. For places of destination, cities and towns are classified as urban, and rural areas as rural. However, this generalisation should also be treated with some caution as many former townships have been reclassified as towns over recent years (Champion and Hugo 2003, 212), artificially 'inflating' the urban figures.

For analyses of spatial distribution of migration flows, China's provinces are divided into three "economic belts" of eastern, central, and western provinces (see figure 2). These constitute a means of very broadly classifying China's provinces geographically, and by

level of per capita GRP and regional inequality, and provide convenient classifications for investigating spatial patterns of migration (Fan 2008, 28)

This dissertation uses the same definition for a floating migrant as was used in the 2005 survey and 2000 Census, that is, a person who has been away from their place of *hukou* registration for more than six months. This is a broad definition, as it also includes migrants who have migrated relatively short distances within their county (*xian*). It should also be taken into account that some of those respondents classified as floating migrants under this definition may in fact be relatively static, and even settled. Given the relaxation in registration regulations, respondents classified as ‘floating’ by virtue of not having local *hukou* may in fact have lived at their current place of residence for many years without obtaining local *hukou*, and may not have returned to their de jure place of residence for a long period of time. This may particularly be the case for migrants resident in the same province, or even county, as their place of registration.

For the purposes of this dissertation, floating migrants currently resident in their province of *hukou* registration will be classified as *intraprovincial* migrants. Migrants resident in other provinces will be classified as *interprovincial* migrants. Data on place of *hukou* registration, place of current residence, reason for migration, age, gender and time since migration will be analysed to provide information on the floating migrant population and migration trends.

5. Justification

I argue that the study of China’s floating migrant population is important for several reasons. Floating migrants in China constitute an especially vulnerable group of people

(Fan 2002a), and are generally not eligible for the social benefits, including healthcare, available to those with local *hukou*. According to one study of 31 large cities, the incidence of poverty among migrants was over 50 percent higher than for those with local *hukou* (Wang and Cai 2007, 3). Migration has been shown to have adverse effects on the children of migrants. Children who accompany their parents are often unable to attend schools in the local area, which often charge higher fees for those without local *hukou*, or may simply be unwilling to accept the children of migrant workers (Liang and Chen 2007, 44). Children who remain behind undergo the stress of being separated from their parents for long periods of time, which may have long-term negative effects (Davin 1999, 94). Large-scale migration can also lead to other problematic outcomes. The influx of large numbers of people into cities and towns is likely to place strain on existing infrastructure and administrative arrangements, and may create social tension, particularly where migrants are from other regions where languages and customs may differ significantly (Lo and Jiang 2007, 112).

However, migrants are not simply passive victims of economic growth. They are playing a critical economic role in modern China which needs to be better understood. Migrants send home a large proportion of their incomes, which can contribute to development in their (often rural) place of origin. Sichuan province, China's largest source of interprovincial migrants, received 202 billion *yuan* from migrant remittances in 2000, equivalent to its total fiscal revenue for that year (IOM 2006, 7). Wang and Cai report that about 30,000 returning Sichuanese migrants have started their own businesses using expertise learnt while migrating, creating thousands of local jobs (Wang and Cai 2007, 28). Zhao found that levels of investment in productive farm assets are significantly

higher in households with return migrants (Zhao 2002, 10). Migration is an important tool for rural poverty alleviation and development, with migrants forming a conduit for the flow of wealth and knowledge from the more industrialised coastal urban areas to poorer, predominantly rural inland areas.

A comprehensive understanding of migration patterns and the characteristics of the floating migrant population is therefore critical if appropriate policies and interventions are to be developed, both to improve conditions for migrants, and to maximise the positive effects of migration.

This dissertation provides an updated analysis of the floating migration situation in China, focussing on the period between 2000 and 2005. Migration in China is a very dynamic phenomenon, which has evolved rapidly over the past three decades, and which continues to develop at a rapid pace. Given the rapidity with which changes are occurring, the five years between 2000 and 2005 constitute a significant period of time, during which important changes are likely to have occurred. By analysing this period, this dissertation constitutes one of the most up-to-date studies of floating migration in China.

6. Methodology

Data from the 2005 1% National Population Sample Survey is analysed and compared with data from the 2000 Census and 1995 1% Population Sample Survey, as well as findings from other authors, such as Liang and Fan (Liang 2001, Liang 2004, Fan 2008) concerning China's floating population. Some assumptions were made in analysing the

data: 1) in order to calculate average distances travelled by interprovincial migrants, it was assumed that the distance travelled by an interprovincial migrant between two provinces was equal to the direct distance between the respective capitals of the two provinces. This simplification will result in an underestimation of the real distances travelled (migrants generally do not travel in straight lines, and the real places of destination and origin may not be provincial capitals). However, the assumption is useful as it allows comparisons to be made between years and should not seriously influence the conclusions. 2) In order to calculate average ages of floating migrant populations, the ages of migrants classified as aged “over 65” were set as 68.2 for men and 70.1 for women. These ages were chosen as they fall half way between the age of 65 and the average life expectancy in China for men and women respectively. While these ages are unlikely to be the true average ages of the “over 65” category, they are unlikely to seriously distort the final results, particularly as the over 65 category accounts for a relatively small proportion of migrants (between around 1.6 percent and around 6 percent depending on the population in question). 3) In order to investigate whether interprovincial migration flows have become more concentrated, i.e. whether interprovincial migrants leaving any given province are tending to migrate to a smaller number of destination provinces, a two-step process was used: a) a list was created of destination provinces for each origin province, ranked by the proportion of interprovincial migrants each destination province received from the origin province. b) A cumulative tally was then calculated for each origin province, starting from the largest destination province, and the number of individual destination provinces accounting for a predefined proportion of each origin province’s departing migrant population was calculated. This proportion was set arbitrarily at 75 percent. An average was then taken

over all provinces. 4) In order to calculate the total numbers of floating migrants in various provinces in 2005, the total size of the floating migrant population (147,350,000), according to the 2005 1% Sample Survey Materials (NBSC 2007, 851) was divided by the total number of floating migrants covered by the survey (1,945,894) to yield a coefficient by which each province's figures could be multiplied. Thus, in Beijing, 75,285 respondents were classified as floating migrants. This figure was multiplied by $(147,350,000/1,945,894)$ to give a floating population size of 5.7 million for Beijing. This method was also used with the figures given by the Survey Materials for the total inter- and intraprovincial population sizes (47,790,000 and 99,560,000 respectively) to calculate sizes of inter- and intraprovincial floating migrant populations for each province and with the 2000 Census and 1995 survey figures for inter- and intraprovincial migrant populations.

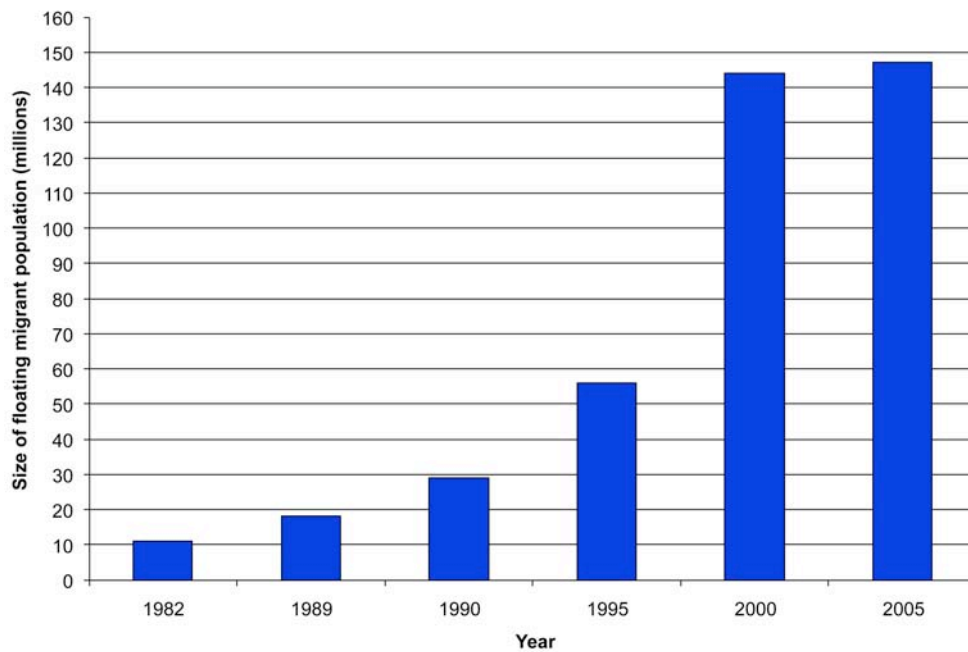
7. Results

7.1. China's floating migrant population

According to findings by Liang, China's floating migrant population was only 11 million strong in 1982, soon after market reforms were first implemented. Between 1982 and 1989, the floating migrant population increased by 7 million before expanding, between 1989 and 1990, by 11 million (almost 60 percent). By 1995, it had expanded again to 56 million, and by 1996 to 68 million (Liang 2001, 503). According to the 2000 Census, the most comprehensive survey of migrants ever carried out in China (Liang 2004, 467), the floating migrant population in 2000 had grown to 144 million, a huge increase of over 110 percent in just four years. Comparatively, the increase between 2000 and 2005 was very small, just 2.1 percent, bringing the floating migrant population to 147 million in

2005, 11.3 percent of China's total population. Liang points out that the change in the size of the floating population between 1990 and 1995 is overestimated, due to definitional changes between 1990 and 1995 (see above) (Liang 2001, 520). For the same reasons, the figures for 1982-1990 are also likely to be underestimates.

