

A STUDY OF MIGRATION TO AND FROM BEIJING

By

Lin You Su

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Lin You Su

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to examine the migration pattern and characteristics of migrants in Beijing during the period of 1950-1983 and of recent out-migrants from Beijing. The study is based on two kinds of data; one is the migration survey data of Beijing in 1984, the other is the registration data for Beijing (1950-1983).

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides a general background of the study and the study area. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on migration and serves as a theoretical framework for the thesis. In Chapter 3, the study reviews the migration trend and pattern in Beijing from 1950 to 1983. It also examines the relationship between migration and economic development. In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the study discusses the social and economic characteristics of in-migrants to Beijing and out-migrants from Beijing and compares these characteristics with those of non-migrants. The study also tries to assess the validity of certain hypotheses on internal migration in the context of Beijing. Finally, Chapter 6 provides some conclusions about migration to Beijing. It also puts forward some suggestions for further study on migration in China.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives

In the last few years some progress has been achieved in demographic research in China. Since the end of the 1970s, many research papers, theoretical studies, and survey reports have been published in academic journals, periodicals and magazines focussing on fertility, family planning policy, population projections and labour force participation in China. In 1982, after an 18 years interval, China launched its third census. Compared with the previous two censuses, this census was much more consistent with international practice (Banister, 1984:241). Therefore, this data drew considerable interest from world demographers. For the first time in China's history, its population can be discussed on a more realistic than speculative basis. However migration, one of the basic components of demographic change, is one subject that has seldom been touched by social scientists in China. This study tries to fill the gap in the understanding of migration and urban population growth in China by examining the trend of migration into Beijing, the capital city, and the characteristics of the migrants.

The primary objectives of this thesis are:

1. To describe and examine migration trends and patterns in Beijing from 1950 to 1983.
2. To investigate and analyse the social and demographic characteristics of in-migrants, out-migrants and non-migrants in Beijing. These characteristics include age, sex, marital status, education and occupation.

According to the 1982 Census, China has a population of 1,031,882,511, of which 206,588,582 or 20.5 per cent live in urban

areas. Of the urban population, 144,679,340 live in 236 cities and 61,909,242 in 2,664 towns. (China's State Statistics Bureau, 1982:2). The term, urban population, is a rather complicated concept in China. The definition of this will be discussed later in this chapter. In this study, urban population only refers to those living within city district boundaries. This means that people who are located in the rural areas of Beijing metropolitan area are not included in the study. Based on this definition, the population of Beijing City districts is 5,531,460 (China's State Statistical Bureau, 1983).

Administratively, China is divided into 27 provinces and 3 metropolises which are equal to provincial level. Beijing is one of the metropolises. It consists of 10 districts (urban areas) and 9 counties (rural areas). Each city district can be further divided into several streets. Each street has several neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood is the smallest administrative unit which consists of a number of households. Some definitions used in this thesis are as follows:

Non-Migrants: Persons who have never moved outside the Beijing metropolitan boundary since birth.

In-Migrants: Persons who moved into Beijing from other provinces (including return migrants).

Out-Migrants: Persons who moved out of Beijing to other provinces.

Net-Migrants: The difference between in-migrants and out-migrants.

The migration survey of Beijing also collected information on internal migrants within Beijing metropolitan area (from suburb to inner city), and the analysis of the data shows that most of these migrants (87 per cent) moved into the city districts before 1958. At that time, the original place of residence of these migrants belonged to Hepei province administratively. Therefore, this study still consider these people as in-migrants from an other province.

Table 1-1: The Population Dynamics of China (1950-1982)

Midyear	1953	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1982
population	584.2	606.7	659.7	715.5	820.4	917.9	983.4	1008.2
in millions								
Crude								
birth rate	42.2	43.0	26.8	39.0	37.0	24.8	17.6	21.1
(per thousand)								
Crude								
death rate	25.8	22.3	44.6	11.6	9.5	8.1	7.7	7.9
(per thousand)								
Rate of								
natural	16.5	20.7	-17.8	27.4	27.4	16.7	10.0	13.2
increase								
(per thousand)								
Total								
fertility	6.1	6.3	4.0	6.1	5.3	3.6	2.2	2.7
rate								
Expectation								
of life	40.3	44.6	24.6	57.8	61.4	63.8	64.9	64.7
at birth								
(year)								
Infant								
mortality	175	154	284	84	70	49	42	46
rate (per								
1000 birth)								

Source: Banister, 1984

1.2 The Context of Migration in China

China is a socialist country with a centrally planned economy. It has special features which are quite different from many other countries in the world. These special features created by the Chinese political system need to be considered in this study. This section tries to discuss some specific aspects of migration and urbanization in China, which may be helpful in explaining the migration pattern and trend in Beijing. The aspects discussed in this section include: Chinese government policy on urbanization and migration, and the household registration system. First, the definition of an urban place and the urban structure in China will be briefly reviewed.

According to Ernest Ni (1960), no clear definition of an urban place was given in Chinese sources until 1955. From 1955 to 1963, the criteria and definition of an urban place changed from time to time. In 1963, the Chinese government issued clear and specific criteria for urban places and these criteria are still valid in China today. They can be summarized as follows (Ma, 1984:12-13):

1. An area could be designated a town if industries, commerce, and handicraft trades were relatively concentrated and if the area had a population of more than 3,000 of whom 70 per cent were non agricultural.

2. An area could be designated as a town if it had a population between 2,500 and 3,000 with more than 85 per cent non agricultural, and it required the direct administration of the county government.

3. However, a place where minority nationality people lived could also be designated as a town if industries, commerce and handicraft trades were concentrated there and direct administration was needed, even though the population was under 3,000 and less than 70 per cent were engaged in non agricultural production.

4. Designated as cities were places with populations of more than 100,000 or places of fewer than 100,000 that were provincial capitals,

heavy industrial bases, fairly big centres for gathering and distributing goods and materials or important towns in border areas that required the direct administration of the provincial or regional authorities.

According to these criteria, China's 1982 census showed that of the 1.03 billion people, over 206 million were living in its 236 cities and 2,664 towns (China's State Statistical Bureau, 1983). The census showed that China's urban population was heavily concentrated in the metropolises. For example, 16 per cent of the cities in China had a population of one million or more. These cities contained 50 per cent of all urban population. In contrast, medium sized cities, while accounting for half the total number of cities in China, encompassed only 42 per cent of the city population. An even greater discrepancy characterizes the smaller cities, despite the fact that small cities make up 28 per cent of all the cities, they only contain 6 per cent of the country's urban population. The heavy concentration of China's city population in its big cities helped to explain its policy of strict controls on the further growth of big cities while encouraging the growth of smaller cities and towns (Goldstein, 1985).

1.2.1 Government Policy on Urbanization and Migration

In the last 35 years, Chinese government policy on urbanization and migration was not always consistent or unchanged. In the early 1950s, the Chinese government held an entirely positive view on migration. This can be proved by the view of the late chairman of the Communist party, Mao Tse Tung (1965: 250). Mao explained the role of migration in the socialist economy in this way:

"The peasants are the future industrial workers of China and tens of millions of them will go to the cities. For if China wants to construct large-scale, indigenous industry and build a great number of large modern cities, then she will have to undergo a long process of transformation in which the rural population become residents of the cities."

With this idea as the guide line, during the early 1950s, the

Chinese government carried out a policy which was biased towards heavy industry and building large urban centres. This policy together with the rapid development of economy caused massive rural to urban migration during that period.

In late 1950s, the Chinese government began to realize that rapid growth of cities, especially big cities, created many problems affecting employment, housing, communications, transportation and other services. The collapse of the Great Leap Forward, which was known as a disaster for China's economy, made the situation even worse. Faced with these problems, the Chinese government began to control population movement and rapid urban growth. In 1957, the Chinese State Council issued a directive which was intended to stop the massive rural to urban migration. In 1958, China's parliament, the National People's Congress, passed a law, declaring that each household should have a permanent registration booklet (Orleans, 1959:53). The main purpose of this law was to control permanent migration to urban places. Since the 1960s, the Chinese government policy on urbanization and migration has become more obvious and systematic. The government's basic urban policy can be stated as:

1. Strictly limiting the size of big cities (those with population of 500,000 or over);
2. Properly developing medium sized cities (those with population of 200,000 to 499,999);
3. Encouraging the growth of small cities (those with population of fewer than 200,000) (Ye 1982: 1-11).

