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China: Internal and Regional Migration Trends

Zusammenfassung: Der Aufsatz liefert zunächst einen kurzen Überblick über die gebremste Migration in den ersten drei Jahrzehnten der Volksrepublik und die konzeptionelle Umorientierung der Urbanisierungspolitik nach Maos Tod. Er präsentiert sodann neue Daten und Schätzungen über den Umfang sowohl der permanenten Migration als auch der schwer abgrenzbaren mobilen Bevölkerung. Die auf ihrer Basis errechneten Migrationsraten bleiben nach wie vor niedrig. Während Bildungsstand und Alter der Migranten ein klares Bild abgeben, gibt es größere Variation hinsichtlich der Geschlechteranteile. Der Aufsatz stellt hohe Urbanisationsraten fest, die durch administrative Änderungen und die Mitzählung von landwirtschaftlicher Bevölkerung aufgebläht sind. Abschließend kommentiert er jüngere Erhebungen zur saisonalen Arbeitskräftewanderung aus den Dörfern und die Muster von Urbanisierung und Migration auf Provinzebene.

Schlagworte: Migration, Mobilität, Volumen, Migrationsraten, Selektivität, Urbanisierung, Wanderarbeiter

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Abstract: This article provides a brief overview of retarded urbanisation in the first three decades of the People's Republic and the conceptual reorientation of urbanisation policies after Mao's death. It then presents new data and estimates on the volume of both permanent migration and the hard to define floating population. The migration rates calculated on the basis of these numbers continue to be low. While a clear picture emerges in regard to the educational level and age group of migrants, there is higher variation of gender proportions. The article finds elevated urbanisation rates to be inflated by administrative changes and the inclusion of agricultural population. In conclusion, it comments recent surveys of seasonal labour migration from the villages and patterns of urbanisation and migration on the provincial level.

Key words: Migration, floating population, volume, migration rates, selectivity, urbanization, migrant workers

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1 Introduction

The people of China are, comparatively speaking, on the move. Compared to decades of enforced geographical immobility during the Maoist years, the current increased migration stands in stark contrast. During the economic reform period since about 1978, restrictions on permanent and temporary movement have been somewhat relaxed, and millions of people are leaving their homes for work or personal reasons. This paper looks at official and other reported information on national and provincial migration in China, and analyses the levels, trends, and characteristics of long-term and short-term migration. Data problems and definitional problems are discussed. The focus is on the late 1980s and the 1990s.

2 Background

After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, there was a fair amount of movement in the 1950s and early 1960s. Rapid urbanisation took place as China adopted the Soviet model of industrialisation and eager workers flocked to the cities. The urban proportion of the population rose from 11% in 1950 to 20% in 1960.² Also during the 1950s, the government promoted and financed much Han Chinese movement to border regions to develop these areas and secure the borders. The policies and experiences of the Great Leap Forward and its aftermath caused a major famine during 1958-1961, with about 30 mio. excess deaths. Millions of desperate people fled starvation, some attempting to move to cities or to less affected provinces. But the famine was so widespread that migration was not an adequate solution for most people. As the famine subsided, the government required recent in-migrants to move out of the cities, and many people returned to villages, thus reducing the urban population size and urban proportion of the total population. An anti-urbanisation policy was instituted.

By the mid-1960s, the PRC had established and implemented a rigid system of permanent population registration connected with food rationing. Those who attempted to use trains or other long-distance transport had to carry documentation showing that the travel was officially approved. Anyone who attempted to migrate, especially out of a rural area, was vulnerable to police harassment, blockades of various sorts, refusal of permission to work for income, and inability to get food, housing, medical care, and other essentials of life. A regime of extreme immobility was enforced during the 1960s and 1970s, the only exceptions being politically authorised or ordered movement, official work assignments, and elaborately restricted individual exceptions. During these decades, citizens of China were largely confined to the village or city of their birth. Upon marriage, a woman was allowed to move to the village of her husband and his parents, but she had no right to move to a city or urban town (*zhen*) if her new husband was an urban resident. City residents had a higher standard of living and many more government-provided benefits than rural residents. The government was strongly motivated to hold down the number of beneficiaries of its urban programs, and succeeded to a remarkable degree.

Meanwhile, China was achieving industrial and general economic development. Industry's share of the combined agricultural and industrial gross output value rose from 66% in 1962 to 75% in 1980.³ In the 1960s and 1970s, national income increased at an average annual rate of over 5%.⁴ Yet the urbanisation and employment transformations that would normally accompany such modernisation were blocked. Newly developing areas were denied urban status even when they attained urban characteristics. The great majority of the population was excluded from participation in non-agricultural pursuits and prevented from moving out of the villages. Between 1961 and 1980, China's total population remained 17-19% urban, 81-83% rural.⁵ The proportion of the total population designated as 'agricultural' was 83-85% for

² People's Republic of China, State Statistical Bureau, *Statistical Yearbook 1993*, Beijing 1993, p.65.

³ People's Republic of China, State Statistical Bureau, *Statistical Yearbook 1981*, Hong Kong 1981, p.17.

⁴ *Statistical Yearbook 1981*, op.cit., p.20.

⁵ *Statistical Yearbook 1993*, op.cit., p.65.

the entire period 1962-1981⁶, though some of the so-called agricultural population worked in industrial and service jobs in rural and urban areas.

3 Migration and Economic Reform

Mao Zedong died in 1976, and after a leadership transition, Deng Xiaoping came to power and in 1978 began to modify and dismantle the command economy of former decades. Very gradually, some national and provincial government leaders began to accept in theory the notions that:

- economic development requires labour mobility including migration;
- the problem of the huge surplus labour force in agriculture cannot be solved without some geographical mobility for workers;
- urbanisation is an essential part of modernisation and development;
- not all employment has to be created and provided by the state or collectives: individuals can establish their own enterprises and even hire other workers.

In spite of these conceptual shifts on the part of some officials, long-standing habits of control are not easy to break. Official structures and attitudes inherited from earlier Communist decades still suppress much of the migration that would otherwise take place. The urban registration system is still in place, limiting migration.⁷ People who migrate to cities or urban towns for work are usually denied the right to stay and to bring their families with them. Their children have no right to an urban education. Moving even their nuclear family with them is often blocked because there is no housing market or family housing supplied where they work, or because the family could not get access to education, health, or other neighbourhood-associated benefits.

Migrants to urban areas are frequently required to register as 'provisional' residents, and this designation may last for many years. 'Provisional' status blocks normal family life for the migrants and leaves them vulnerable to being expelled from the urban place if unemployment increases or there is an economic downturn. In addition, urban authorities periodically decide that things are out of control and they must call a halt to the in-migration and limit their city's population size and growth. The situation of 'temporary' migrants then becomes more precarious. Even rural-to-rural migration is sometimes difficult. Millions of workers engage in seasonal, circular, or other movement related to their jobs, while leaving their families in their home villages. Only there do the workers' families have their own family-built or village-built housing and access to the rural schools and health clinics supported by local taxes.