Figure 4: Growth of China's floating migrant population, 1982-2005



Sources: (Liang 2001, Liang 2004, NBSC 2007)

This dramatic reduction in the rate of growth of the floating migrant population between 2000 and 2005 appears to be a result of a reduction in the supply of migrants, most likely due to the demographic factors outlined in section 3, rather than a drop in demand for labour. Labour demand appears to have remained high over the period: the construction industry, an important employer of migrants, continued to grow rapidly between 2000 and 2005, with total output value of construction more than tripling, and the number of people employed in construction increasing by one third (NBSC 2006). The number of

Table 2: China's floating population 2000-2005

Region	Per Capita GRP (Yuan RMB)	Size of floating population (1,000)			Floating population as a share of provincial population (%)			Interprovincial migrants as a share of floating population (%)		
		2000	2005	% Change 00-05	2000	2005	% Change 00-05	2000	2005	% Change 00-05
Eastern Region										
Beijing	45,444	4,638	5,701	22.9	33.6	37.1	10.5	53.1	59.6	12.2
Tianjin	35,783	2,182	2,126	-2.6	21.8	20.4	-6.5	33.7	55.6	65.1
Hebei	14,782	4,882	4,807	-1.5	7.2	7.0	-2.5	19.0	18.1	-5.0
Liaoning	18,983	6,482	6,462	-0.3	15.3	15.3	0.1	16.1	17.1	6.1
Shandong	20,096	7,468	7,692	3.0	8.2	8.3	1.6	13.8	16.5	19.3
Jiangsu	24,560	9,100	10,923	20.0	12.2	14.6	19.9	27.9	38.8	39.2
Shanghai	51,474	5,385	7,084	31.6	32.2	39.8	23.7	58.2	65.5	12.5
Zhejiang	27,703	8,599	10,803	25.6	18.4	22.1	19.9	42.9	57.5	34.0
Fujian	18,646	5,911	7,478	26.5	17	21.2	24.5	36.3	37.9	4.4
Guangdong	24,435	25,304	26,614	5.2	29.3	29.0	-1.1	59.5	61.5	3.3
Guangxi	8,788	3,235	2,958	-8.6	7.2	6.4	-11.8	13.2	12.4	-6.3
Hainan	10,871	978	980	0.2	12.4	11.9	-4.4	39.1	29.9	-23.4
Central Region										
Heilongjiang	14,434	3,768	3,639	-3.4	10.2	9.5	-6.6	10.3	10.9	6.1
Jilin	13,348	2,949	2,610	-11.5	10.8	9.6	-11.0	10.5	11.6	10.7
Inner Mongolia	16,331	3,828	4,389	14.7	16.1	18.4	14.2	14.3	16.0	11.8
Shanxi	12,495	3,721	2,834	-23.8	11.3	8.5	-25.2	17.9	14.5	-19.1
Henan	11,346	5,200	3,504	-32.6	5.6	3.7	-33.2	9.2	7.9	-13.7
Anhui	8,675	3,559	4,030	13.2	5.9	6.6	11.7	6.5	8.6	33.1
Hubei	11,431	5,705	4,643	-18.6	9.5	8.1	-14.3	10.7	9.8	-8.3
Hunan	10,426	4,396	4,411	0.3	6.8	7.0	2.6	7.9	7.2	-9.3
Jiangxi	9,440	3,365	2,955	-12.2	8.1	6.9	-15.3	7.5	8.5	13.1
Western Region										
Shaanxi	9,899	2,365	2,359	-0.3	6.6	6.3	-3.9	18.0	15.9	-11.7
Ningxia	10,239	672	564	-16.1	12	9.5	-21.0	28.6	20.6	-27.9
Gansu	7,477	1,557	1,233	-20.8	6.1	4.8	-22.0	14.6	13.1	-10.5
Chongqing	10,982	2,625	2,228	-15.1	8.5	8.0	-6.2	15.4	15.7	2.3
Sichuan	9,060	6,666	5,724	-14.1	8	7.0	-12.9	8.0	8.7	8.2
Guizhou	5,052	2,415	2,414	0.0	6.9	6.5	-6.1	16.9	15.8	-6.7
Yunnan	7,835	3,872	3,401	-12.2	9	7.7	-14.9	30.1	23.7	-21.2
Qinghai	10,045	522	503	-3.6	10.1	9.3	-8.3	23.8	24.5	3.1
Tibet	9,114	214	111	-48.1	8.2	4.0	-51.0	50.9	38.4	-24.6
Xinjiang	13,108	2,830	2,168	-23.4	14.7	10.8	-26.5	49.9	47.4	-4.9
China	16,203	144,393	147,348	2.0	11.3	12.42	-5.67	29	25.5	3.0

Sources: (NBSC 2007, NBSC 2006, NBSC 2001)

people employed in industrial enterprises also increased by 80 percent during this period (NBSC 2006, NBSC 2001). Furthermore, interviews conducted by Fan in 2005 with floating migrants in Sichuan and Anhui found evidence of migrants avoiding certain regions or factories because of low wages, or poor conditions, indicating that migrants are to some extent enjoying a “seller’s market,” where demand for labour outstrips supply (Fan 2008, 167). Garnaut and Song also report shortages of migrant workers in Guangdong, and even in the Yangtze River Delta provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Shanghai (Garnaut and Song 2006, 167).

7.2. Spatial patterns of migration

While the size of the floating migrant population did not increase significantly between 2000 and 2005, a noticeable redistribution of migration flows did occur. As can be seen from table 2, floating migrant populations increased in size in the majority of eastern provinces, in several instances, (Beijing, Zhejiang, Fujian and Jiangsu), by over 20 percent, and in Shanghai, by over 30 percent. In contrast, the floating population fell in all but one western province, Guizhou, where it remained unchanged. Two thirds of central provinces experienced falls in their floating migrant population. Henan, China’s most populous province (NBSC 2006) saw the biggest fall at 32.6 percent, a reduction in migrant numbers of almost 1.7 million. These shifts in migration are not surprising given the rapid growth and development taking place in the industrialised coastal regions and increases in east-west inequality. The labour shortages occurring in many of China’s industrialised coastal regions, and the resulting wage increases reported by Garnaut and Song (Garnaut and Song, 2006, 167) are likely to make these regions increasingly attractive to migrants.

Further demonstration of the effects of economic growth on interprovincial migration is the fact that the five provinces experiencing the greatest increases in proportions of floating migrants (Shanghai, Guangdong, Beijing, Zhejiang and Tianjin) (MOC 2006) contained all but one (Qingdao) of China's top ten exporting cities in 2005 (Shenzhen, Shanghai, Suzhou, Dongguan, Beijing, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Ningbo, Hangzhou and Qingdao). Of course, causality runs in both directions, and these regions have been able to achieve such rapid economic development partly because of their access to a cheap, flexible labour force, made up of interprovincial migrants. However, given that Chinese government policies have for a long time actively promoted urban growth at the expense of rural development (Davín 1999, 57), even before the period when migration started to occur on a significant scale, it seems likely that, in large part, it is the rapid government-supported industrialisation which has attracted large numbers of migrants, rather than the other way around.