Paralling this urban policy, Chinese government policy on migration can be summarized according to Goldstein (1985: 9) as follows:

1. Rural to urban migration must be strictly controlled. This principle applies especially to movement to China's three big cities: Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin.

2. Movement from towns to cities, from small to big cities, and from rural place to suburbs must be properly limited.

3. Movement between places of similar size does not need control.

4. Movement from large to medium or from medium to small urban places, or from urban to rural places should be encouraged.

Since China is a highly organized socialist country, once a given policy is adopted, it can be implemented rapidly. The experience of the last twenty years shows that the policy was successful to a certain degree and the success of this policy relied heavily on the household registration system.

1.2.2 The Household Registration System in China

China's registration system divided the population into two parts: "urban residents", and "rural residents". With this system, each individual in China has an official place of residence, the record of which is maintained at the village level in rural areas and at the neighborhood level in urban places. In rural areas, each member of the village has an individual card. In urban places, every household has a registration book. Single persons such as college students and workers who live on campus and factories have a collective household register. The items on the register include records of birth, deaths, marital status, occupation and education. In and out migration are also recorded on the register, (Zhou, 1984). If a person wants to permanently change his residence, he must get permission from the appropriate authorities. Temporary residence in the urban areas is possible. Actually any movement without a change in official residence is unrestricted. The movement can range from a temporary visit to relatives to a long stay in cities by holding a job not assigned by the government (Kirkby, 1985: 25; Goldstein, 1985:24-29).

According to Chinese authorities, the principles of the registration system are:

1. To monitor permanent population movement and control rural to

urban migration, in order to ensure the orderly economic development of the nation by keeping population distribution in balance with labour needs and available resources;

2. To permit some migration based on individual preference and humanitarian consideration. (Goldstein, 1985:12)

The effectiveness of the registration system is due to its links with the rationing system. The complexity of this rationing system, which varies from place to place, would on its own be the subject of a major study. Only a brief description is given here.

Since the mid 1950s, a rationing system has been applied which encompasses the basic needs such as grain, oil, cloth and other consumer goods. According to this system, as long as a person holds an urban registration, he or she is considered as part of the non-agricultural population and the state and government are responsible for supplying the basic needs through a coupon system. If a person holds a rural registration, he or she is considered as part of the agricultural population, and the government does not provide grain for this person. The agricultural population usually get grain from their own production or from their village (Fei, 1983). If a rural resident goes to stay in an urban place without permission of the authority, he could not receive a grain supply since he has no coupons. So, during certain periods, this system effectively stopped unauthorized rural to urban migration. This rationed allocation of basic needs was the major instrument in preventing prolonged illicit residence in urban places.

The rationing system also kept the household registration data renewed and updated. This is because, according to the system, the quotas of the basic needs for urban residents differ according to their age, sex and occupation. Males often receive more grain than females. Those in heavy manual occupations such as miners receive more grain than those who work in schools or offices. Children receive different amounts according to their age. This kind of distribution requires

accuracy of the registration data. For this reason, the registration records are often checked for accuracy and updated.

Since 1978, many basic needs in China have no longer been rationed. The actual abolition of the rationing system provides a chance for rural migrants to live in the cities without any problems. Although these rural migrants are still considered as "temporary" migrants since they do not change their official place of residence, actually they can stay in urban places for as long as they like. For example, estimates indicate that as many as 30,000 domestic workers are privately employed in Beijing. Still others, on their own initiative, come to Beijing and work in various kinds of services (Goldstein, 1985: 24-29). Their omission from urban registers may distort the data on the size of the real urban population. Therefore, it can be said that since 1978, the registration data in urban places has not been as good as before.

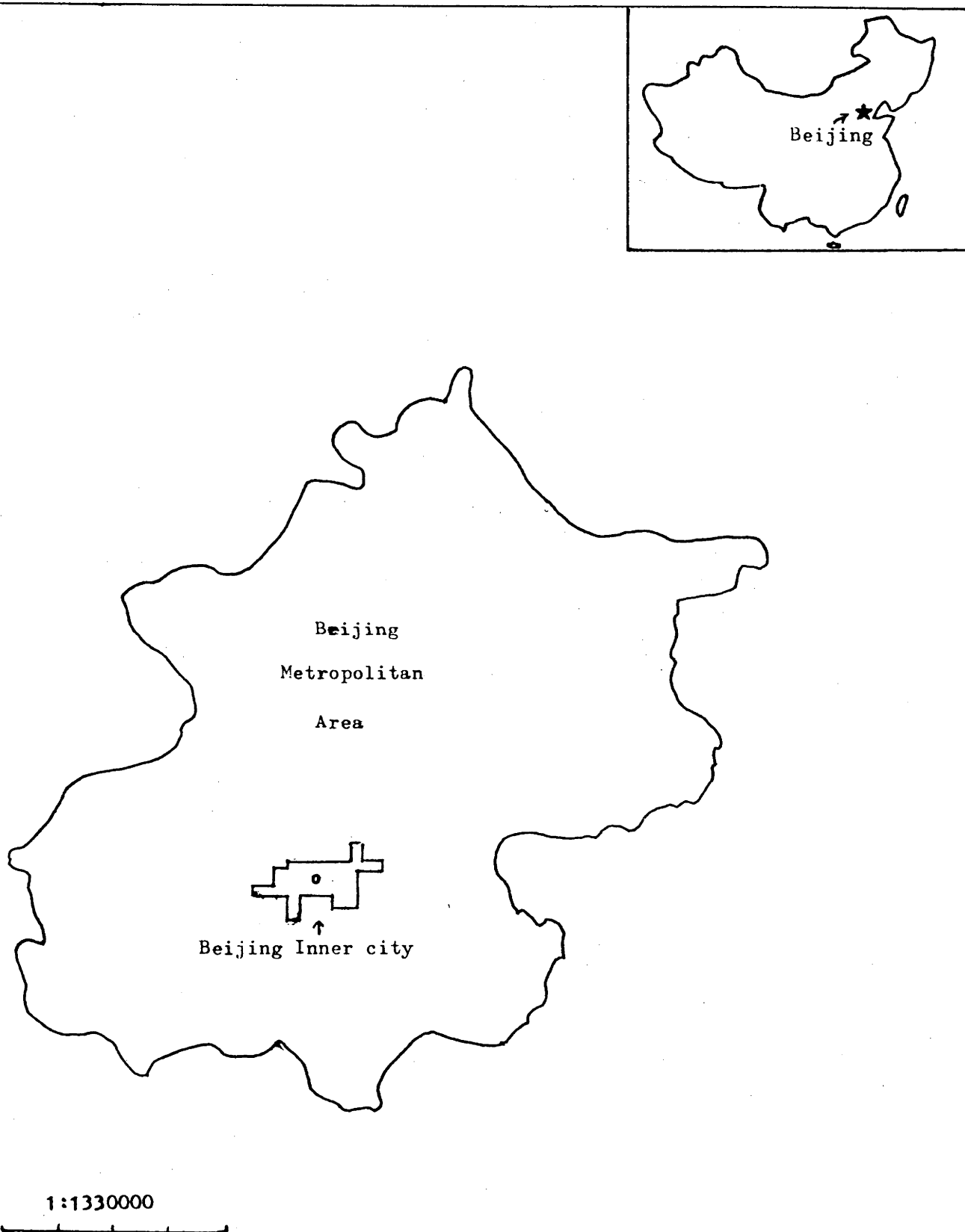
1.3 The Study Area

1.3.1 The Physical Setting

Beijing, China's capital, lies in northern China and is surrounded by Hebei Province. It is bounded by hills and mountains on three sides, making transportation in and out of the city difficult in the past. A long strip of lowland follows the northern coast of Pohai sea, giving access to Manchuria. It narrows almost to nothing. This is the starting point of the famous Great Wall. Only the south side borders on a long stretch of open level land that extends to the southeast as far as the Pohai Gulf. The city is located on the higher part of a combined alluvial plain between two rivers, Yungting river and Chaopai river (Chen, 1977).

For centuries, people in the southern part of China who wanted to go to Mongolia and Manchuria had to first pass by Beijing before they could reach their destination by different routes and through different mountain passes. On the other hand, people in Mongolia and Manchuria who wished to take a journey to inland China also had to first pass through Beijing before they could go south to their destination.