4 Reality and Perception

Census data on migration show the size of the migration stream to be very modest. The 1987 one-percent micro-census found that only 3% of the 1987 population (or 30.5 mio. people) had lived in a different location five years earlier, in 1982.⁸ China's 1990 census recorded only 34.1 mio. people (3% of the population) who had lived in a different jurisdiction (city, town, or county) five years before in 1985.⁹

⁶ Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Population Research Institute (CASS), *Zhongguo renkou nianjian 1991 (Almanac of China's Population 1991)*, Beijing 1992, p.425.

⁷ Goldstein, Alice and Sidney Goldstein, 'Migration in China: Methodological and Policy Challenges', in: Dudley L. Poston, Jr., and David Yaukey (eds.), *The Population of Modern China*, New York 1992, pp.617-632.

Goldstein, Alice and Sidney Goldstein, 'Migration Motivations and Outcomes: Permanent and Temporary Migrants Compared', in: *China: The Many Facets of Demographic Change*, Boulder 1996, pp.187-211.

⁸ China, State Statistical Bureau, Department of Population Statistics, *Zhongguo 1987-nian 1% renkou chouyang diaocha ziliao (Tabulations from China's 1% Population Sample Survey)*, Beijing 1988, pp.2, 677.

⁹ China, Population Census Office under the State Council, and Department of Population Statistics, State Statistical Bureau, *Tabulation on the 1990 Population Census of the People's Republic of China*, Beijing 1993, 4 volumes, Vol.1, pp.2, 72-73. People's Republic of China, State Statistical Bureau, *Zhongguo tongji nianjian 1995 (China Statistical Yearbook 1995)*, Beijing 1995, p.72.

The one-percent micro-census of October 1995 estimated that merely 33.2 mio. people, 2.7% of the total population, had lived in a different county, city or urban district jurisdiction five years earlier in 1990.¹⁰

Of the nation-wide migrants during 1990-1995, almost 12 mio. moved from rural to urban areas, and nearly 2 mio. from urban to rural areas.¹¹ The net rural-to-urban migration in the first five years of the 1990s was reported to be merely 10.4 mio. persons, constituting only 0.8% of China's 1995 population, 1.2% of the rural population, and 2.9% of the urban population.

The available migration and urbanisation data do not suggest that huge numbers of rural people are going to urban places. Yet Chinese and foreign media and journals often portray the movement as explosive. For instance, an article titled 'The Mobile Population Should Not have Free Reign of the Cities' stated:

Massive, disorderly movement of the population has been one of China's most serious social problems since the 1980s. Due to the rapid development of the urban economy, peasant migration to the urban areas now numbers in the hundreds of millions and has become a social trend.¹²

If migration in China, as shown by the available data, is comparatively marginal, why is the world convinced that there is massive rural-to-urban migration going on in China, threatening to overwhelm the cities and coastal provinces in a sea of eager aspirants? On the one hand, there may be more truth to this perception than the data show. Census migration data may underestimate the true numbers of migrants. In any country, migrants tend to be harder to count than people who stay in one place. In addition, in China many migrants avoid being counted as such. At census time, they may claim that they recently arrived, which results in their being counted at their permanent registration location. On the other hand, the amount of migration actually occurring is probably less, and with far less nation-wide impact, than some observers perceive. If officials, scholars, and commentators exaggerate the true extent of migration in China, where could such misperceptions come from?

First, many officials in China see any population movement as chaotic, out of control, and threatening. For example, municipal officials are used to pushing back all comers from the city gates, and family planning officials want to be certain that no woman will get out from under the system of controlling births. Officials who liked the good old days of near-complete population immobility express frequent alarm about the disasters being caused by too much migration.

Second, using estimates of the 'floating population' to represent migrants exaggerates the numbers of migrants. Chinese scholars, media, and official sources have released estimates for the early 1990s ranging from 50 mio. to 120 mio. floaters, which is a lot in absolute numbers. However, such figures can include large numbers of people who are away from their permanent resident locations for a brief time but who then return home.

The 1995 one-percent micro-census reported that 48 mio. people nation-wide were away from their permanent registration location at census time and had been away for 6 months or more. Adding in those whose registration status was unsettled in some way totalled 56 mio., 4.5% of the population.¹³ Based on other surveys, of those away from their location of permanent residence at any one time, around 35% had been gone for less than 6 months. Therefore, the estimated floating population of China as of October 1995 was in the range of about 75 to 90 mio..¹⁴ But were these 'floaters' all rural-to-urban movers? Certainly not. Of the 48 mio. away from their permanent registration location for 6 months or more, 19 mio. were very short-distance movers enumerated in the same county, city, or urban district as their permanent residence - these were essentially not rural-to-urban migrants. The other 29 mio. had crossed into a different city, county, or district from their legal residence location; of these, 22 mio. were counted in

¹⁰ China, National Population Sample Survey Office, *1995 quanguo 1% renkou chouyang diaocha ziliao (Data from the 1995 National 1% Population Sample Survey)*, Beijing 1997, pp.540-541, 558.

¹¹ *ibid*, p.558.

¹² Zhang Wenyi, 'The Mobile Population Should Not have Free Reign of the Cities', in: *Minzhu yu fazhi (Democracy and the Legal System)*, No. 208, Dec. 6, 1995, pp. 16-18. Tr. in *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report, FBIS-CHI-96-056*.

¹³ 1995 quanguo 1% renkou..., 1997, op.cit., pp.538-539.

¹⁴ Ma Zhongdong, *Temporary Migration and Regional Development in China: A GIS Approach*, presented at the International Workshop on GIS in Spatial Population Analysis and Regional Economic Development, Hongkong 1997.

an urban place.¹⁵ All of these who had come into the urban place since October 1, 1990, would already be included in the census count of migrants. Using Ma's estimation procedure, we can estimate that another 12 mio. people were in the urban places for less than 6 months but registered elsewhere. Adding all these short-term urban floaters (some of whom did not come from rural areas) to the census count of 10.4 mio. net rural-to-urban migrants gives us no more than 22 mio. net rural-to-urban migrants during 1990-1995. This number is small compared to China's 1995 urban population of 353 mio..

Third, throughout most of China, there may not be much migration going on, but from the perspective of the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong Province or the various Special Economic Zones, endless streams of people seem to be coming in. The local impact of migration may be substantial in certain areas of China, even if it is minimal nation-wide. In addition to the strong geographical selectivity of the receiving areas, some of them have high political salience. Even if Beijing and Shanghai were the only places in China receiving substantial net in-migration, this alone would have a disproportionate effect on China's policy-makers.

Fourth, China's transport system was designed and developed in the Maoist era to handle very few people or goods. After all, if people were not supposed to go anywhere, and each part of China was supposed to be self-reliant in food and industrial products, there was no apparent need for an extensive system of railroads and roads and airports. Now, goods and people are competing for the inadequate available transport, and the system is easily overwhelmed.

For the foregoing reasons, perceptions of the gross or net numbers of rural-to-urban migrants in China are way out of line with the reality. Repeated censuses using progressively more sophisticated methods and measures continue to report slow, steady migration, including slow and steady rural-to-urban migration.