7.2.1. Interprovincial migration

Just under one third (32.4 percent), or 48 million of the floating population were interprovincial migrants in 2005. Overall, the interprovincial migrant population increased at a faster rate than the floating population as a whole between 2000 and 2005, growing by 12.7 percent, an increase of 5.37 million. As can be seen from table 2, the increase in the proportion of interprovincial migrants, as a share of the floating population, was greater in provinces with higher per capita GRP, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, all located in China's industrialised coastal regions. These regions experienced very large absolute increases in the sizes of their interprovincial migrant populations. Zhejiang's increased by 2.2 million, Jiangsu's

by 1.5 million, Shanghai's by 1.3 million and Fujian's by 0.6 million. In contrast, in poorer, inland provinces, the proportion of interprovincial migrants was far lower. The floating population of Anhui, the province with the fourth lowest per capita GRP in 2005 (NBSC 2006), was only 8.6 percent interprovincial. Henan and Hunan provinces, both inland, largely rural provinces, had floating populations consisting of less than 8 percent interprovincial migrants. This finding is to be expected: interprovincial migrants originating from other provinces are unlikely to choose to migrate to poorer provinces, where opportunities are likely to be more scarce.

Table 3: Percentages of the total interprovincial migrant population migrating to eastern, central, and western provinces

Destination region	Year		
	1995	2000	2005
Eastern	57.0	75.9	85.4
Central	26.1	10.9	6.9
Western	17.0	13.3	7.8

Sources: (CPSSO 1997, NBSC 2002, NBSC 2007)

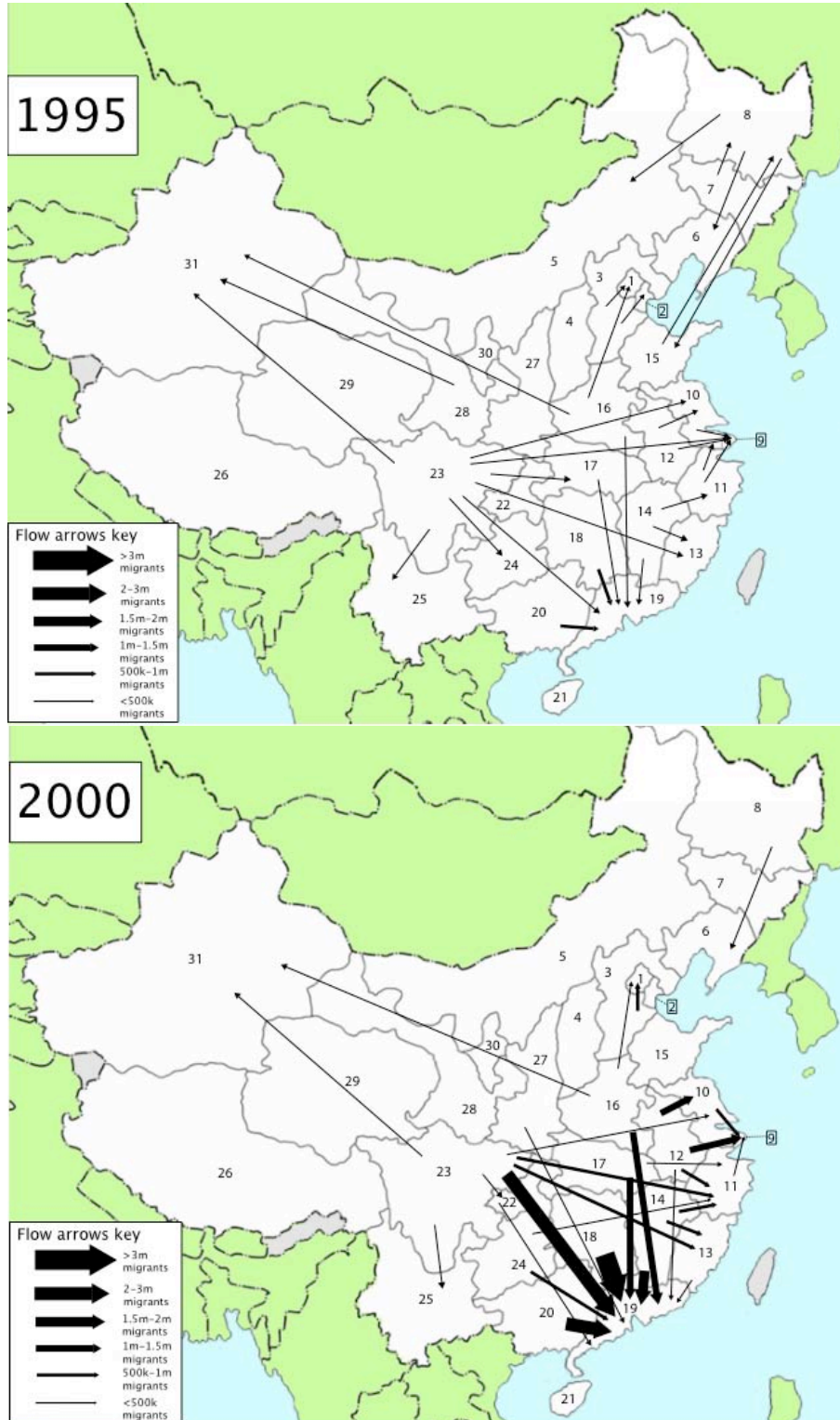
Interprovincial migrant flows were increasingly directed towards the richer, more industrialised eastern provinces. As can be seen from table 3, 85 percent of all interprovincial migrants migrated to eastern provinces in 2005, compared with just 7 percent to central, and 8 percent to western provinces. This was a noticeable change from 2000, when 76 percent of interprovincial migrants migrated to eastern provinces, 11 percent to central provinces and 13 percent to western provinces. In 1995, just 57 percent of interprovincial migrants were migrating to eastern provinces, with 26 percent migrating to central and 17 percent to western provinces. In fact, *all* of the 30 largest province-to-province migrant flows in 2005 were directed towards eastern provinces. This compares with 26 of the 30 in 2000 and 21 in 1995 (See figure 5).

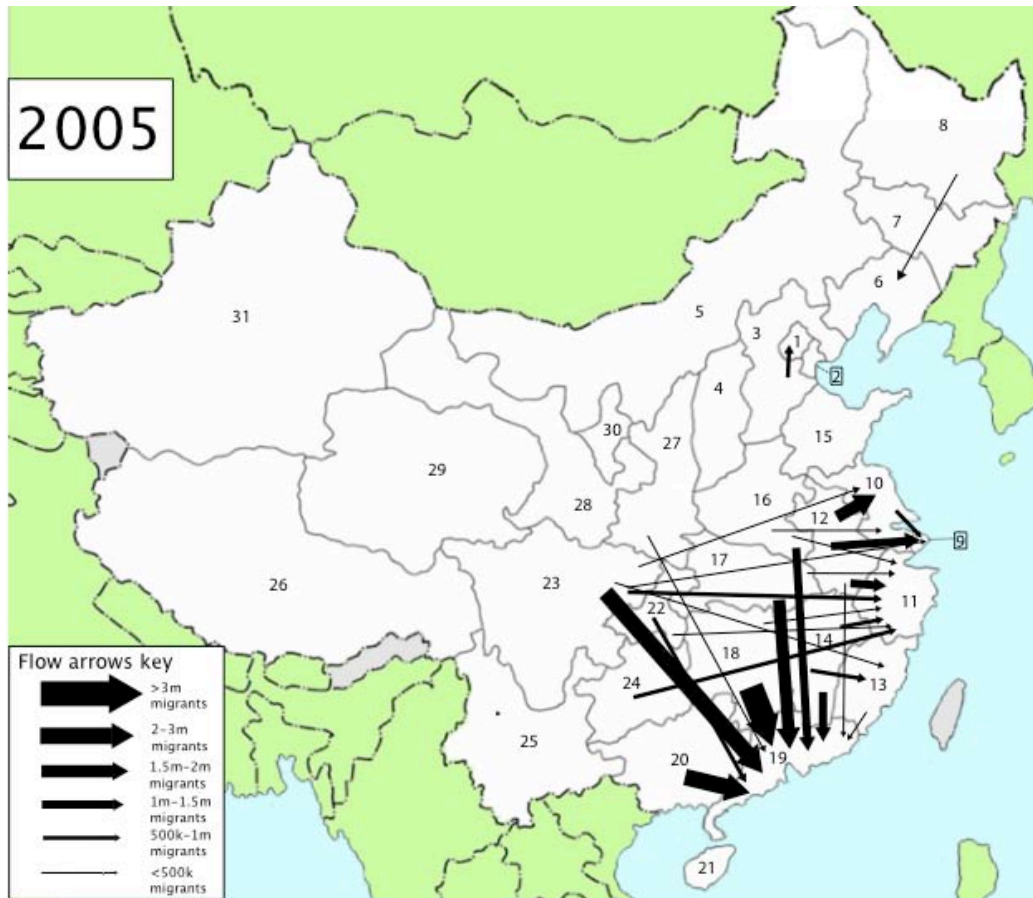
In 2005 Beijing and Shanghai received some 16 percent of all interprovincial floating migrants, almost 4 percent more than in 2000 and 7 percent more than in 1995. Demand for labour has been particularly high in both Shanghai and Beijing in recent years, partly due to the enormous construction booms taking place in both cities. The Shanghai government invested over 300 billion *yuan* in urban construction projects between 2001 and 2005 (SMG 2007), and the number of people employed by the construction industry in Shanghai more than doubled between 2000 and 2005, from 359,000 to 722,000 (NBSC 2006). In Beijing, the gross output value of construction increased by a factor of 2.6 between 2000 and 2005, reaching almost 190 billion *yuan* in 2005 (NBSC 2006b, NBSC 2001). The 2008 Olympic Games, held in Beijing, also provided a spur to investment in Beijing's infrastructure, with almost 150 billion *yuan* being spent on facilities, several new subway lines, new highways, a new airport terminal, and even a new sewage system (BBC 2006). Migration to the Yangtze River Delta provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Shanghai, and the nearby coastal province of Fujian, all burgeoning centres of industry, also increased dramatically. On average, their floating populations increased by 24 percent between 2000 and 2005, and the proportions of their floating populations accounted for by interprovincial migrants increased by 26 percent.