Figure 1-1: Map of Beijing



Therefore, although Beijing is not geographically central, it has always been and still is an inescapable point in the communication between north and central China.

1.3.2 The History

Beijing has a long illustrious history as a city. It was settled in very early times and by the era of Warring States (403-221 B.C), it had taken the shape of a city. The original name of Beijing was Chi and for a time it was the capital of the state of Yen. During the 13th century when the rulers of the Yuan Empire decided to move their national capital to Beijing, a new site was chosen in the northeastern outskirts of the old city. This new site was the earliest predecessor of the old portion of modern Beijing and was none other than the famous Tatu or Cambaluc (Hou, 1962).

From 1270 to 1911, Beijing was always the capital of the Empire and was the political, cultural and economical center of China. The revolution of 1911 terminated Manchu rule and Beijing lost its long-held position as the capital of a vast empire. But not long after, in 1949, Beijing became capital again when the communists took power in China. Since then, the administrative area of Beijing has been expanded and adjusted five times. Now it consists of ten districts and nine counties distributed in the outlying rural parts. The total land area of the metropolis is 16,800 square kilometers (Chen, 1977).

1.3.3 The Economy

Before 1950, Beijing was a typical consumer city. In the last 30 years of development, the metropolis experienced a phenomenal rise of mining and manufacturing enterprises. The city gradually became an important industrial city of China. With modern factories and mines in its suburbs, Beijing can produce steel, coal, power, machinery, instruments, chemicals, textiles and other industrial goods. There are more than four hundred major plants with 1,000 workers or more in Beijing today. In 1949 the industrial output was only 170 million Yuan. In 1982, this has increased to 25,060 million Yuan. In terms of total industrial output, Beijing now ranks 10th out of thirty provinces of China (Chen, 1977).

Besides being an economic centre, Beijing is also the political and cultural centre of China. Government agencies, and many universities and academic institutes are located in Beijing. These features of Beijing will surely effect the characteristics of migrants to Beijing.

1.3.4 The Population

According to historical records, in 1270 when Beijing became the capital of the Yuan dynasty, its population was 400,000. By 1578 during the Ming dynasty the population had grown to 700,000. From then on, the population remained around 700,000 for the next 300 years. In the early 1920s, the population reached 1 million. At the end of the 1950s, the population in Beijing had jumped to 2 million (Hou, 1962).

Table 1-2: The Population of Beijing 1270-1982 (Thousands)

YEAR	1270	1491	1578	1910	1920	1930	1948	1958	1965	1982*
POP.	401	669	707	767	850	1,384	1,722	6,514	7,724	9,331

Source: Chen Cheng Siang, 1977

* China's State Statistical Bureau, 1983

In 1953, the first census of China showed that Beijing had a population of 2,768,149. The expansion of the city's administrative area also led to a sharp population increase. When five adjacent counties were merged with Beijing in early 1958, the population of the city jumped to over 6 million. By 1965, the population in Beijing rose to more than 7.7 million. In 1982, the census data showed that Beijing had a population of over 9.3 million, with the city districts having a population of 5.53 million. The population density in the four inner city districts is 27,000 per square kilometer, which is one of the highest in the world (China's State Statistical Bureau, 1983).

From 1953 to 1983, the population of Beijing Metropolitan area increased from 4.1 million to 9.3 million, and the population of city districts increased from 2.2 million to 5.5 million. The population growth of Beijing is caused by three factors: natural increase, net migration and city expansion. Since this study can not get the

necessary data to distinguish the births given by migrants and non-migrants, the natural increase referred here include the children born to both migrants and non-migrants. Apart from city administrative expansion, the growth of the Beijing Metropolis was 4.7 million, of which 1.3 million or 27 per cent was due to net migration into the city (Zhung, 1984). The natural population increase of the city was due to a rapid increase of the crude birth rate in the early 1950s and early 1960s, as well as the rapid decline of the crude death rate since 1949. In 1948 the crude birth rate in Beijing was about 16 per thousand and the crude death rate about 12 per thousand, while the natural growth rate was only 4 per thousand. In the early 1950s, the living conditions especially medical care improved a lot. As a result, the crude birth rate reached 34 per thousand in 1952 and the crude death rate dropped to 10 per thousand that year. So the natural growth rate was about 23 per thousand. In 1964, the CBR increased further to 37 per thousand and the CDR dropped to 9 per thousand. Because of the rapid population growth in the past, the population structure in Beijing was quite young. According to the 1982 census, 60 per cent of the total Beijing population was born after 1950. The median age of the population in 1982 was 27.2 years (China's State Statistical Bureau, 1983).

1.4 Sources of Data

Any study of migration in China is hampered by a lack of information. Censuses are usually reliable sources of data on population mobility, but these data are not sufficient in China, because intervals between censuses are long and irregular, with the first in 1953, the second in 1964 and the third in 1982. Instead of using census data, this study will be mainly based on two other kinds of data : a migration survey carried out in Beijing in 1984; and the population register of Beijing for the period 1950-1985.

1.4.1 Migration Survey

A migration survey was carried out in Beijing by the Chinese Population Research Centre of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Beijing municipal government on April 1st, 1984. This was one of the serial migration surveys planned by Chinese academic researchers. The survey used random sampling. The total sample size was 1153

households and 4,376 people. Among them, 4,200 were permanent residents (those who have live in Beijing for one year or more), 69 were temporary migrants (those who have lived in Beijing less than one year), and 107 were out-migrants. Since the sample of both temporary migrants and out-migrants are small, this study will only examine the characteristics of permanent residents. Among these 4,200 residents, 40 per cent (1673) were migrants, and the rest were non-migrants. The questionnaire of the survey consists of 85 items with fairly detailed information on migration. This study only uses some information from the survey data. The survey provided the information on age, sex, marital status, occupation, and education of migrants, and also collected detailed information on previous residence, occupation, and education before moving into Beijing. Therefore, this study can examine not only the situation of migrants at the time of the survey, but also their social and demographic characteristics before migration and changes that took place after migration.

One of the advantages of this survey is that it collects information on all members of selected households, no matter whether his/her official residence is in Beijing or not. For example, if there is a rural girl who has been privately employed in a household for years, which is common in China now, the information on her would not be found in the registration data since her official residence is in the rural area. But the survey would collect information about her. In this sense, the survey data reflect the characteristics of all migrants in Beijing, not only those who are officially approved as migrants.

One of the disadvantages of this survey is that it can only get indirect information from relatives in the households about those migrants who have moved out of Beijing. Furthermore, the survey could not obtain any information about migrants whose whole families had moved out of Beijing before the survey. This means that data on out-migrants in this survey are not complete. The other limitation of this survey is that it did not collect information of those who did not live in households but in hotels, dormitories or construction camps.

1.4.2 Registration Data

China has a population registration system which can be traced back 2,000 years to the Han dynasty. Since the 1950s, this traditional system was strengthened in relation to the rationing system in the cities and China's policy to control urban growth, and the quality of data improved. The quality of the registration in Beijing is even better than elsewhere because the government carried out a strict policy of controlling the population in Beijing during the period from early 1960s to late 1970s. Events such as births, deaths, migration and marriage of residents are carefully recorded by the registration office and the records are often checked for accuracy and updated. The items of information on residents include age, sex, marital status, occupation and working address.

One of the limitations of the household registration data is that they only reflect the official or legal residents of Beijing. Information on those who reside in Beijing without approval are not available from the registration system.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The second chapter is devoted to a discussion of the theoretical framework and concepts of migration. The third chapter reviews and examines the migration trend in Beijing for the period 1950-1983. Factors which influence variations in the trend and volume of migration are identified. The demographic characteristics of migrants will be studied in chapters four and five. These characteristics include age-sex composition, marital status, education and occupation. The last chapter summarizes the findings of the study, and discusses the implications for further research.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON MIGRATION

Migration, one of the components of demographic change, has a profound effect on individuals, families, social institutions, and economic development. For the individual, migration may provide him with a chance of achieving a better standard of living. For the society, it can play an important role in the distribution of the population and in the supply of and the demand for labour (Bhende, 1978). The study of migration is an important field for demographers because, in combination with fertility and mortality, it determines the size of the population and the rate of population growth. It also affects the age-sex composition of the population and may alter marriage prospects (Thomlinson, 1965: 210-214). Migration, as a factor affecting population size, is different from mortality and fertility, because it is not a biological process but a process due to social, cultural and economic factors. Migration is a response by individuals to the demographic, economic and social forces in the environment (United Nations, 1958:46-48).