5 Who Migrates and Where?

It is easier and less complicated to move a shorter distance than a longer distance. In addition, PRC government policy has been to direct migrants, especially surplus labourers from rural areas, to other rural areas or to nearby urban towns or small cities. During 1985-1990, therefore, two-thirds of China's long-term migrants moved within the same province, and one-third - 11 mio. - moved from one province to another. Most provinces mirrored the nation-wide pattern, with about twice as many in-migrants moving from within the province as moving from another province.¹⁶ The exceptions were the three province-level municipalities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin), whose migrants came overwhelmingly from other provinces. In strong contrast, China's most populous province of Sichuan had 5 times as many intraprovincial in-migrants as interprovincial in-migrants during 1985-1990.

During the early 1990s, over two-thirds of the migrants (22.6 mio. of the 33.2 mio.) moved within the same province, and 10.7 mio. moved from one province to another. Most provinces reflected the national pattern. But in five provinces, fewer than one-fifth of the migrants moved in from outside the province (Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hunan, Guangxi, and Sichuan). In contrast, 43-48% of the migrants came from outside the province into Henan, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Guangdong provinces. More than half the migrants counted in Beijing, Tibet, and Xinjiang moved in from other provinces.¹⁷ China's severe restrictions on permanent migration had the following result: of the small number of interprovincial migrants between 1985 and 1990, long-term 'temporary' migrants outnumbered permanent migrants (6.3 mio. temporary vs. 5.5 mio. permanent nation-wide).¹⁸

¹⁵ 1995 quanguo 1% renkou..., 1997, op.cit., pp.538-539, 542.

¹⁶ *Tabulations on the 1990 Population Census*, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.72-73.

An in-migrant is someone who lived in another city or county five years earlier. Data in this paragraph are for gross, not net, migration.

¹⁷ 1995 quanguo 1% renkou..., 1997, op.cit., pp.540-541.

¹⁸ Yang Xiushi, 'Labour Force Characteristics and Labour Force Migration in China', in: Gregory K. Schoepfle, ed., *Changes in China's Labour Market: Implications for the Future*, U.S. Department of Labour, Bureau of International Economic Affairs, 1996, p.24.

Who migrates? Some information is available from the 1987 one-percent micro-census on education selectivity of migrants in China.¹⁹ In the young adult ages, the best educated had a much higher propensity to migrate than less educated youth. This was true for both sexes. The main exception to this generalisation is young women who migrate at the time of their marriage - those women with poor or middle education tended to move for marriage more than best educated women.

The one-percent micro-census of 1987 reported not only the sex but also the age of migrants. As shown in Figure 1, rural-to-urban migrants of both sexes during 1982-1987 moved primarily when they were 15-29. The 1987 micro-census counted more female rural-to-urban migrants than male. But subsequent data have shown more males than females migrating. Economic migration in China is male-dominant.²⁰

Published national data from the 1990 census did not report the ages of the migrants. However, Zhejiang Province used 1990 census data to calculate the age and sex distribution of long-term out-migrants from the households, as shown in Figure 2. Of the total migrants, adult males outnumbered adult females, and children accompanied some of the adults. Of Zhejiang's long-term economic migrants, two-thirds were male and only one-third were female. The worker migrants were concentrated in the late teens, twenties, thirties, and early forties.

As shown in the map of the annex, between 1985 and 1990, 7 provinces experienced net in-migration totalling more than half of one percent of their 1990 populations. These were the three province-level municipalities of Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin; and the economically booming coastal provinces of Guangdong, Hainan, and Liaoning; as well as one north-central province, Ningxia. Receiving a modest amount of net in-migration in comparison to their population sizes were the north-western provinces of Xinjiang and Qinghai; the central provinces of Shanxi and Henan; and the coastal provinces of Shandong, Jiangsu, and Fujian. The remainder of China's provinces (except for Tibet for which no data are available) were net senders of migrants in the late 1980s. Most but not all of these sending provinces are inland provinces sending migrants toward the coasts.

The PRC inhibits both permanent and temporary migration from rural to urban areas, and from towns to cities.²¹ Partly as a result, much of the recorded migration in 1985-1990 was lateral in geographic status. Of 34.1 mio. long-term migrants, 4.4 mio. moved from city to city, 1.6 mio. from urban town to urban town, and 4.6 mio. from one rural location to another. Therefore, one-third of the migration was lateral.²²

During 1990-1995, lateral migration played an even larger role. Of 33.2 mio. long-term migrants, 8.3 mio. moved from city to city, 0.6 mio. from urban town neighbourhoods to other towns, and 6.0 mio. from one rural township village to another in a different county. Fully 45% of the migrants in the early 1990s moved laterally, suggesting the possibility that rural-to-urban migration was more effectively blocked in the early 1990s than in the late 1980s.²³

6 Components of Urbanisation

During the 1980s and 1990s, after the concept of urbanisation became fashionable among provincial and national leaders, China's urban population figures became distorted by the establishment of hundreds of new cities (*shi*) and thousands of new urban towns (*zhen*) with extraordinarily large boundaries. Whole counties were declared to be cities, without changing the county boundaries. Whole rural townships (formerly the people's communes) were reclassified as urban towns, their former boundaries intact. This process is continuing. An extreme example of this trend is Fujian Province. Because of reclassification of rural places as urban, the administratively urban population of the province increased from 21% in 1982

¹⁹ Ma Zhongdong and Kao-Lee Liaw, 'Education Selectivity in the Internal Migrations of Mainland China', in: *Journal of Population Studies*, No.15, July 1994, pp.135-159.

²⁰ Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996, op.cit.

²¹ Goldstein and Goldstein, 1992 and 1996, op.cit.

²² Tu, Edward Jou-ching, 'Zhongguo dalu 1980 niandai zhong zhi hou renkou qianyi qingkuang' (The Situation of Population Migration in the Chinese Mainland Since the Mid-1980s), in: *Journal of Population Studies*, No.17, Apr. 1996, pp.153-171.

²³ 1995 quanguo 1% renkou..., 1997, op.cit., p.558.

to 57% in 1990 to 84% in 1995.²⁴ This does not correspond to any major shift in the urban characteristics of the population.

Massive establishment of new cities and urban towns with wide boundaries in the 1980s so exaggerated the size of China's urban population that the State Statistical Bureau created a more realistic statistical definition of 'urban population' (the 'second' definition of urban in the 1990 census volumes). The latter definition attempts to limit the 'urban' population to the urbanised residents of neighbourhood committees, while residents of village committees are generally classified as 'rural'. Using this definition, the urban population of China increased from 206 mio. in the 1982 census, 20.6% of China's total population, to 296 mio. in 1990, 26.2% of the nation's population. Therefore, according to this second more reasonable definition, the growth of China's urban population averaged 4.5% a year during the 1982-1990 intercensal period. The natural increase of China's urban population averaged about 1.2% a year in those 8 years. If the net rural-to-urban migration rate from the 1990 census for 1985-90 was applicable to the period 1982-90, the China's urban population grew by about 1.5% a year through rural-to-urban migration during the intercensal period. Therefore, natural population increase and net rural-to-urban migration accounted for an annual increase in China's urban population of about 2.7% per year. the residual 1.8% annual urban growth was attributable to reclassification of rural places as urban.