Guangdong remains by far the most popular destination for floating migrants. Guangdong was home to modern China's first experiments with capitalism, in the form of the Shenzhen and Zhuhai Special Economic Zones (SEZs). These SEZs have grown rapidly to become hubs for domestic and foreign investment and private sector expansion. Shenzhen expanded meteorically from a village of 30,000 people in 1978 (Liang 1999, 116) to a large city of 10 million people in 2005 (Xinhua 2005), growth that was clearly

Figure 5: 30 largest interprovincial migration flows in 1995, 2000 and 2005

PROVINCE KEY:						
1. Beijing	6. Liaoning	11. Zhejiang	16. Henan	21. Hainan	26. Tibet	31. Xinjiang
2. Tianjin	7. Jilin	12. Anhui	17. Hubei	22. Chongqing	27. Shaanxi	
3. Hebei	8. Heilongjiang	13. Fujian	18. Hunan	23. Sichuan	28. Gansu	
4. Shanxi	9. Shanghai	14. Jiangxi	19. Guangdong	24. Guizhou	29. Qinghai	
5. Inner Mongolia	10. Jiangsu	15. Shandong	20. Guangxi	25. Yunnan	30. Ningxia	





Sources: (NBSC 2002, NBSC 2007)

primarily a result of migration. Guangdong has China's highest GRP (2.2 trillion *yuan*), and experienced more rapid economic growth than the majority of other provinces between 2000 and 2005. In 2005, 6 of the 10 largest interprovincial migration flows had Guangdong as their destination, and Guangdong received 32.6 percent of all interprovincial floating migrants. To compare, Zhejiang, with the second largest interprovincial floating migrant population, received just 12.4 percent, over 20 percent less than Guangdong. However, Guangdong's share has fallen slightly from 2000, when it received 34.2 percent of all interprovincial migrants. This represents a rapid dropping off in the growth of Guangdong's interprovincial migrant population. In 1995, Guangdong's share was 14.4 percent, so the increase to 34.2 percent by 2000 represented an increase of almost 140 percent. In contrast, between 2000 and 2005, it

decreased by 4.7 percent. While Guangdong still exerts a huge pull on floating migrants, it appears that other eastern coastal provinces, such as Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Fujian, Shanghai and Beijing, which have all experienced rapid economic growth and high levels of investment in recent years, have become increasingly attractive destinations for migrants in the years between 2000 and 2005. Fan's interview records suggest that many migrants are choosing to avoid Guangdong because of the worse labour conditions, and low wages which are common there. Fan suggests that this is a major factor contributing to the rise of destinations such as Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Fujian, etc. as major growth destinations for interprovincial migrants (Fan 2008, 167).

Sichuan, a province around the size of Spain, with a large population (82 million, or 6.3 percent of China's total population in 2005) and low per capita GRP, remained the most important source of interprovincial migrants in 2005. In 1995, 9.7 percent of all interprovincial migrants originated from Sichuan; by 2000 this had risen to 16.4 percent. In 2005, Sichuan's share had fallen to 11.7 percent. The absolute number of interprovincial migrants originating from Sichuan did not decrease significantly, remaining at around 5.5 million, but numbers migrating from other provinces increased. Anhui, also with low per capita GRP, was one of these provinces. In 1995, Anhui only accounted for 4.4 percent of interprovincial migrants; in 2000 this had risen to 10.2 percent, and in 2005 to 11.5 percent, representing an increase of almost 1.7 million interprovincial migrants between 2000 and 2005. In 2005, significant proportions of the interprovincial migrant population also originated from Hunan (9.3 percent), Henan (9.0 percent), Jiangxi (7.4 percent) and Hubei (7.1 percent) all of which are inland provinces with relatively low levels of per capita GRP and industrialisation.

7.2.1.1. Distance and directionality of interprovincial migrant flows

The distance travelled by interprovincial migrants to reach their destinations levelled out between 2000 and 2005. In 1995, interprovincial migrants travelled an average of 330km. In 2000, this distance had more than doubled to 850km but remained almost the same in 2005, at 840km. It seems likely that distance has become less of a limiting factor for migrants, as improvements in transport infrastructure, and the growth of transport companies for whom migrants constitute the main source of business have driven down the price of long-distance, 'no-frills' transport. Davin reports that certain provincial governments now organise free transport for migrants leaving for other provinces (Davin 2005), and even where this is not available, long distance coach travel is generally affordable in China, even for migrants. As an example, tickets from Zhengzhou, the capital of Henan province, to Shanghai, a journey of just over 800 kilometres, are available online for around 300 *yuan* (ZTYLW 2008), and prices at local bus stations are likely to be lower.

Interprovincial migration appears to have become more focussed between 2000 and 2005, with migration flows becoming more concentrated towards a smaller number of provinces. In 2000, the largest 6.5 destination provinces accounted for 75 percent of the average province's departing interprovincial migrants. By 2005, this figure had fallen to 5.7. Furthermore, migration flows have become increasingly unidirectional. According to Fan (Fan 2008, 38), a number of migration streams in the late 1980s were accompanied by counter-streams, including those between Heilongjiang and Jilin, Heilongjiang and Shandong, Jiangsu and Shanghai, Jiangsu and Anhui, and Sichuan and Yunnan. In 1995, two of the largest 50 interprovincial migration flows were

accompanied by counter-streams (Heilongjiang and Shandong, and Heilongjiang and Jilin). In both 2000 and 2005, there were none. In 1995, the top ten ‘receiving’ provinces received 60 percent of all interprovincial migrants. The top ten in 2000 received 79 percent, and in 2005, 84 percent. This is all evidence of the increasing concentration and “efficiency” of interprovincial migration in redistributing migrants, observed by He and Pooler (He and Pooler 2002, 149).

This increased “efficiency” is likely to be partly due to the development of migrant networks. Authors such as Xiang (Xiang 1999) and Liang (Liang 2004, 470-471) have discussed the evolution and growth of migrant networks in China, which initially consist of friends or family members who have already migrated, but which later become more organised and large-scale. These networks provide information to those who have not yet migrated on the wages and conditions which they can expect at various destinations, allowing potential migrants to make a more informed choice. In recent years, websites have even been created where potential migrants can find information on the wages they can expect in various destinations (Baidu 2008, 1010Job). What in effect appears to be occurring is an improvement in the efficiency of the ‘migration market,’ as information on costs and benefits of migration to different destinations becomes more accessible and accurate.

7.2.2. Intraprovincial migration

While the interprovincial floating migrant population grew between 2000 and 2005, the intraprovincial floating migrant population decreased in size by 2.4 percent, from 102 million migrants in 2000 to 100 million in 2005. The overall pattern of change for

intraprovincial migration between 2000 and 2005 is relatively complex. Many poorer provinces experienced falls in their levels of intraprovincial migration. The biggest actual reduction was seen in Henan province, where the intraprovincial migrant population fell by over 1.4 million. Hubei and Sichuan also saw drops of around 0.8 million. In the majority of richer provinces, levels of intraprovincial migration increased, along with numbers of interprovincial migrants. Beijing, Shanghai, Jiangsu and Fujian all saw increased levels of inter- and intraprovincial migration. However, it is difficult to identify a direct correlation between level of per capita GRP and change in intraprovincial migration. Tianjin, a relatively wealthy and industrialised region, saw a drop of 33 percent in intraprovincial migration. Intraprovincial migration also fell in Zhejiang. This is despite both these provinces experiencing rapid economic growth and increases in interprovincial migrant numbers during this period.