2.1 Definition of Migration

It is rather hard to find a universally applicable definition of migration. Demographers usually use time and space as two criteria to measure migration, but these two criteria can be defined in a variety of ways (Gould and Prothero, 1975: 42-44). Take the time dimension as an example; some demographers tend to consider migration as a long term shift from one place to another (Zachariah, 1966). Lee (1966: 49) defines migration as a permanent or semipermanent change of residence. Mangalam (1968: 8) holds a similar idea by calling migration " a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity" and migrants as "movers from one geographical location to another". Other demographers

have a different opinion: they suggest that migration can be considered as a sort of continuum covering all types of population movements ranging from daily commuting to a long-term change of residence (Young, 1980:113). The United Nations (1970: 2-3) attempted to give a more precise definition to migration, by defining a migrant as a person who has changed his usual place of residence in a specific area to another place in which a minimum distance is transgressed during a particular time period. But a few years later, the United Nations (1973:173) recognized that it is hard to provide a definition which can cover the time and space dimension in all types of migration.

For the space dimension, the criteria seem easier to define. First, internal migration can be clearly distinguished from international migration by national boundaries. Second, internal migration can be defined according to the various kinds of administrative boundaries. Bogue (1959: 489- 490) pointed out that "When migration defining boundaries are selected, there is little choice in most cases. The census or the statistics must necessarily follow civil boundaries of some kind. The choice usually must be between one of three levels of boundaries: the larger provincial boundaries, the intermediate commune or country boundaries and the minor civil boundaries like those of cities, townships or municipalities. "

2.2 Types of Migration

Migration is usually divided into two main types, international migration and internal migration (Bogue, 1969). International migration is movement across national boundaries and internal migration is population movement confined within a country. In the past, people usually paid more attention to international migration than to internal migration. This is partly because the data available on international migration are of a more standard type than those on internal migration, but also because international migration is often responsible for social tension, arising from the clash between people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Young, 1984). Internal migration can be further divided into rural to urban migration, urban to rural

migration, inter-urban migration and inter-rural migration. In many developing countries today, rural to urban migration is the most significant population movement.

Another way of looking at migration is to consider whether migration is voluntary or not. Peterseon (1958: 256-266) divided migration into three types: 1. primitive migration; 2. impelled migration; 3. free migration. According to him, the first two types are involuntary migration and the third is voluntary migration. Primitive migration is a result of ecological push. This is the sort of movement that is related to the inability to cope with natural forces, such as the deterioration of the soil, famine and starvation. Much of the group migration that occurred in ancient times was primitive migration. Impelled migration is forced migration not by natural forces but by social forces such as government. This kind of migration often occurred among certain groups of people, such as political dissidents and ethnic groups. An example of impelled migration is the 18th century's slave trade, and more recently, the deportation of Jewish people from Germany under Nazi government during the Second World War.

Free migration is not forced movement but migration determined by the migrants themselves. In contrast to the push associated with involuntary migration, voluntary migration is more often the result of some positive pull towards a new, and hopefully, better home. People are willing to change their residence if they can benefit from this kind of change.

2.3 The 'Laws' of Migration

Just a century ago, Ravenstein (1885, 1889) put forward his famous "law of migration". His theory is based on data for the United Kingdom and some other European and North American countries. Because Ravenstein ambitiously used the word "law" to name his theory, it was immediately criticised by his contemporaries. For example, Humphreys (1889: 302) said that after he read Ravenstein's paper, he arrived at the conclusion that migration was rather distinguished for its lawlessness than for having any definite law. The criticism of another

writer, Bourne (1889: 303) was more logically serious. He said, that " although Mr. Ravenstein had spoken of the 'law of migration', he had not formulated it in such a categorical order that they could be criticized". However, aside from these criticisms, it should be noted that, after one hundred years, some of Ravenstein's ideas have stood the test of time and proved to be useful for migration research. This section will review some of Ravenstein's and Lee's theories and in later chapters, these theories will be tested in the context of China.

The main relevant points of Ravenstein's theory can be summarized in these propositions:

1. The Distance of Migration: The majority of migrants only cover a short distance, in other words, the longer the distance, the fewer the migrants. The migrants moving over a long distance tend to prefer great centres of commerce and industry (1885:198).
2. The Motivation of Migrants: Many factors can induce people to change their residence, such as heavy taxation and an unattractive climate, but economic reasons account for the basic motivation of migration. The migration trend is closely linked with economic development. An increase in the means of locomotion and the development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase in migration (1889:288).
3. The Pattern of Migration: There is the tendency for females to dominate in migration and this is especially true in short distance migration(1889:288).
4. The Stream of Migration: Each current population movement may produce a compensating counter migration stream(1885:199).

Lee (1966) further expanded Ravenstein's law and constructed his own theory. He conceptualised the factors associated with the decision to migrate and the process of migration into four categories: 1. factors associated with the area of origin; 2. factors associated with the area of destination; 3. intervening obstacles; 4. personal factors. Based on this categorisation, Lee formulated his migration theory to cover the volume of migration, the development of streams and counter-streams of migration, and the characteristics of the migrants. Lee's (1966:52-57) theory is listed in his own words as follows:

1. The Volume of Migration:

a)The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory (1966:52).

b)The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people (1966:52)

c)The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles (1966:53).

d)The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy (1966:53).

e)Unless severe checks are imposed, both the volume and rate of migration tend to increase (1966:53).

2. The Stream and Counter-Stream

a)Migration tends to take place largely within well defined streams (1966:54).

b)For every major migration stream, a counter-stream develops(1966:55).

c)The efficiency of a migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression(1966:55).

3. The Characteristics of Migrants

a)Migration is selective. This simply states that migrants are not a random sample of the population at the origin (1966:56).

b)The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life cycle is important in the selection of migrants (1966:57).

c)The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination (1966:57).

The propositions described above are the main points of Ravenstein's and Lee's theories. Although Ravenstein's theory was largely based on the experiences of industrial countries in Western Europe, Lee's theory was based on more general observations of migration trends and patterns. Studies of migration in many developing countries show that some of these propositions still hold true today (Simmons, et al., 1977). However, these propositions are not universal. For example, studies of migration in Africa and ^{some countries} Asia show that men are more likely to migrate than women, contradicting Ravenstein's third proposition, but other studies of Latin American countries and in South-East Asia in recent years show that the majority of migrants in the cities are women (Fawcett, et al., 1984) It will therefore be interesting to see which of the propositions listed above are supported by the pattern of migration into Beijing, given the context of migration in China as discussed in Chapter 1.

2.4 Models of Migration

Why do people want to move to certain places? What is the motivation for migration? These questions are often asked by demographers. In order to address these questions, different models of migration have been suggested by demographers and economists. This section will briefly review some basic models of migration, to help to explain the pattern of migration into Beijing.

2.4.1 The "Push-Pull" Model

This model assumes that in every area there are factors which tend to hold people in the area, and factors which tend to repel them. Such factors can be called "push" and "pull" factors respectively (Rhoda, 1984). This model is based on the experience of Europe during the period of industrial revolution, but it is also relevant to the experience of developing countries today. During industrialization, rapid development of manufacturies and services in the cities creat many job opportunities and absorb a great amount of manpower from rural

areas. At the same time, as agricultural technology improved, capital costs in farming rose and manpower became not only less needed but also economically burdensome (Thomas, 1954). In this situation people from rural areas began to move into the cities. This model assumes that there are rational economic choices involved in labour transfer. Migrants move because they expect to find better jobs and higher wages in the new location. This model also suggests that labour moves from regions where it is abundant and where capital is scarce to regions where labour is scarce and capital is abundant (Tarver, 1961).

"Push" factors include the decline of natural resources, loss of employment, oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment, alienation from the community and retreat due to lack of personal opportunities. On the other hand, "pull" factors include superior opportunities for employment, opportunities to earn more money, opportunities to obtain desired education or training, better environment and living conditions (Bogue, 1969:753-754).