The extent of urbanisation and the components of urbanisation varied greatly by province during 1982-1990. For example, some provinces had no increase in the urban proportion of their population between 1982 and 1990. Using the (second) statistical definition of urban for the 1990 census, Guizhou Province remained 19% urban, and Fujian Province remained 21% urban in spite of the arbitrary inclusion of half of Fujian's population within the urban administrative boundaries of cities and towns. Henan Province's population was only 14% urban in 1982 and 15% in 1990. At the other end of the spectrum, some of China's most-urbanised provinces increased the urban proportion of their populations during 1982-1990. The urban population of Liaoning Province, already 42% of the provincial total in 1982, constituted 51% of the province's population in 1990. Of the 3.6% annual urban population growth, about 1.0% was natural increase, about 0.7% was net migration into Liaoning's urban areas (including intraprovincial and interprovincial), and 1.9% was reclassification.

In provinces that experienced rapid urban growth in the 1980s, net migration was usually not the main contributing factor. Xinjiang's urban population grew 3.5% annually during the 1982-1990 period, but only 0.4% yearly growth was attributable to net migration. Sichuan Province's urban population grew 5.2% a year in 1982-1990; yet, of that, net migration contributed only 1.0% growth in the urban population each year. One of China's most rapidly urbanising provinces in the 1980s was Guangdong Province. The percent urban increased from 19% in 1982 to 37% in 1990, using the second census statistical definition of urban. The urban population grew 9.2% a year in that 8-year period. Components of the growth were: 2.8% annual urban growth through net migration, 1.5% annual growth from natural population increase, and 4.9% growth through reclassification.

China's one-percent micro-census in October 1995 reported that the country's urban population, using the 'second' statistical definition as in the 1990 census, had increased to 347.52 mio. people, 28.8% of China's total population.²⁵ Based on these figures, the growth of the PRC urban population had slowed to 3.1% a year during 1990-1995, from 4.5% a year during 1982-1990.

Certain PRC government and scholarly organisations are intensely interested in recent and current migration, so they are trying to track the trends through survey and registration data. For example, a Research Group on Annual Analysis of the Rural Economy, consisting of rural development specialists from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the State Statistical Bureau, has begun conducting annual surveys of migrants. The 1993 survey estimated that there were 36 mio. rural-to-urban migrants

²⁴ Fujian Provincial Statistical Bureau, *Fujian tongji nianjian 1996 (Fujian Statistical Yearbook 1996)*, Beijing 1996, p.48.

²⁵ Xinhua, Feb. 14, 1996, 'PRC: Census Indicates Population Growth Slowing', in: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report, FBIS-CHI-96-032*, Feb. 15, 1996, pp. 13-14.

China, State Statistical Bureau, Population and Employment Statistics Office, *1995-nian quanguo 1% renkou chouyang diaocha zhuyao shuju (Major Figures from the 1995 National 1% Population Sample Survey)*, Beijing 1996, pp.127-129.

who were considered 'stabilised' in cities, and the 1994 survey estimated 39 mio. rural-to-urban labour migrants employed in cities and towns²⁶

7 Labour Migration in China, 1985-Present

China's 1990 census asked long-term migrants their reasons for moving. Of the 34.1 mio. total migrants between 1985 and 1990, 4.1 mio. had moved for education and training, and 14.7 mio. had moved for work-related reasons. The remaining 15.3 mio. had moved to marry, retire, be with relatives, accompany their families, or for other reasons.²⁷ The figure of 14.7 mio. labour migrants detected in the census excluded many of the seasonal migrants or other short-term migrants and possibly some who misreported their length of stay.

In the 1990s, China's national government, provincial and local governments, scholars, and journalists have tried to gauge the magnitude of labour migration in China. Of greatest interest are the floating population, interprovincial migration, and rural-to-urban migration. Official policy is to try to control and channel labour migration, rather than to stop it, because the huge surplus labour force in rural China needs real employment. The Ministry of Agriculture enlisted some research teams to study labour migrants from rural areas. They reported that political and academic observers are concerned about the ever-increasing scale of interprovincial migration. Zhang Shanyu, a member of one of the research teams, noted that the sources and destinations of interprovincial migrants are just a few provinces. He pointed out that, according to the 1990 census, 30% of net interprovincial migration in China during 1985-1990 was directed toward the coastal municipalities and provinces of Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Guangdong, and that half the net interprovincial migration was from four central and south-western provinces - Sichuan, Guizhou, Guangxi, and Hunan. While three-quarters of female interprovincial migrants head eastward toward the coasts, only a little over half of male migrants do so.²⁸

During the 1990s, the PRC Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Agriculture, and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences have conducted large rural surveys in order to estimate labour migration from the source households. They find that 10-20% of the rural workers are working outside their immediate village. Some surveys calculate that most of these commute daily or live and work in a nearby town or city, while other surveys find that most rural labour migrants go to cities. The duration of migration is reportedly lengthening.²⁹ The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) gathered 1993 data on labour migrants from rural areas. They discovered that almost 80% of the rural labour out-migrants in their sample went to cities and towns to work, while 20% went to other rural areas. They focused particularly on 'seasonal' workers, those gone from their rural homes part of each year to work. Of these, only 4% migrate for agricultural work, the rest for industry and services. CASS data for 1993 showed that the average time working away from the worker's registration residence was almost 7 months (205 days), while a Ministry of Agriculture 1993 survey found that half of rural seasonal migrants were gone more than 10 months of the year.³⁰

A lively debate is going on in Chinese and foreign media about the negative and positive aspects of China's 'transient' population. In 1994, PRC media reports blamed urban infrastructure problems and crime on the 60 mio. peasants said to be 'floating' among various cities. But a Hong Kong weekly emphasised the positive influence of labour migration on the source provinces, which gained money through remittances. The journal reported that in 1993, 5 mio. citizens of Anhui (8% of Anhui's population) worked outside the province, as did 5 mio. citizens of Sichuan Province (4% of the provincial

²⁶ Chen Jiyuan and Hu Biliang, *Rural Migration and Agricultural and Rural Sustainable Development*, 1995, mimeo.

²⁷ *Statistical Yearbook 1995*, op.cit., pp. 72-75.

²⁸ Ba jia nongcun laodongli liudong yanjiu keti zu weituo nongyebu nongcun jingji yanjiu zhongxin keti zu bianji (Eight topical research groups invited by the Ministry of Agriculture Center for Research on the Rural Economy to research rural labour mobility, editors), 'Zhongguo nongcun laodongli liudong yu renkou qianyi yanjiu zongshu' (Summary of the Studies on China's Rural Labour Mobility and Population Migration), Section D-01, in: *Nongcun laodongli liudong yanjiu tongxun (Bulletin of Rural Labour Mobility Studies)*, 1995, p.5.

²⁹ Chen and Hu, op.cit.; Xinhua, Apr.10, 1996, op.cit.

³⁰ Ba jia..., op.cit., pp.5-81.

population).³¹ In April 1996, 'the country's growing transient population' was estimated at 80 mio.. But this term is defined rather broadly to include 'those who leave their residential areas to do business, visit relatives or friends, travel for pleasure, pursue studies, or seek medical care'.³² This source said that in 1995, 43 mio. people registered as transients, of whom 80% said they were on business trips. The movement was primarily rural-to-urban and inland-to-coastal. Adding to the confusion, different reports give very different estimates of the numbers of migrant labourers. In some cases, smaller numbers may be based on formal provisional registration, while larger numbers may attempt to include movers who have not registered at destination.