In several provinces, changes in the size of the intraprovincial population were accompanied by compensatory changes in the number of interprovincial migrants leaving the province (see table 4), suggesting that many intraprovincial migrants became interprovincial migrants, or vice versa, in response to changes in conditions. In Henan province, the 1.4 million reduction in the intraprovincial floating population was almost matched by a 1.3 million increase in the number of interprovincial migrants leaving the province. In Hubei, the intraprovincial population fell by 0.8 million while interprovincial out-migration increased by 0.6 million. In richer provinces, intraprovincial migrant populations tended to increase as numbers of interprovincial migrants leaving decreased. Shanghai's intraprovincial migrant population grew by 0.25 million, while 0.12 million fewer interprovincial migrants left the province. The number

Table 4: Changes in sizes of interprovincial and intraprovincial floating migrant populations 2000-05

	INTERPROVINCIAL				INTRAPROVINCIAL				Change in number of inter-provincial migrants leaving, 00-05
	2000	2005	Change 00-05	% Change 00-05	2000	2005	Change 00-05	% Change 00-05	
China	42,418,562	47,790,000	5,371,438	12.7	101,972,186	99,560,000	2,412,186	-2.4	5,393,408
Beijing	2,463,217	3,242,493	779,276	31.6	2,174,314	2,355,632	181,318	8.3	-105,112
Tianjin	735,033	1,126,709	391,676	53.3	1,446,590	967,002	-479,588	-33.2	-44,300
Hebei	930,455	830,283	-100,172	-10.8	3,951,257	4,030,750	79,493	2.0	191,684
Shanxi	667,357	392,395	-274,962	-41.2	3,053,196	2,480,849	-572,347	-18.7	-71,406
Inner Mongolia	547,923	670,769	122,846	22.4	3,279,902	3,773,726	493,824	15.1	58,658
Liaoning	1,045,165	1,056,664	11,499	1.1	5,437,077	5,482,105	45,028	0.8	-36,465
Jilin	308,605	287,617	-20,988	-6.8	2,640,715	2,363,463	-277,252	-10.5	92,557
Heilongjiang	386,641	376,653	-9,988	-2.6	3,381,770	3,322,014	-59,756	-1.8	298,233
Shanghai	3,134,922	4,426,466	1,291,544	41.2	2,249,667	2,500,233	250,566	11.1	-118,023
Jiangsu	2,536,889	4,041,797	1,504,908	59.3	6,562,960	6,843,909	280,949	4.3	68,883
Zhejiang	3,688,851	5,920,368	2,231,517	60.5	4,909,811	4,704,751	-205,060	-4.2	-165,286
Anhui	230,116	328,705	98,589	42.8	3,328,414	3,773,570	445,156	13.4	1,667,810
Fujian	2,145,256	2,704,593	559,337	26.1	3,765,969	4,752,978	987,009	26.2	85,521
Jiangxi	253,095	238,658	-14,437	-5.7	3,111,702	2,769,585	-342,117	-11.0	76,491
Shandong	1,033,213	1,210,835	177,622	17.2	6,434,801	6,576,340	141,539	2.2	194,807
Henan	476,239	264,798	-211,441	-44.4	4,724,231	3,303,793	1,420,438	-30.1	1,289,166
Hubei	609,733	433,916	-175,817	-28.8	5,094,887	4,288,007	-806,880	-15.8	587,927
Hunan	348,838	304,153	-44,685	-12.8	4,046,882	4,190,315	143,433	3.5	296,158
Guangdong	15,064,838	15,597,227	532,389	3.5	10,239,478	10,503,738	264,260	2.6	-283,370
Guangxi	428,188	350,007	-78,181	-18.3	2,806,325	2,652,897	-153,428	-5.5	325,589
Hainan	381,792	279,024	-102,768	-26.9	596,356	704,007	107,651	18.1	-6,544
Chongqing	403,159	334,482	-68,677	-17.0	2,221,943	1,922,451	-299,492	-13.5	276,344
Sichuan	536,246	476,882	-59,364	-11.1	6,129,382	5,348,437	-780,945	-12.7	277,887
Guizhou	408,519	363,510	-45,009	-11.0	2,006,967	2,081,783	74,816	3.7	579,223
Yunnan	1,164,402	769,337	-395,065	-33.9	2,707,238	2,656,076	-51,162	-1.9	85,845
Tibet	108,669	40,583	-68,086	-62.7	105,108	69,935	-35,173	-33.5	-27,400
Shaanxi	426,029	358,600	-67,429	-15.8	1,939,305	2,030,378	91,073	4.7	92,433
Gansu	227,888	154,171	-73,717	-32.3	1,329,003	1,096,638	-232,365	-17.5	-96,644
Qinghai	124,307	117,632	-6,675	-5.4	397,728	389,220	-8,508	-2.1	-42,731
Ningxia	191,891	110,555	-81,336	-42.4	480,595	458,457	-22,138	-4.6	-21,414
Xinjiang	1,411,086	980,048	-431,038	-30.5	1,418,613	1,167,039	-251,574	-17.7	-133,113

Source: (NBSC 2007, NBSC 2002)

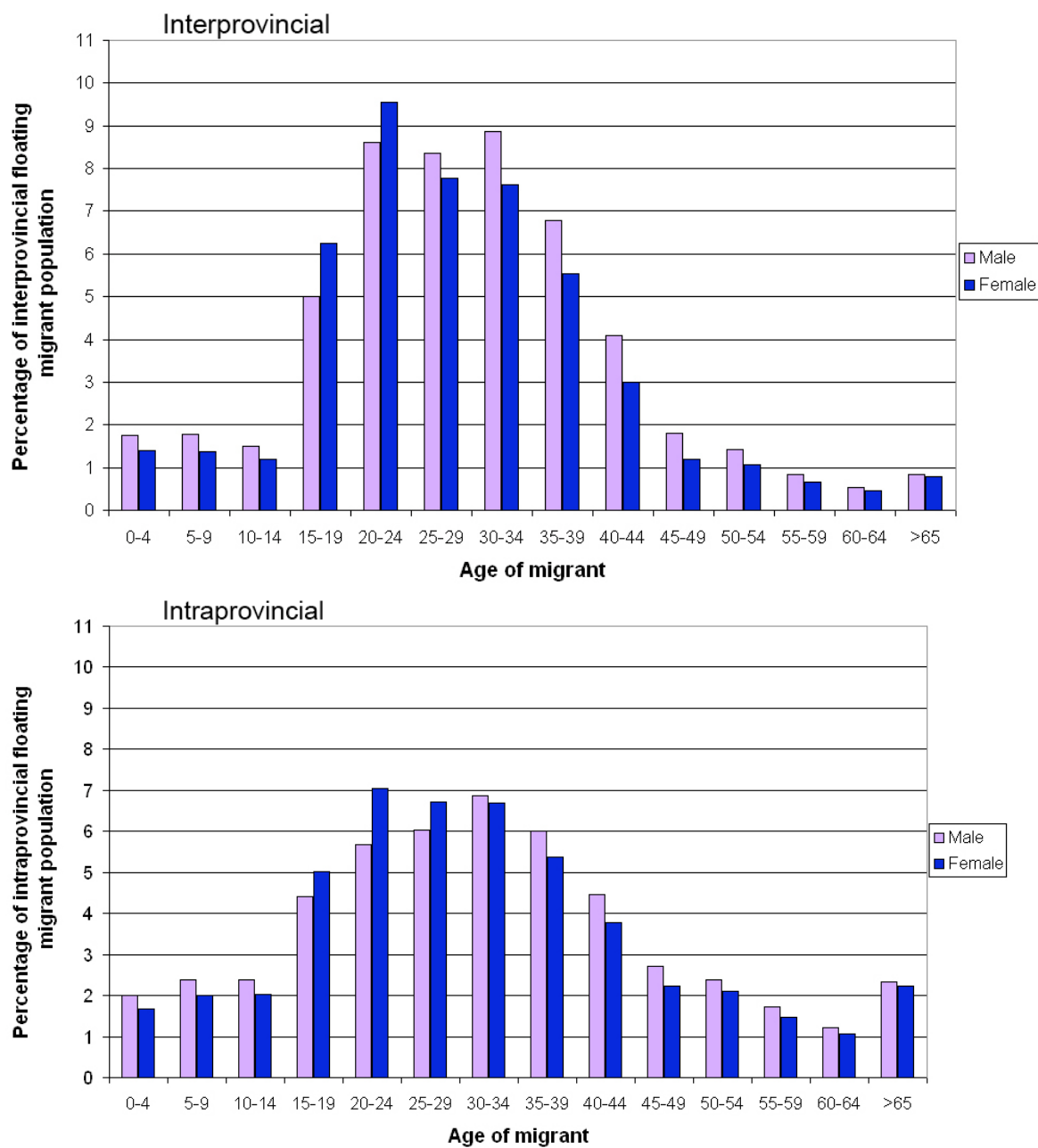
of interprovincial migrants leaving Anhui, one of China's poorest and most rural provinces, increased by the largest amount, by 1.7 million between 2000 and 2005. The number of intraprovincial migrants in Anhui also increased by 13 percent.