2.4.2 The "Human Capital" Model

In the early 1960s, a "human capital" model of migration was developed. This model casts migration in terms of an "investment increasing the productivity of human resources" (Yotopoulos and Nugent, 1976). This model can also be considered as a "cost-benefit" model. Benefits of migration are defined as the present value of potential income gain resulting from the difference in income between origin and destination. Costs include moving expenses, the opportunity cost of foregone earning between jobs and non-monetary "psychic costs" such as the inconvenience of leaving one's home community and settling in an unfamiliar environment. This model suggests that individuals weigh the cost of their investment against gains in the future. In this model, migration is considered as an investment in the migrants' future income earning capacity since migrants usually move from a low wage area to a high wage area (Stark, 1982). This model can be used to explain rural to urban migration. For instance, in rural to urban migration, older people are less likely to move because differential income returns from migration occur over a shorter remaining lifespan and psychic costs are greater. Educated youth in rural areas tend to move to urban centres

because the lifetime origin-destination income difference is usually greater (Sjaastad, 1962).

2.4.3 The "Expected Income" Model

Todaro (1977) developed a rather more sophisticated model from his theory of migration. This model assumes that the decision to move is the function of two variables: the gap in income between the rural and urban population, and the possibility of finding employment in the cities. In this way, Todaro tries to explain the continued phenomenon of unemployment in urban centres by analysing migration as a response to "expected earnings", taking account of not only how much money the migrants actually get, but also of how much they expected to get. In other words, this is based on the idea that migration decisions depend upon perceptions of expected income rather than actual wages. This model further suggested that rural job-seekers enter an urban area in search of formal sector employment, but since the migrants are so numerous, they obtain interim work in the informal sector (Fields, 1975).

2.4.4 The "Historical" Model

This model, suggested by Zelinsky (1971), attempts to relate migration to the demographic transition. It assumes that the spatial behaviour of human beings is related to the levels of socio-economic development which is linked to a phase in the demographic transition. According to Zelinsky, there are five stages in this model: the first stage is preindustrial, in which residential mobility is not frequent. The second stage is the early period of the demographic transition, when rapid fertility increase is accompanied by large-scale rural to urban migration and colonization. The third stage, during the later transition phase, is characterized by a decline in the rates of natural population increase but with continuing rural to urban migration. Various forms of residential circulation increase, especially inter-urban movement. The fourth phase, occurring only in industrialized countries, is a levelling off of rates of natural increase, and a decline in rural to urban migration takes place. The final stage occurs in the post-industrial society, where there is a substantial decline in residential mobility since the communication system alleviates the need for centralization.

It is hard to find migration theories and models related to socialist economies where population movements are controlled or interrupted by government policy. However, it would be interesting to see if some of ^{the} models and hypotheses discussed above apply to Beijing where migration controls exist in certain periods, as discussed in Chapter 1, but ^{where} free migration also occurs (see Goldstein, 1985).

CHAPTER 3

THE TREND OF MIGRATION INTO BEIJING

This chapter reviews the migration trends in Beijing during the period 1950 to 1983. It also examines the relationship between migration and economic development. The analysis in this chapter is based on Beijing registration data and all the migrants are permanent migrants.

3.1 A General Review of the Migration Trend: 1950-1983

This section provides a general picture of migration into Beijing during the period of 1950 to 1983. Table 3.1 gives a broad view of migration in and out of Beijing, 1950-1983. About 5,812,000 people moved into Beijing. and about 4,554,000 people moved out. For more detailed analysis, the 33 year period can be divided into three periods.

1. The First Period: 1950-1959

The 1950 - 1959 period was characterized by a large number of in-migrants and a small number of out-migrants. During this ten years period, more than 3 million people moved into Beijing. This figure accounts for 52 per cent of the total in-migrants during the whole 33 years. During the first period, the annual number of in-migrants surpassed 300,000 in four out of the ten years. In one year, 1959, more than 560,000 people moved into Beijing. This kind of mass movement has seldom occurred in any big city in the world. Compared with in-migrants, the number of out-migrants was small. The total number of out-migrants during this period was 1.77 million. As a result, the number of net-migrants in the 1950s was 1.27 million. This is a considerable figure which is even greater than the total number of net-migrants for the entire period of 1950-1983.

Table 3-1: The Migration Trend in Beijing
1950-1983 (Thousands of Migrants)

Year	Net	In	Out	Year	Net	In	Out
1950	-32	119	318	1967	17	51	34
1951	131	256	125	1968	-133	51	184
1952	83	193	110	1969	-254	54	308
1953	208	279	71	1970	-67	72	139
1954	206	326	120	1971	7	74	67
1955	-1	259	260	1972	8	61	53
1956	232	457	225	1973	52	88	36
1957	45	275	230	1974	39	74	35
1958	12	314	302	1975	76	110	34
1959	385	560	175	1976	42	92	50
1960	310	534	224	1977	40	93	53
1961	-224	127	351	1978	82	147	65
1962	-166	103	269	1979	116	192	76
1963	-19	81	100	1980	67	131	64
1964	10	111	101	1981	52	105	53
1965	-17	155	172	1982	42	105	63
1966	-150	61	211	1983	59	102	43

Total Net Migrants (1950-1983)=1258

Total In-migrants (1950-1983)=5812

Total Out-migrants (1950-1983)=4554

Source: Beijing Statistics Bureau, 1984

2. The Second Period: 1960-1969

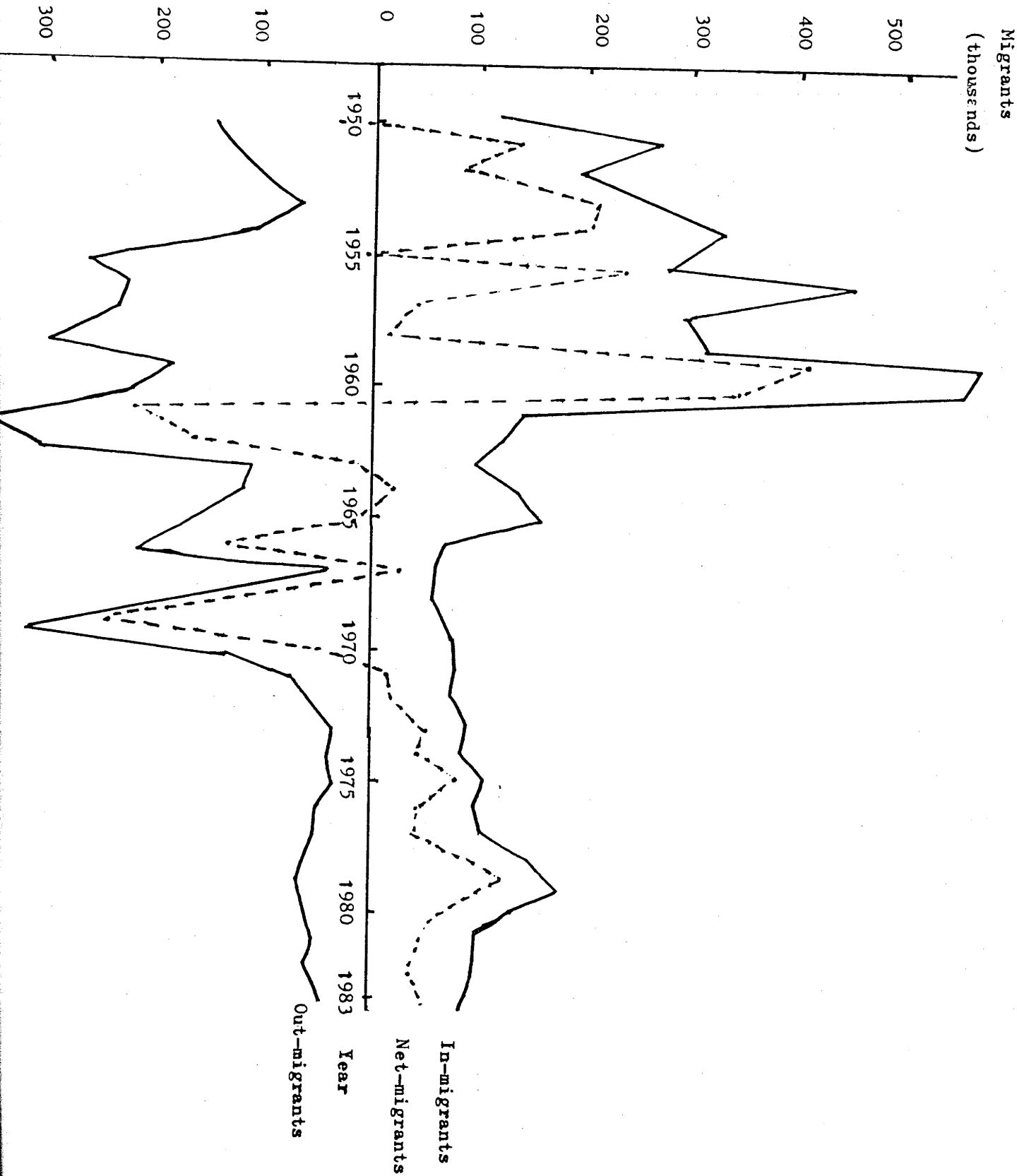
During this period, the migration pattern and volume contrasted sharply with that of the 1950s. The most dramatic change in the 1960s was that the number of out-migrants was much greater than the number of in-migrants. In the whole of the 1960s the total number of in-migrants was only 1.3 million which was less than half of that in the 1950s. However, out-migrants in this period numbered about 1.9 million, so Beijing lost about 616,000 people during the 1960s. Table 3.1 shows that the largest annual number of in-migrants in the 1960s was 155,000 in 1965. This number was only about one third of that in 1959. At the same time, the number of out-migrants was impressive. In seven years in the 1960s decade the number of out-migrants surpassed the number of in-migrants. There were four years in which the annual number of out-migrants was more than 200,000. The reasons for these changes will be explored later in this chapter.