One place where migration is having a powerful impact on population growth is the Pearl River Delta of Guangdong Province, near Hong Kong. The total population of the delta almost doubled from 12.6 mio. in 1986 to 24.2 mio. in 1994, according to one scholarly report. The legal resident population grew rapidly, with the net in-migration rate larger than the natural increase rate during 1992-1994. Figure 3 shows that the net migration rate into the Pearl River Delta was high in the late 1980s and again in the 1990s. Meanwhile, the 'provisional' population increased from 1 mio. in 1986 to 4 mio. in 1991 to 10.5 mio. in 1994. By then, the provisional population was almost 80% of the size of the legal permanent resident population, as shown in Figure 4.³³

The Ministry of Labour, alarmed at the disorganised 'gold rush' to booming areas of China, started in 1994 to establish a trans-regional employment system, data base, and service network for migrant labourers. 'According to sample surveys and estimates by the Ministry of Labour, up to 12.5% of the rural work forces are working at places other than their residential areas, and nearly 30 mio. are working outside their native provinces'.³⁴ The Ministry of Labour is trying to 'control random migration' by requiring would-be migrant workers to get a permit from their local government and a certificate from the local government of the intended destination before migrating. The central government also decided to restrict rural labourers from working in major cities where unemployment rates are high. These policies sound much like the policies that limited or blocked migration in the pre-reform era. During 1996-2000, the Ministry of Labour aims to:

limit the interregional movement of workers to the current level....The interregional rural floating population is to be limited to the current level and the majority of redundant rural workers should leave agriculture for new jobs locally....Guide the majority of redundant rural workers to find new jobs where they are, but at the same time organise the orderly movement of labour on an interregional basis.³⁵

In contrast to the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Agriculture supports the acceleration of urbanisation and 'the free flow of labour' from rural to urban areas:

Efforts should be made to promote urbanisation as the locomotive to achieve overall readjustment of the urban-rural structure and thus open new sources of income growth of the peasants....In rural policy, efforts should be made to promote the policy of helping the migrants to gradually cut off their 'embryonic cords' with the traditional communities....How could we facilitate the migratory employment to transfer to permanent settlement?³⁶

³¹ 'Social, Economic Impact of Rural Labour Migration', in: *FBIS Pacific Rim Economic Review*, FBPSP 94-010, Vol. 3, No. 10, May 18, 1994, p.16.

³² Chen Yanni, 'PRC: Ministry Official Says Transient Population Well Managed', in: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report*, FBIS-CHI-96-065, Apr. 3, 1996, pp. 41-42.

³³ Zeng Yi and Jiang Leiwen, *Population Growth, Land Use, and Environmental Protection in the Pearl River Delta in China*, paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Baltimore, Feb. 1996.

³⁴ Xinhua, Apr. 10, 1996, 'PRC: State to Promote Orderly Migration of Rural Workers', in: *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report*, FBIS-CHI-96-070, Apr. 10, 1996, pp. 72-73.

³⁵ 'PRC: Minister Discusses Goals of Labour Ministry', Tr. from Li Baiyong, 'Objectives of Labour Work in New Century,' *Renmin Juntan (People's Forum)*, Jan. 8, 1996, *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report*, FBIS-CHI-96-060, *Economic Affairs*.

³⁶ China, Ministry of Agriculture, Research Centre of Rural Economics, Research Team, *The Flow of Rural Labour in China: Migrants and their Area of Export*, paper presented at the International Conference on the Flow of Rural Labour in China, Beijing, June 1996.

The Ministry of Agriculture is also actively gathering information on labour migrants. Its first comprehensive survey of migrant labour found that the typical migrant is a male (75%) and has an education up to middle school or beyond (64%). Of the migrants, 99% find jobs, and 67% retain them for two or more years or return regularly to the same seasonal work. The survey found that workers resist the restrictions on their movement - nearly 69% of migrants did not notify officials in their hometowns of their decision to leave, and 79% did not register their arrival in the cities.³⁷ If migrants do not register as 'provisional' migrants, then figures based on provisional registrations would seriously underestimate migration.

8 Projecting China's Provincial Populations

China is the world's most populous country, and national population estimates and projections, while very useful, mask considerable variation among provinces and regions. Some of China's provinces have populations of over 50 mio. people, the largest being Sichuan with 113 mio.. These provinces dwarf the populations of most of the world's countries. To explore how demographic, social, and economic trends vary across China, we focus on the populations of selected provinces, estimating and projecting their rural and urban populations and the migration streams within and between provinces. The high quality, single-year-of-age data from China's 1990 census provide an excellent beginning for projecting China's provincial populations. Age-sex structure, mortality, and fertility data are available for each province's rural and urban populations. Some adjustment is required for underreporting of deaths, but this does not change expectation of life very much. Fertility patterns are superbly reported. China's State Statistical Bureau carries out annual surveys of population change; since 1989, these surveys have reported crude birth rates for each province each year that can be used if adjusted for underreporting of births.

The 1990 census reported data on long-term migrants, summarised in Appendix Table A-1 for selected provinces. Appendix Table A-2 compares the annual migration figures from the 1990 census and the 1995 micro-census for the same provinces. High quality projection software, such as the Census Bureau's Rural-Urban Projection (RUP) program, can utilise data on net migration by sex. We project intraprovincial rural-to-urban net migration by sex, as well as net migration between each province's urban areas and other provinces, and net interprovincial migration with the rural areas of the province. Some adjustments to the reported data are necessary, and various assumptions can be made about future migration trends and levels. In order to replicate the urbanisation taking place in each province, a component for reclassification has to be added to the reported or estimated rural-to-urban migration. For instance, Heilongjiang Province experienced continuing urbanisation during the 1982-1990 intercensal period, with the urban population increasing from 40% to 48% of the provincial total. We calculated that, of the 3.2% annual growth of the urban population, 1.0% growth was caused by natural population increase, 0.7% growth by reported long-term net migration, and 1.5% growth was due to reclassification. Urbanisation reportedly continued at a similar pace into the 1990s, with 52% of Heilongjiang's population urban by yearend 1994. So it was necessary to include a strong reclassification component to replicate the reported urbanisation in the projection. To do so, we assume that the same reclassification rate applies equally across the entire rural age structure. Rural people become urban without moving.

As seen in Appendix Table A-1, most provinces so far studied exhibited a similar migration pattern during the late 1980s. Within each province, there was positive net rural-to-urban migration flow. Generally speaking, more males than females moved from rural to urban areas within the province. However, in the Northeast, all three provinces reported more females than males migrating from rural to urban areas within the province. In most of the provinces studied, there was also a net outflow from the rural areas in the province to destinations outside the province. Usually males dominated this flow. Yet in Guizhou, females far more than males left the rural areas for other provinces. In the province-level municipalities of Shanghai and Beijing, many migrants came from other provinces into the rural areas of the municipality. In some provinces, gross migration into the urban areas from other provinces is more-or-less balanced by interprovincial outflow from the urban areas. For example, Jilin and Heilongjiang recorded fairly balanced migration in and out of their urban areas from and to other provinces. The usual situation is that people who cross provincial boundaries go to the urban areas in their provinces of destination. Males dominate the interprovincial flow into urban Beijing, Liaoning, Shanghai, Henan, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Xinjiang.