7.3. Characteristics of the floating migrant population

7.3.1. Gender and age

Males and females were quite equally represented in the floating migrant population in 2005. Females accounted for 49.5 percent of all floating migrants, representing an increase on 2000, when 47.4 percent were female. Data for 1995 were not available. Males made up a slightly larger proportion of the interprovincial migrant population, at 52.6, compared with 49.7 percent for intraprovincial migrants. Overall, male migrants tended to be older than female migrants. Amongst interprovincial migrants, males were older than females by an average of 1 year, and for intraprovincial migrants males were older by 7 months. Larger numbers of females than males migrate between the ages of 15-24 for interprovincial migrants and 15-29 for intraprovincial migrants. In all other age groups, numbers of males are greater than numbers of females. This is probably due to the fact that women in China tend to marry at an earlier age than men (Fan 2008, 96), and will often return home to marry a partner from their place of origin, sometimes chosen by their parents. Men, who marry later, generally spend longer working and saving money, before returning home to find a wife. Overall, interprovincial migrants tend to be more sharply distributed around the ages 20-34. Intraprovincial migration also peaks between these ages, but does not drop off as rapidly as interprovincial migration at older and younger ages, and is more evenly distributed over all ages.

Figure 6: Age composition of inter- and intraprovincial floating migrant population



Source: (NBSC 2007)

7.3.2. Rural and urban aspects of migration

Table 5 gives information on the places of origin and destination of floating migrants. It is clear that migrants predominantly aimed for urban areas in 2005, with just over 96

million floating migrants moving to cities. Towns came a distant second, receiving 28 million floating migrants, and rural areas received 23 million.

Rural-to-urban migration remained the dominant mode of migration in 2005, accounting for 49 percent of all migration. In other words, there were approximately 73 million rural-to-urban migrants in China in 2005, more than the entire population of the UK. Urban-to-urban migrants numbered 52 million, accounting for 35 percent of all floating migrants in 2005. Unsurprisingly, the number of urban-to-rural migrants was very low, and accounted for just 3.5 percent of all migration.

Data showing the type of place of origin (rural/urban) disaggregated by place of destination could not be located for 2000 for the floating migrant population as a whole, so the proportions of floating migrants accounted for by each mode of migration could not be compared between the two years. However, Fan (Fan 2008, 26) presented this data for the interprovincial population, allowing comparisons to be made.

The interprovincial migrant population in 2005 was more dominated by rural-to-urban migrants than the floating migrant population as a whole; they accounted for 65 percent of all interprovincial migrants. This was a noteworthy increase on 2000, when 57 percent were rural-to-urban migrants (Fan 2008, 26). The share of urban-to-urban migrants remained relatively unchanged, increasing slightly from 16 percent in 2000 to 17 percent in 2005 (Fan 2008, 26).

51 percent of intraprovincial migrants had rural *hukou* in 2005, slightly lower than the 52 percent figure for 2000. The percentage of interprovincial migrants with rural *hukou* was higher, at 82 percent. This represented a 4 percent increase on the figure for 2000.

Given the increases in rural-urban income inequality between 2000 and 2005 (see figure 3), and the rapid economic growth being experienced in urban areas, particularly in eastern provinces, while many inland rural areas stagnate, it is unsurprising that migration flows have become more predominantly rural-to-urban. As the wages on offer to rural residents in urban areas become higher and higher in relation to what they can earn at home, or in other rural destinations, the relative attractiveness of migration to an urban area inevitably increases.

This trend is also demonstrated by the reduction in the proportion of interprovincial rural-to-rural migration. In 2005, this accounted for over 17 percent of all interprovincial migration. While this figure may appear high, it is significantly less than in 2000, when 23 percent of rural-to-rural migrants originated from other provinces (Fan 2008, 26). Liang identifies two major sources of this type of interprovincial migration. Peasants from relatively developed rural areas often hire migrants from other provinces (who are often from rural areas) to carry out farm work, while they carry out other non-agricultural activities. Secondly women from poor rural areas may migrate to more well-off rural areas in other provinces to marry (Liang 2004, 477 citing Du and Bai 1997, Fan 2002b). The reduced prevalence of rural-to-rural interprovincial migration may be due to interprovincial migrants being more attracted to urban areas, where they can earn better wages than in rural areas.

Table 5: Origin and destination place types of floating migrant populations

Current place of residence	Type of registration (Total)		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	147,350,000	56,993,632	90,356,368
Urban (City+Town)	124,340,794	51,833,754	72,507,040
City	96,115,219	44,440,409	51,674,810
Town	28,225,574	7,393,269	20,832,230
Rural	23,009,206	5,159,954	17,849,252

Current place of residence	Type of registration (Interprovincial)		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	47,790,000	8,449,573	39,340,499
Urban (City+Town)	38,677,601	7,603,547	31,074,054
City	30,941,546	6,521,390	24,420,083
Town	7,736,054	1,082,084	6,653,970
Rural	9,112,472	846,098	8,266,373

Current place of residence	Type of registration (Intraprovincial)		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Total	99,560,000	49,283,745	50,276,178
Urban (City+Town)	85,784,801	44,908,900	40,875,901
City	65,190,736	38,500,730	26,690,083
Town	20,594,065	6,408,169	14,185,818
Rural	13,775,122	4,374,845	9,400,276

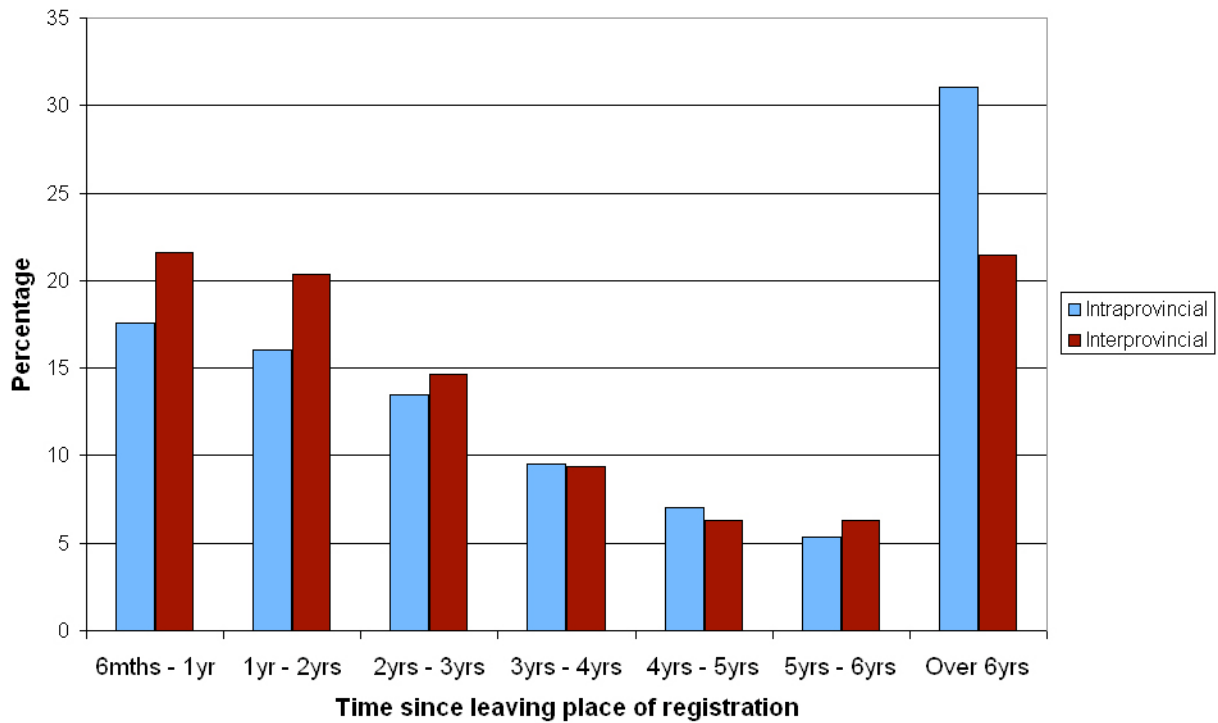
Source: (NBSC 2007)

7.4. Reasons for migration and duration of stay

Interprovincial migrants tend to remain at their destinations for shorter periods of time than intraprovincial migrants. In 2005, 22 percent of interprovincial migrants had been away from their place of registration for more than 6 years, compared with 31 percent of intraprovincial migrants. A higher percentage of interprovincial migrants were recent arrivals: 57 percent had arrived within the three years prior to the survey, compared to 47 percent of intraprovincial migrants.