3. The Third Period: 1970-1983.

After 1970, population movement into and out of Beijing became more stable and steady. During the whole 14 year period from 1970 to 1983, the total number of in-migrants was 1.45 million, which was less than half that in the 1950s. The number of out-migrants was even smaller, with only 831,000 people migrating out during the whole 14 year period. The annual number of in-migrants during this period always remained at around 70,000 to 100,000 with the number of out-migrants at 50,000 to 70,000 people. As a result, in every year except 1970, there was a small increase in the population of Beijing due to internal migration.

The character of migration in the 33 year period can be summarised as three stages, which is shown clearly in Figure 3.1. The first period is the stage of large scale in-migration, with the number of annual net-migrants around 100,000. The migration pattern in the second period, the 1960s, is characterized by large scale out-migration and seems to be the opposite of the first period. During the third stage,

Figure 3-1: The Migration into and out of Beijing:1950-1983



since 1970, the migration pattern has been of a smallerscale with slightly more in-migrants than out-migrants every year.

3.2 An Analysis of the Migration Trend in Beijing

This section tries to explain the migration pattern and trend described above by examining the relationship between migration and factors such as government policy, economic development and political situation. These factors are sometimes interrelated.

The migration trend of Beijing shows that in the whole ten year period of the 1950s, more than 3 million people moved into Beijing, while the out-migrants numbered 1.77 million. Therefore, the number of net-migrants was 1.27 million. As described in Chapter 1, in the early 1950s and during China's First Five Year Plan (1953-1958), the government carried out a policy favouring heavy industry. In Beijing, this policy was reflected in a slogan called "turning the old consumer city into a new productive city". Under the guidance of this policy, a large number of factories were built in Beijing during this period. The new job opportunities created by this policy drew a lot of outsiders to Beijing. The 1958-1959's Great Leap Forward brought this policy to an extreme (this is obvious by rise in investment on Table 3-2). As a result, 560,000 in-migrants flocked into Beijing in 1959.

In the 1960s, the migration pattern was characterized by a small number of in-migrants compared to numbers in the 1950s and a large number of out-migrants. During this period, in seven years out of ten, the annual net-migration balance was negative. One reason for this is that at that time, the government policy on urbanization and migration was established. Beijing, the second biggest city in China, was one which has to be strictly controlled. As a result, between 1961 and 1969, the biggest annual figure of in-migrants was 155,000 people in 1965. This figure is less than almost all the annual figures for in-migrants in the previous ten years. This indicates that with the already established government policy and measures outsiders could not move into Beijing as easily as they did in the 1950s. If the control of permanent migration is considered as a passive measure to restrict

urban growth, there is an also active measure to limit the big city population growth. That is, as described in Chapter 1, to encourage people from big cities to move to small cities, from cities to towns and from urban places to rural areas. In the 1960s, a campaign called "settle down in the rural areas" was launched by the authorities. The campaign started in 1962 but on a small scale. The "Cultural Revolution" which occurred in 1966 stepped up this campaign. Thousands of young people from Beijing settled down in far flung frontier regions of the North-east, Inner-Mongolia and Yunnan Province. As a result, there was a flow of out-migrants from Beijing in 1968 and 1969. One thing that needs to be mentioned is that the original purpose of this "settle down" campaign was not merely to reduce the urban population but to train "revolutionary successors" in the rural areas. The government also hoped that by sending educated young people to the backward regions, the cultural and economic level of those areas would be raised. Unfortunately, the "settle down" campaign failed to meet these purpose but served to reduce the urban population, although temporarily.

Government policy on economic development and its effect on population can be shown by examining the amount of annual financial investment and the annual economic growth rate of Beijing and comparing them with migration figures. Table 3-2 provides the annual investment of Beijing during the period from 1950 to 1983. If this table is compared with the migration trend on Table 3-1, it can be seen that the migration trend has some correlation with annual financial investment in the 1950s and early 1960s. For example, in 1959, the annual investment was 1,790 million Yuan, the highest in the 1950s. Consistent with this, the annual in-migration in 1959 was also highest in the 1950s, with 560,000 in-migrants. In 1961, the annual investment was 680 million Yuan, only about one third of that in 1959. Corresponding with this, the number of annual in-migrants was only 127,000, the smallest since 1951. But that year out-migrants numbered 351,000, the most since 1950. The relation between annual investment and migration pattern was poor since 1960s (as showed on Figure 3-2); this is because other factors became more important.

Table 3-2: Annual Investment in Beijing: 1950-1983

Year	Investment (Million Yuan)	Year	Investment (Million Yuan)
1950	30	1967	380
1951	90	1968	370
1952	100	1969	690
1953	460	1970	870
1954	730	1971	770
1955	640	1972	750
1956	890	1973	1030
1957	750	1974	1380
1958	1210	1975	1870
1959	1790	1976	1340
1960	1680	1977	1720
1961	680	1978	2260
1962	280	1979	2650
1963	370	1980	3320
1964	560	1981	3140
1965	790	1982	3450
1966	580	1983	3850