³⁷ Gilley, Bruce, 'Irresistible Force', in: *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Apr. 4, 1996, p.20.

But females outnumber males moving from other provinces into the booming urban areas of Guangdong Province.

Appendix Table A-2 compares 1985-1990 with 1990-1995 intraprovincial and interprovincial migration flows for selected provinces. Several striking trends are apparent, some of them unexpected. First, in general the numbers of long-term movers within and between provinces declined in the early 1990s compared to the late 1980s, based on the available censuses. Intraprovincial rural-to-urban migration declined in most of the provinces studied; very sharp declines were reported in eleven of the fifteen provinces. Only two of the fifteen provinces, Shandong and Jiangsu, reported increased within-province rural-to-urban migration. Another unexpected finding is that interprovincial migration from and to the urban areas of thirteen of these fifteen provinces decreased greatly in the early 1990s compared to the late 1980s. In general, then, we can hypothesise that China's urban areas have recently become less involved in sending and receiving migrants.

The inland provinces of Heilongjiang, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Henan saw greatly increased interprovincial migrant flows from rural areas. In these provinces, fewer rural out-migrants went to urban destinations in their own provinces while more left the provinces. A major shift in rural interprovincial movement was that nine of these fifteen provinces attracted many more in-migrants than before to their rural areas. Most of these rural magnets are coastal provinces, for example Guangdong, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian. Some inland provinces such as Xinjiang also received increased numbers of migrants from other provinces to their rural regions. Two of these fifteen provinces continue to stand out as interprovincial urban magnets. Urban Shanghai received more in-migrants and sent fewer urban people out of the municipality in the early 1990s than in the previous five years. Guangdong urban areas also received more migrants from other provinces.

The patterns and levels of long-term migration recorded for 1985-1990 and for 1990-1995 can be used to begin provincial urban-rural population projections from the 1990 census. Any further, newer information can be incorporated as it becomes available to model migration in the 1990s. Our provincial projections provide realistic assumptions and results for each province, based on the best and most recent province-level data available. In contrast, most projections that have been attempted for China's provinces usually have most or all of the following problems: they do not begin with the best quality or most recent data on the provincial population; they do not project the urban and rural components of the provincial population; they assume perfect achievement of the family planning policy rather than a more realistic fertility level; they assume that a formal target for the total population of the province in, say, the year 2000 will be met exactly; they do not adjust for underreporting of deaths; and they ignore migration entirely.

Our provincial projections provide plausible estimates for the coming decades for the total, urban, and rural population sizes and age-sex structures of selected provinces. It would also be possible to create alternative scenarios for particular provinces of interest, by beginning the projections with the same basic input but changing certain assumptions. For example, one could model what would happen to a provincial population if the policy changed to allow both urban and rural couples to bear two children. One could also project what would happen to a certain province's population if the migration flow into its urban areas from other provinces doubled in the coming five years.

9 Conclusions

Nationally representative data so far available show that China has experienced moderate urbanisation in the 1980s and early 1990s. Less than one-third of China's population resides in cities and urban towns, according to the one-percent micro-census of 1995. Recent surveys detect fewer than 40 mio. rural-to-urban migrants 'stabilised' in China's cities and towns, out of an urban population of 348 mio.. Census migration data for the 1980s showed that migration was limited and channelled. Most migrants moved within their own provinces, and much migration was lateral. Interprovincial migration came heavily from four inland provinces and was directed strongly toward certain primarily coastal provinces. Of the interprovincial migrants, more were categorised as 'provisional' than 'permanent.'

Anecdotal evidence suggests that 'provisional' labour migration may have picked up in the early 1990s. Data supporting this notion are lacking, except for evidence from some localities and regions like the Pearl River Delta. Some surveys have focused on the movement of workers from rural households for seasonal, circular, or provisional migration out of the villages. About 10-20% of rural workers are

reportedly working outside their immediate villages, but the impact of this movement is unclear, because the surveys differ regarding where they go - nearby or far away, to rural or urban areas. Migration data from the 1995 one-percent micro-census confirm once again that intraprovincial, interprovincial, and rural-to-urban migration in China are rather moderate and controlled. Indeed, nation-wide and in many provinces, rural-to-urban migrants were much less numerous during the first five years of the 1990s than in the last five years of the 1980s. Interprovincial migration into and out of many provinces also declined.

Perceptions of migration and its impact in China vary greatly, depending partly on the observer's perspective. Those trying to solve the rural surplus labour problem tend to see the positive aspects of labour migration. Those trying to deal with urban employment, housing, and infrastructure problems tend to register distress at the influx of workers from rural areas. There is inconsistency between the moderate pace of migration documented in the available data and the apparent misperception that massive rural-to-urban migration is taking place.

Appendix Table A-1, China, Selected Provinces: Reported Migration Gross and Net Flows, Annual Average 1985-1990

Province	Sex	Rural-to-urban intraprovincial			Rural Interprovincial			Urban Interprovincial		
		Gross internal r-to-u migration	Gross internal u-to-r migration	Net internal r-to-u migration	Gross migration from rural areas to outside province	Gross migration from outside province to rural areas	Net migration from rural areas to outside province	Gross migration from outside province to urban areas	Gross migration from urban areas to outside province	Net migration from outside province to urban areas
NORTH										
Hebei	M	54,616	4,992	49,624	59,581	6,540	53,041	45,014	35,070	9,943
	F	48,677	2,065	46,611	35,565	25,208	10,357	41,579	16,535	25,044
Beijing	M	6,477	522,000	5,955	2,258	3,369	-1,112	98,042	20,004	78,038
	F	4,464	241,000	4,223	1,107	4,028	-2,921	49,415	6,665	42,750
NORTHEAST										
Heilongjiang	M	54,289	3,859	50,430	31,619	9,741	21,878	44,559	37,865	6,694
	F	55,501	2,993	52,508	34,796	6,503	28,293	22,736	33,784	(11,048)
Jilin	M	26,317	1,803	24,515	18,951	4,083	14,868	29,159	24,208	4,951
	F	30,740	1,105	29,635	20,172	3,370	16,802	17,368	17,473	(105)
Liaoning	M	47,213	3,355	43,858	12,532	9,435	3,097	64,315	28,416	35,898
	F	49,974	2,337	47,637	11,942	10,164	1,778	39,29	14,155	25,135
NORTHWEST										
Xinjiang	M	13,161	4,030	9,130	8,130	16,094	(7,964)	34,425	27,676	6,749
	F	12,026	2,593	9,433	6,127	9,665	(3,538)	17,489	21,116	(3,627)
SOUTHWEST										
Sichuan	M	131,553	15,796	115,757	131,669	15,117	116,552	53,192	36,168	17,024
	F	116,355	6,222	110,133	109,449	14,528	94,921	24,545	21,816	2,729
Guizhou	M	29,185	3,011	26,174	10,454	4,930	5,525	25,388	12,515	12,873
	F	22,364	1,492	20,872	37,33	2,816	34,514	10,251	10,789	(538)
CENTRAL AND SOUTH										
Henan	M	92,481	9,542	82,939	58,601	15,822	42,779	47,454	25,230	22,224
	F	64,634	3,330	61,304	37,849	18,010	19,839	27,415	12,325	15,090
Guangdong	M	210,520	4,663	205,857	17,721	6,986	10,735	126,584	23,599	102,985
	F	205,873	1,083	204,790	8,403	5,950	2,454	146,989	7,207	139,782
EAST										
Shandong	M	65,466	4,765	60,700	52,338	7,688	44,650	57,956	26,506	31,450
	F	52,242	4,180	48,062	30,697	19,260	11,438	53,823	12,013	41,810
Jiangsu	M	90,979	7,446	83,533	64,169	15,917	48,252	74,727	33,040	41,687
	F	69,238	2,349	66,888	31,233	31,650	(416)	57,854	12,575	45,279
Shanghai	M	9,944	4,433	5,511	2,220	19,755	(17,535)	82,814	19,474	63,340
	F	6,612	2,604	4,008	1,064	11,090	(10,025)	38,753	7,370	31,383
Zhejiang	M	51,275	5,203	46,072	68,051	7,603	60,448	34,699	24,701	9,998
	F	43,605	2,127	41,478	38,580	9,171	29,409	25,281	12,377	12,904
Fujian	M	44,193	6,100	38,093	21,068	7,621	13,446	23,427	17,676	5,751
	F	32,217	2,880	29,336	9,656	10,692	(1,036)	15,672	5,779	9,893