Intraprovincial migrants may find it easier and more desirable to stay at their place of destination for longer periods of time. It is relatively easier to transfer one's *hukou* in one's home province, and intraprovincial migrants may be more able to travel home regularly to visit family and friends, meaning that intraprovincial migration may constitute less of a separation from one's home place than interprovincial migration. Many interprovincial migrants see migration as more of a short-term strategy to earn money, which can be used later to start a business, or pay for a wedding, etc. (Fan 2008, 89) while for intraprovincial migrants, migration may be more of a long-term way of life.

Figure 7: Time since leaving place of *hukou* registration of inter- and intraprovincial migrants

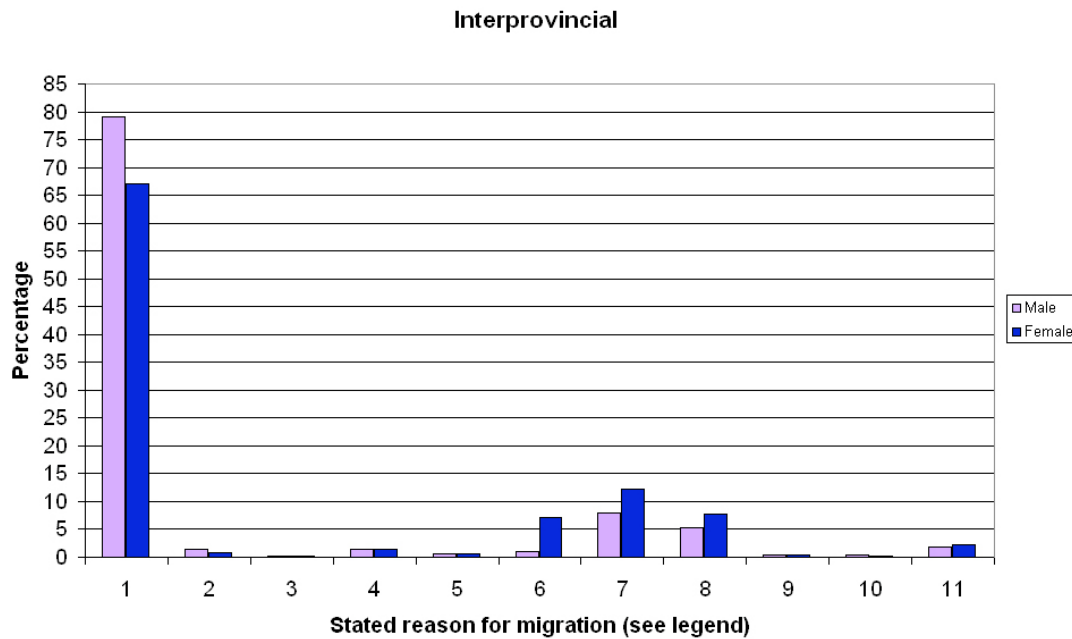


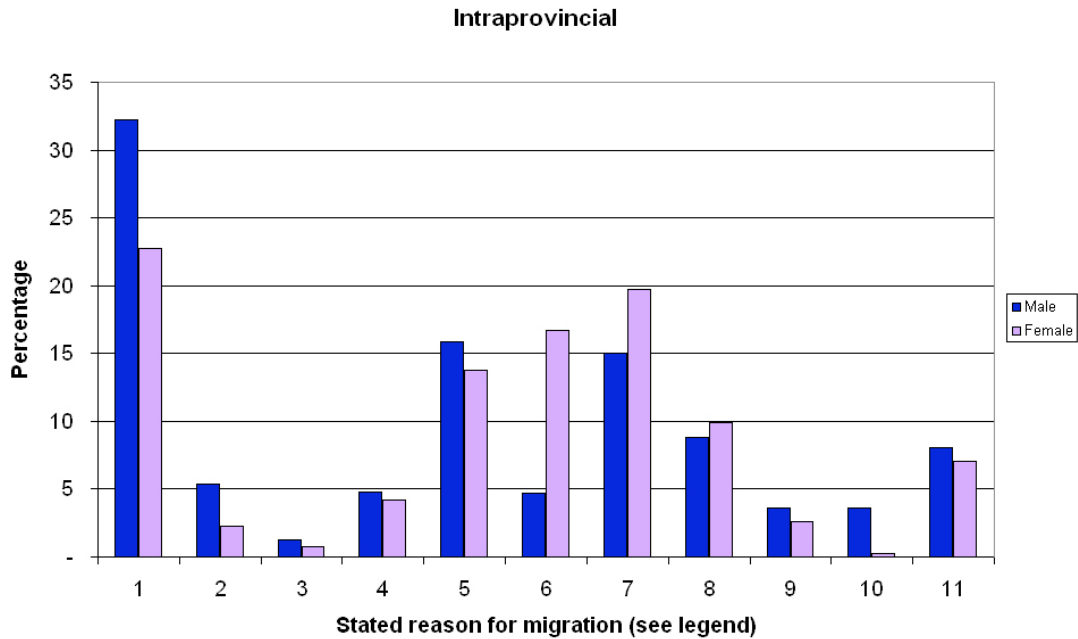
Source: (NBSC 2007)

In 2005, interprovincial migrants were much more likely than intraprovincial migrants to have migrated in search of work in “business or labour” (*wugong jingshang*), with 73 percent of interprovincial migrants giving this as their reason for migrating (see figure 8).

For male interprovincial migrants this was even more the case, with 79 percent stating this reason, compared with 67 percent of women. It is worth noting however, that in 1990, only 16.6 percent of female interprovincial migrants stated this reason (Fan 2008, 82), strong evidence that females are increasingly migrating for economic reasons, rather than social or family-related reasons. Only 28 percent of intraprovincial migrants gave “business or labour” as their reason for migration, and just 32 percent of male intraprovincial migrants. Important reasons for intraprovincial migration were: “demolition of house or moving house” (*chaiqian banjia*), (15 percent), “marriage” (*hunyin jiaqu*) (11 percent, and 17 percent of women), “following family members” (*suiqian jiashu*) (17 percent) and “visiting relatives” (*touqin kaoyou*) (9 percent).

Figure 8: Stated reasons for migration of inter- and intraprovincial migrants





Legend: 1=Seeking business or labour, 2=Work transfer, 3=Job assignment, 4=Study/training, 5=Moving house or house demolished, 6=Marriage, 7=Joining family, 8=Visiting friends or relatives, 9=Changing hukou, 10=Business trip, 11=Other. Source: (NBSC 2007)

8. Discussion and Conclusions

This dissertation used data from the 2005 1% Sample Survey, and 2000 Chinese Census, to provide information on China's floating migrant population. Changes in floating migration patterns, and characteristics of the floating migrant population, between 2000 and 2005, were assessed. Data from the 1995 1% Sample Survey were used to provide context.

The period between 2000 and 2005 marked a turning point in the history of migration in modern China. While the two decades prior to 2000 saw a rapid increase in the floating migration, from around 11 million in 1982 to over 140 million in 2000, the period between 2000 and 2005 constituted a period of significantly reduced growth, and large-scale redistribution of migrants. Although the floating migrant population increased by

just 3 million, interprovincial migration continued to grow comparatively rapidly. Increasing rural-urban disparities combined with greater demand for labour in eastern coastal areas induced more and more migrants to move east and increased the predominance of the rural-to-urban mode of migration. At the same time, interprovincial migration flows became more 'focussed' and directional, redistributing migrants more efficiently to more economically developed areas, particularly Guangdong, Fujian, and the Yangtze River Delta provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Shanghai. Intraprovincial migration fell slightly, and in poorer provinces, intraprovincial migrants increasingly chose to migrate interprovincially. Interprovincial migrants were predominantly in search of employment, typically in manual labour work, or small-scale businesses, while intraprovincial migrants migrated for a wider range of reasons, many related to family – marriage, following relatives, or visiting friends/family. Gender ratios became increasingly balanced, but female migration was still more clustered around younger ages. As rural-urban inequality increased, so did rural-to-urban migration, which became even more predominant than in previous years, particularly among interprovincial migrants. Urban-to-urban migration remained important, and rural-to-rural migration became less common.