Source: Beijing Statistics Bureau 1984

Figure 3-2: The Relation Between Migration and Investment

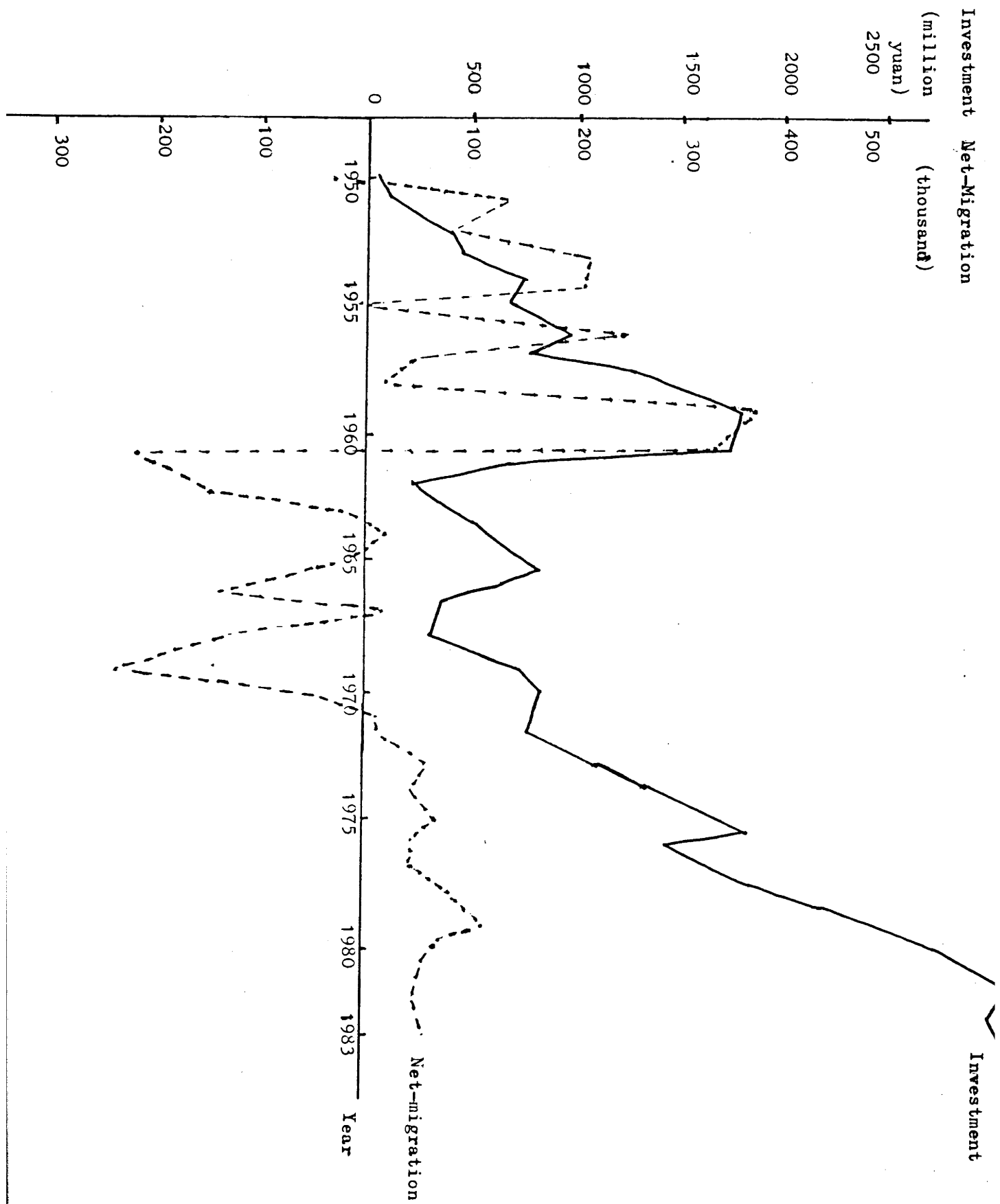


Table 3-3: Relative Economic Growth Index For Beijing, 1950-1983

Year	Growth Rate (index for previous year is 100)	Year	Growth Rate (index for previous year is 100)
1950	121.7	1967	102.4
1951	119.4	1968	103.1
1952	123.8	1969	97.8
1953	117.2	1970	103.8
1954	105.9	1971	106.4
1955	103.2	1972	103.4
1956	118.1	1973	102.9
1957	107.4	1974	98.1
1958	143.5	1975	115.9
1959	129.4	1976	104.4
1960	102.2	1977	116.7
1961	77.4	1978	109.6
1962	89.6	1979	104.3
1963	115.2	1980	107.2
1964	114.4	1981	117.8
1965	121.5	1982	106.9
1966	111.2	1983	108.1

Source: Beijing Statistics Bureau, 1984

The index of Annual Relative Economic Growth Rate is used in this study because, prior to 1976, the Chinese government seldom disclosed actual figures but published this kind of relative annual economic growth rate instead. Each annual figure in Table 3.3 represents the annual economic growth rate of that year relative to the previous year. The annual economic growth rate of each previous year is considered as 100. So, if the figure of any year surpasses 100, the annual economic growth rate of that year was greater than that of the previous year. If the growth rate does not reach 100, it means production in that year did not reach the level of the previous year. Deficits occurred in 1961, 1962, 1969 and 1974. Comparing Table 3.3 with Table 3.1, some relationship can be seen between the annual relative economic growth rate and the annual volume of migration. The most distinctive period is in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Table 3.3 shows there were surges in economic growth in Beijing in 1958 and 1959. In 1958, the annual economic growth rate was almost 1.5 times more than that of the previous year. In the following year, the annual economic growth rate was 30 per cent greater than the 1958 rate. Corresponding with this rapid economic development, there were great numbers of in-migrants into Beijing in the late 1950s.

The early 1960s was known as the time of great economic depression in China as well as in Beijing. In 1961, for the first time since 1950, the annual economic growth rate declined. It was only 77 per cent of that in the previous year. In 1962, the economic situation became even worse; the economic growth rate was only 90 per cent of that in 1961. Coincident with this economic depression, many people moved out of Beijing in these two years.

From the situation described above, it can be said that the economic development and economic situation can also effect the migration pattern. Lee's theory (1966) that the "migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression" appears to apply to the Beijing situation in the 1950s and early 1960s. Furthermore because China is a centrally planned country, the relationship between migration and economic

development may be more obvious and direct. For example, in China, at the beginning of each financial year, government planners decide how many new workers will be hired in the new year according to the budget. Migrants can immediately respond to this need in an organized way. This is in contrast to market economies where migrants meet the demand through the market system which may involve some time lags.

Besides policy and economic factors, political instability can also affect migration patterns, as was the case in 1966. During the "Cultural Revolution" which occurred in 1966, many former landlords, capitalists and high government officials were sent out of Beijing to their native place by the Red Guards. On the other hand, because the political situation in most rural areas was stable, many city residents moved into the countryside in order to escape the political chaos in the cities. Therefore, there was a lot of out-migrants from Beijing in 1966.

During the period from 1970 to 1983, the migration pattern in Beijing was characterized by relatively small numbers of in and out migrants compared with the two earlier decades. The annual number of out-migrants always remained around 30,000 to 60,000 and the annual number of in-migrants, except in a few years, was always under 100,000. This is because, on the one hand government policy and measures on migration were well established and the outsiders could not get official residence easily. On the other hand, with the end of the "Cultural Revolution", the "settle down" campaign was quietly shelved in the early 1970s. Therefore, out-migrants in this period were only "routine" migrants, including graduates who were seeking employment, young people seeking higher education and those migrating for family reasons. During this period, only two years, 1978 and 1979, had considerable in-migration flows. Most of these in-migrants probably were return-migrants from rural areas after the relaxation of the policy.

To sum up, the migration pattern for Beijing in the last 33 years was uneven. This uneven pattern was influenced by three factors :

government policy on urbanization and migration, economic development and the political situation. Comparatively speaking, in a country like China, government policy may be more important. A good policy can lead to rapid economic development, a bad policy can cause political instability. However, in many other developing countries, governments also have policies that affect the economic and political situation of the country, which in turn have important consequences for migration patterns (Fawcett, et al., 1984).

3.3 Some Comparisons With Other Asian Cities

From 1950 to 1983, the population of Beijing Metropolitan area increased from 4.1 million to 9.3 million; and 2.2 million to 5.6 million in the city districts. Excluding the population growth caused by reclassification of the city, the total increase in the population of Beijing during 1950-1983 was 4.7 million. Of this increase, about 1.3 million or 27 per cent was due to net-migration. No attempt is made to estimate the contribution of migration which includes net-migration plus the descendents of migrants because the necessary data were not available. The remaining 73 per cent was due to natural increase of both migrants and non-migrants. According to the data provided by the United Nations (1980:131-138), the population of many big cities in the world has increased rapidly in the past 30 years. In 1950 the population of Mexico city was only about 3 million. In 1980, it reached 15 million, which is about 5 times of that in 1950. In Asia, the situation was equally impressive. The population of Manila also more than tripled from 1.6 million in 1950 to 5.7 million in 1980. Jakarta had a population of 1.7 million in 1950, and thirty years later, it had a population of 7.3 million, a fourfold increase. (United Nation, 1980:130-139). Compared with these cities, the population of Beijing only doubled in the last 33 years (from 1950-1983).

Table 3.4 shows that while the average annual growth rate of Beijing is not far below that of Jakarta and Manila, the population growth rate due to net-migration is lower than that of the other Asian cities showed in the table. The other consideration is that the 3.4 per cent annual growth rate of Beijing is the average growth rate for 33

years from 1950 to 1983. If we further divide this 33 year sub-period into several periods, there are great differences between each periods. From 1950 to 1958, the average annual growth rate in Beijing was 11.5 per cent, with net-migration accounting for 45 per cent. From 1959 to 1964, Beijing expanded its boundaries, so it was hard to get an accurate growth rate in this period. From 1965 to 1975, the average annual population growth rate was only 0.6 percent. The reason for such a low growth rate was that during this period, the number of out-migrants was much greater than the number of in-migrants. From 1976 to 1983, the average annual population growth rate was 1.7 per cent. So, compared with the other Asian cities in the table, the growth rate of Beijing in the 1960s and 1970s was lowest.