Source: Census of 1990, 1993, Vol. 4, pp. 152-331.

Appendix Table A-2. China, Selected Provinces: Reported Migration Gross and Net Flows, Annual Average 1985-1990 and 1990-1995

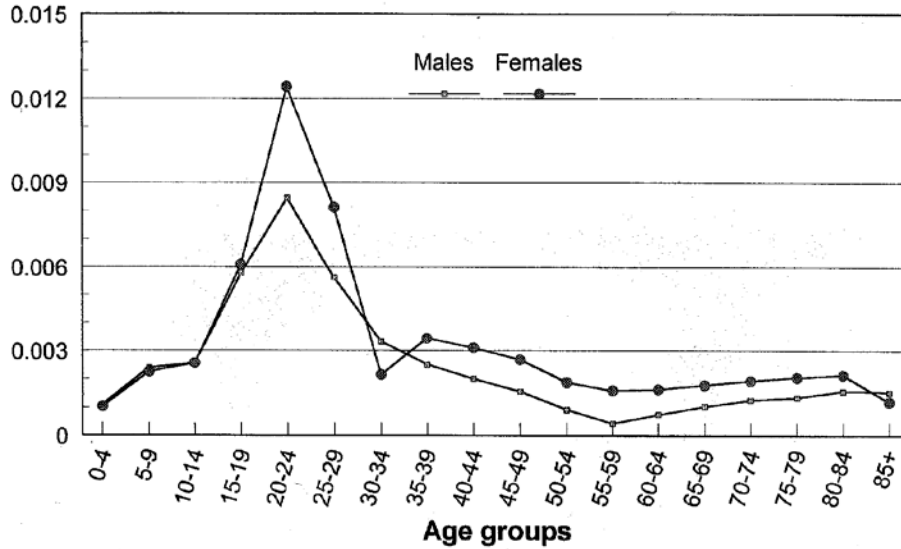
Province	Years	Rural-to-urban intraprovincial			Rural Interprovincial			Urban Interprovincial		
		Gross internal r-to-u migration	Gross internal u-to-r migration	Net internal r-to-u migration	Gross migration from rural areas to outside province	Gross migration from outside province to rural areas	Net migration from rural areas to outside province	Gross migration from outside province to urban areas	Gross migration from urban areas to outside province	Net migration from outside province to urban areas
NORTH										
Hebei	1985-90	103,292	7,057	96,235	95,145	31,748	63,398	86,593	51,606	34,987
	1990-95	71,277	5,085	66,191	63,426	59,064	4,362	47,979	25,170	22,809
Beijing	1985-90	10,941	763	10,178	3,365	7,398	(4,033)	147,456	26,669	120,788
	1990-95	10,489	1,149	9,340	3,170	25,277	(22,106)	122,532	21,723	100,809
NORTHEAST										
Heilongjiang	1985-90	109,789	6,852	102,937	66,415	16,244	50,171	67,296	71,650	(4,354)
	1990-95	68,787	6,106	62,681	79,085	18,723	60,362	28,979	51,447	(22,468)
Jilin	1985-90	57,058	2,908	54,150	39,122	7,453	31,670	46,527	41,680	4,847
	1990-95	30,723	3,255	27,468	40,574	10,489	30,085	21,340	22,170	(830)
Liaoning	1985-90	97,187	5,692	91,495	24,473	19,599	4,875	103,605	42,571	61,034
	1990-95	72,043	5,745	66,298	18,872	26,957	(8,085)	65,617	22,936	42,681
NORTHWEST										
Xinjiang	1985-90	25,187	6,624	18,563	14,257	25,758	(11,502)	51,914	48,792	3,123
	1990-95	13,723	3,319	10,404	10,064	76,213	(66,149)	44,149	21,830	22,319
SOUTHWEST										
Sichuan	1985-90	247,908	22,018	225,891	241,118	29,645	211,473	77,737	57,984	19,753
	1990-95	146,404	26,702	119,702	273,957	46,043	227,915	38,000	3,6043	1,957
Guizhou	1985-90	51,549	4,503	47,047	47,784	7,745	40,038	35,639	23,304	12,335
	1990-95	30,957	4,723	26,234	72,957	8,723	64,234	23,596	12,489	11,106
CENTRAL AND SOUTH										
Henan	1985-90	157,114	12,871	144,243	96,450	33,832	62,618	74,869	37,556	37,313
	1990-95	48,447	10,596	37,851	135,340	32,064	103,277	25,340	22,085	3,255
Guangdong	1985-90	416,394	5,747	410,647	26,124	12,935	13,188	273,573	30,807	242,767
	1990-95	187,234	19,447	167,787	16,809	117,723	(100,915)	296,532	30,191	266,340
EAST										
Shandong	1985-90	117,707	8,945	108,762	83,036	26,948	56,088	111,779	38,519	73,260
	1990-95	156,787	7,447	149,34	63,234	47,170	16,064	64,957	18,000	46,957
Jiangsu	1985-90	160,216	9,795	150,421	95,403	47,567	47,836	132,581	45,615	86,966
	1990-95	187,532	14,064	173,468	65,936	102,766	(36,830)	103,404	29,766	73,638
Shanghai	1985-90	16,556	7,037	9,520	3,284	30,845	(27,561)	121,567	26,844	94,723
	1990-95	10,213	830	9,383	3,851	15,894	(12,043)	138,660	22,128	116,532
Zhejiang	1985-90	94,880	7,330	87,550	106,632	16,774	89,857	59,980	37,078	22,902
	1990-95	54,787	7,660	47,128	85,574	62,106	23,468	36,872	23,872	13,000
Fujian	1985-90	76,410	8,981	67,429	30,724	18,314	12,410	39,099	23,455	15,644
	1990-95	50,043	13,298	36,745	34,830	51,894	(17,064)	21,362	11,979	9,383