The future of floating migration in China is difficult to predict. On the one hand, it seems unlikely that the floating migrant population will grow at the rates seen during the 1980s and 1990s in the near future. The ageing of China's population will continue to reduce the number of young people with high propensity to migrate, while many of those currently migrating will return home. However, if inequality continues to rise in China, particularly rural-urban, and east-west inequality, migration will become an increasingly

attractive prospect for many more people, and the floating migrant population may begin to grow again. How China's *hukou* system develops will also play an influential role. If controls are relaxed further, and migration to more economically developed areas becomes even easier, this may make migration a more attractive option to many more people, and may also change the demographic of the floating migrant population, as increasing numbers of people who generally have lower propensity to migrate adopt a migration strategy.

Floating migration has numerous benefits and drawbacks, which need to be considered when policies are being designed. Floating migrants are generally poorer, more vulnerable, and more socially excluded than those with local *hukou*. Migration may have negative consequences for the children of migrants, and may give rise to various social problems, associated with the influx of a large number of people from one area into another. However, the beneficial aspects of migration should not be undervalued. Migrants channel resources, in the form of money and knowledge, from the place to which they migrate to their home place, and it has been shown that migration has increased rural incomes, raised rural productivity, and alleviated poverty in rural areas (Fan 2008, 123). Furthermore, migrants constitute a large proportion of the workforce fuelling China's rapid economic growth – they are playing a critical role in 'building' China. It could also be argued that China, which will soon be facing the challenges of a rapidly ageing population (Peng and Guo 2000, 77) should take advantage of its demographic dividend while it lasts, and attempt to facilitate migration, allowing a freer flow of labour to the areas where it can be most effective in promoting economic growth.

9. Bibliography

1010Job Website (2008) “Beijing Zhengtong Wugong Renyuan Gongzi” (Monthly wages for labourers in Beijing)
<http://163.1010job.com/forum/ShowPost.asp?action=next&id=38292> (In Chinese)

Baidu Baizhi Website (2008) “Shanghai Wailai Wugong Renyuan Zui Di Gongzi Shi Duoshao, Baokuo Shenme?” (What is the lowest monthly wage for migrant labourers in Shanghai? What does it include?) <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/46710458.html> (In Chinese)

BBC News Website (2006) “Olympic Games the Chinese way”
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6184022.stm>

Champion, A. G., G. Hugo (2003) *New Forms of Urbanization: Beyond the Urban-Rural Dichotomy*, Ashgate Publishing

Chan, K. W., L. Zhang (1999) “The Hukou System and Rural-Urban Migration in China: Processes and Changes” *The China Quarterly*, **160**: 818-855

Cheng, T., M. Selden (1994) “The Origins and Social Consequences of China’s Hukou System” *The China Quarterly* **139**: 644-668

China Population Sample Survey Office (1997) *Tabulations of the 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey* Beijing: China Statistics Publishing House

Davin, D. (1999) *Internal Migration in Contemporary China* Macmillan Press

Davin, D. (2005) “Women and Migration in Contemporary China” *China Report*, **41**(1): 29-38

Du, Y., B. Nansheng (1997) *Step Out of Countryside: Empirical Analysis of Labor Migration from Rural China* Economics and Science Press

Fan, C. C. (2002a) “The Elite, the Natives, and the Outsiders: Migration and Labor Market Segmentation in Urban China” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **92**(1): 103-124

Fan, C. C. (2002b) “Marriage and Migration in Transitional China: A field study of Gaozhou, Western Guangdong” *Environment and Planning* **34**:619-638

Fan, C. C. (2008) “China on the Move: Migration, the state, and the household” Routledge

Garnaut, R., L. Song (2006) *The Turning Point in China’s Development* Asia Pacific Press, Australian National University

- He, J., J. Pooler (2002) "The Regional Concentration of China's Interprovincial Migration Flows, 1982-90" *Population and Environment* **24**(2)
- IOM (2005) "Migration, Development, and Poverty Reduction in Asia" United Nations Publications
- IOM (2006) "Domestic Migrant Remittances in China: Distribution, Channels and Livelihoods" IOM Migration Research Series
- Lavelly, W. (2001) "First Impressions from the 2000 Census of China" *Population and Development Review* **27**(4): 755-769
- Liang, Z. (1999) "Foreign Investment, Economic Growth, And Temporary Migration: The Case of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, China" *Development and Society* **28**(1): 115-137
- Liang, Z. (2001) "The Age of Migration in China" *Population and Development Review* **27**(3): 499-524
- Liang, Z. (2004) "China's Floating Population: New Evidence from the 2000 Census" *Population and Development Review* **30**(3): 467-488
- Liang, Z., Chen Y. P. (2007) "The educational consequences of migration for children in China" *Social Science Research* **36**: 28-47
- Lo, T. W., G. Jiang (2007) "Inequality, Crime and the Floating Population in China" *Asian Criminology* **1**: 103-118
- Ministry of Commerce (2005), "Top 10 Export Cities" <http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/statistic/ie/200603/20060301722553.html>
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (2001) "2001 Zhongguo Tongji Nianjian" (2001 China Statistical Yearbook) Beijing: China Statistics Press (In Chinese)
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (2002) "Tabulations of the 2000 Census of China" Beijing: China Statistics Press
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (2006) "2006 Zhongguo Tongji Nianjian" (2006 China Statistical Yearbook), Beijing: China Statistics Press (In Chinese)
- National Bureau of Statistics of China (2007) "2005 Quanguo 1% Renkou Chouyang Diaocha Ziliao" (2005 National 1% Population Sample Survey Materials), Beijing: China Statistics Press (In Chinese)
- National Development and Reform Commission Website (2006) <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/xw/t316811.htm>

OECD Website (2008a) “Chinese Economic Performance in the Long Run: Reformist Policies since 1978 Produced Three Decades of Dynamic Growth” http://www.oecd.org/document/35/0,3343,en_2649_33731_40278883_1_1_1_1,00.html

OECD Website (2008b) “China could become world’s largest exporter by 2010” http://www.oecd.org/document/15/0,2340,en_2649_201185_35363023_1_1_1_1,00.html

Peng, X., G. Zhigang (2000) *The Changing Population of China* Blackwell Publishers

Shanghai Municipal Government Website (2007)
<http://www.shanghai.gov.cn/shanghai/node17256/node17432/node17442/index.html>

Spence, J. (1999) *The Search for Modern China* 2nd Edition Norton

UNDP Speech: “Launch of the China Human Development Report 2005” UNDP Beijing

Wang D., F. Cai (2007) *Migration and Poverty Alleviation in China* Institute of Population and Labour Economics Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

World Bank (1998) *Income Disparity in China* Beijing: Zhongguo Caijing Publishing Company

Xiang, B. (1999) ““Zhejiang Village” in Beijing: Creating a visible non-state space through migration and marketized traditional networks” in Pieke, F. N., H. Mallee (1999) *Internal and International Migration: Chinese Perspectives* Curzon

Xinhua News Agency Website (2005) “Population in Shenzhen increases 31 times in 25 years” <http://english.sina.com/china/1/2005/0821/43131.html>

Yao, S., Z. Zhang, Hanmer, L. (2004) “Growing inequality and poverty in China” *China Economic Review* **15**: 145-163

Ye, W. (2000) “International Migration Patterns” in Peng, X., G. Zhigang (2000) *The Changing Population of China*, Blackwell Publishers

Yu, D. (2002) *Chengxiang Shehui: Cong Geli Zouxiang Kaifang – Zhongguo Huji Zhidu Yu Hujifa Yanjiu (City and Countryside Societies: From Segregation to Opening – Research on China’s Household Registration System and Laws)*, Shandong Renmin Chubanshe (Shandong People’s Press)

Zhao, Y. (2002) “Causes and Consequences of Return Migration: Recent Evidence from China” China Center for Economic Research, pp. 1-29

Zhongguo Tongyong Lüyou Wang (China Connect Travel Network Website) (2008)
http://www.51766.com/traffic/lists/coach_1004101_10031.html