Source: Census of 1990.1993, Vol. 4. pp. 152-331; Table A-I: Census of 1995,1997, pp. 5

Note: Minor discrepancies between gross and net figures are due to derivation of annual data from five-year data and t

Figure 1. China: Age-specific Rural-to-Urban Net Migration Rates, 1982-1987

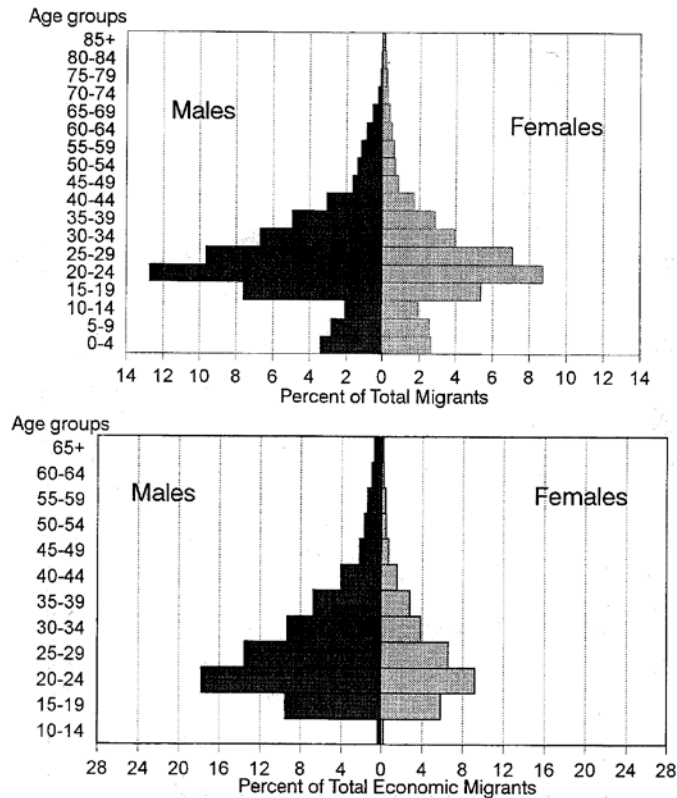
Net migration rate from rural areas



Note: Each point represents China's annual net rural-to-urban migrants as a proportion of that rural age-sex group.

Source: Census of 1987, 1988, pp. 139-140, 148-156.

Figure 2. Age Pyramids of Long-Term Migrants, Zhejiang Province

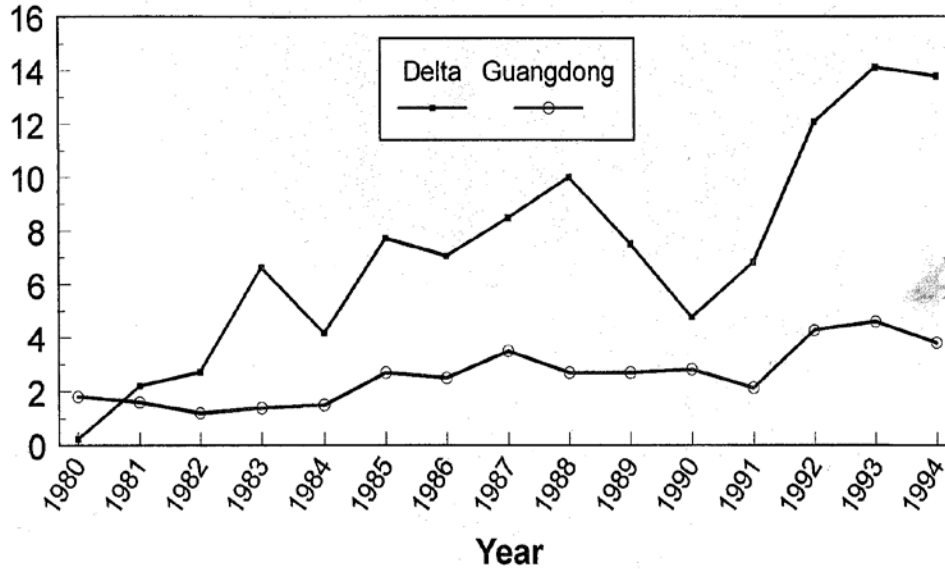


Note: The 1990 census recorded household members who had been away from the household longer than a year.

Source: Zhejiang Census Office, 1992, Vol. 3, pp. 1982-1989, 2008-2013; discussed in Yang, 1996, pp. 23-29.

Figure 3. Net Migration Rates, Guangdong and Pearl River Delta, 1980-1994

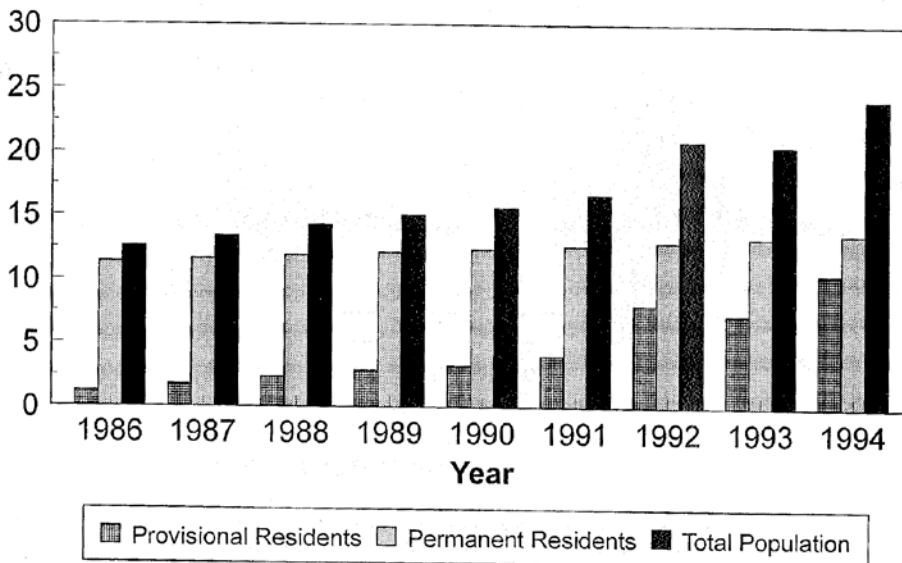
Net migration rate per thousand



Source: Guangdong Provincial Public Security Department, 1980-1994, cited in Zeng and Jiang, 1996; Guangdong Statistical Yearbook, 1995, p. 155.

Figure 4. Pearl River Delta, Population with Provisional and Permanent Registration, 1986-1994

Millions



Sources: Guangdong Provincial Public Security Department, 1986-1994, cited in Zeng and Jiang, 1996.

China: Net Interprovincial Migrants 1985-1990
as Percent of Provincial Population