Table 3-4: Urban Growth in Selected Asian Cities

City	Year	Percent of Growth		
		Average Annual Growth Rate (%)	Due to Natural	
			Increase	Due to Net Migration
Jakarta	1971-1976	4.0	66	34
Manila	1960-1970	4.1	55	45
Seoul	1960-1970	7.8	22	78
Colombo	1950-1983	2.2	77	23
Beijing*	1950-1983	3.4	73	27

Source: Kols, A. 1983.

*Beijing Statistics Bureau, 1984

CHAPTER 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IN-MIGRANTS

Analysis of the characteristics of migrants is an important aspect of migration research. This chapter will examine the characteristics of in-migrants and non-migrants and make a comparison between them. It will also test the applicability of some hypotheses of migration based on the experience of west and other developing countries in the world. There are two reasons for doing this: First, the migration survey shows that among the total in-migrants of Beijing, over 66 per cent of them came before 1960. At that time, there was not much control on population movement in China; people migrated mainly for their own purpose and interests. So some classical hypotheses may be helpful for analysing the characteristics of these migrants. Second, as mentioned earlier, the migration survey of Beijing collected information on all migrants (who had lived in Beijing for one year or more), including those without official permission. The characteristics of these "unofficial" migrants may be also relevant to those hypotheses discribed in chapter 2 .

According to Germani (1965:170), there are two types of characteristics of migrants which may affect their decision to move. The first is social-economic characteristics which include age, sex, marital status, occupation and education. The second is psycho-social characteristics which includes attitude, intelligence, high aspirations and so on. This chapter will be limited to an examination of the social-economic characteristics of migrants.

4.1 Age-Sex Composition

The age and sex of migrants are important because they are basic demographic factors and can substantially affect the social and economic development in both the place of origin and the place of destination. As described in Chapter 2, Lee (1966) observed that migration is selective and certain stages of the life cycle are important in the selection of migrants. Thomas (1938), in her review of the literature on migration, concluded that age selectivity was the only characteristic of migrants which was nearly universal. Her review was based on the experience of developed countries. However, subsequent studies of migration in many developing countries also confirmed this judgement (Caldwell, 1969:59, Yap, 1975:17). The migration survey data for Beijing shows that China is no exception in this age selectivity of migrants.

The migration survey in Beijing provides two types of age profile of the migrants in Beijing. Figure 4.1 shows the age profile of migrants at the time of the survey. Figure 4.2 shows the age profile of migrants at the time of migration into Beijing. These two age profiles have different meanings and will be discussed separately.

According to the survey data, 40 per cent of the inhabitants of Beijing are life-time migrants. The remaining 60 per cent are non-migrants. One distinction between migrants and non-migrants is that the current age structure of migrants is much older than that of non-migrants. For example, among the migrants, only 2 per cent are in age group 0-14, 81 per cent are in age group 15-59, and 16 per cent are in age group 60 and over. But among the non-migrants, 24 per cent are in age group 0-14, 71 per cent are in age group 15-59, and only 5 per cent are aged 60 and over.

If we consider the number of migrants and non-migrants in each age group, we find that the proportion of migrants is higher in the older age group. For instance, in the age group 0-14, the proportion of migrants is only 5 per cent, while the non-migrants comprise 95 per cent of the total population in that age group. In the age group 15-34,

Table 4-1: The Age Structure of In-migrants and
Non-migrants(at the time of the survey)

Age Group	In-migrants(person)			Non-migrants(person)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	0	1	1	120	120	240
5-9	5	2	7	66	60	126
10-14	12	15	27	112	115	227
15-19	30	16	46	142	131	273
20-24	60	29	89	235	242	477
25-29	83	36	119	184	235	419
30-34	97	77	174	85	88	173
35-39	79	60	139	63	66	129
40-44	84	74	158	44	60	104
45-49	135	106	241	38	41	79
50-54	124	118	242	45	43	88
55-59	91	73	163	23	32	55
60-64	61	41	102	21	21	42
65-69	45	38	83	24	12	36
70-74	22	18	40	8	12	20
75-79	15	12	27	6	4	10
80-84	4	6	10	9	15	24
85+	2	3	5	2	3	5
Total	949	724	1673	1227	1300	2527

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Centre, 1984

Figure 4-1: The Age Profile of In-migrants and Non-migrants
(at the time of the survey)

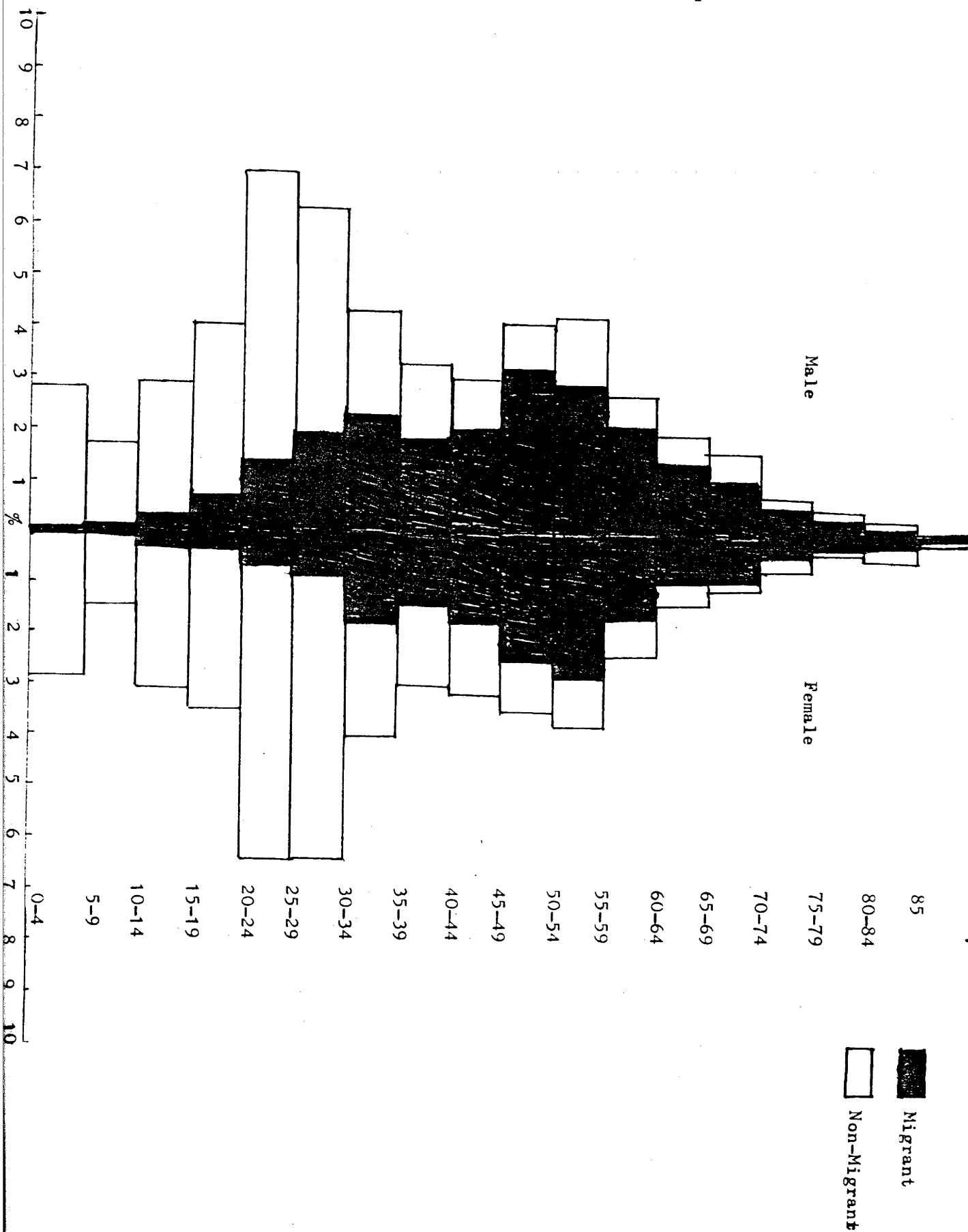


Figure 4-2: The Age Profile of In-migrants
(at the time of migration)

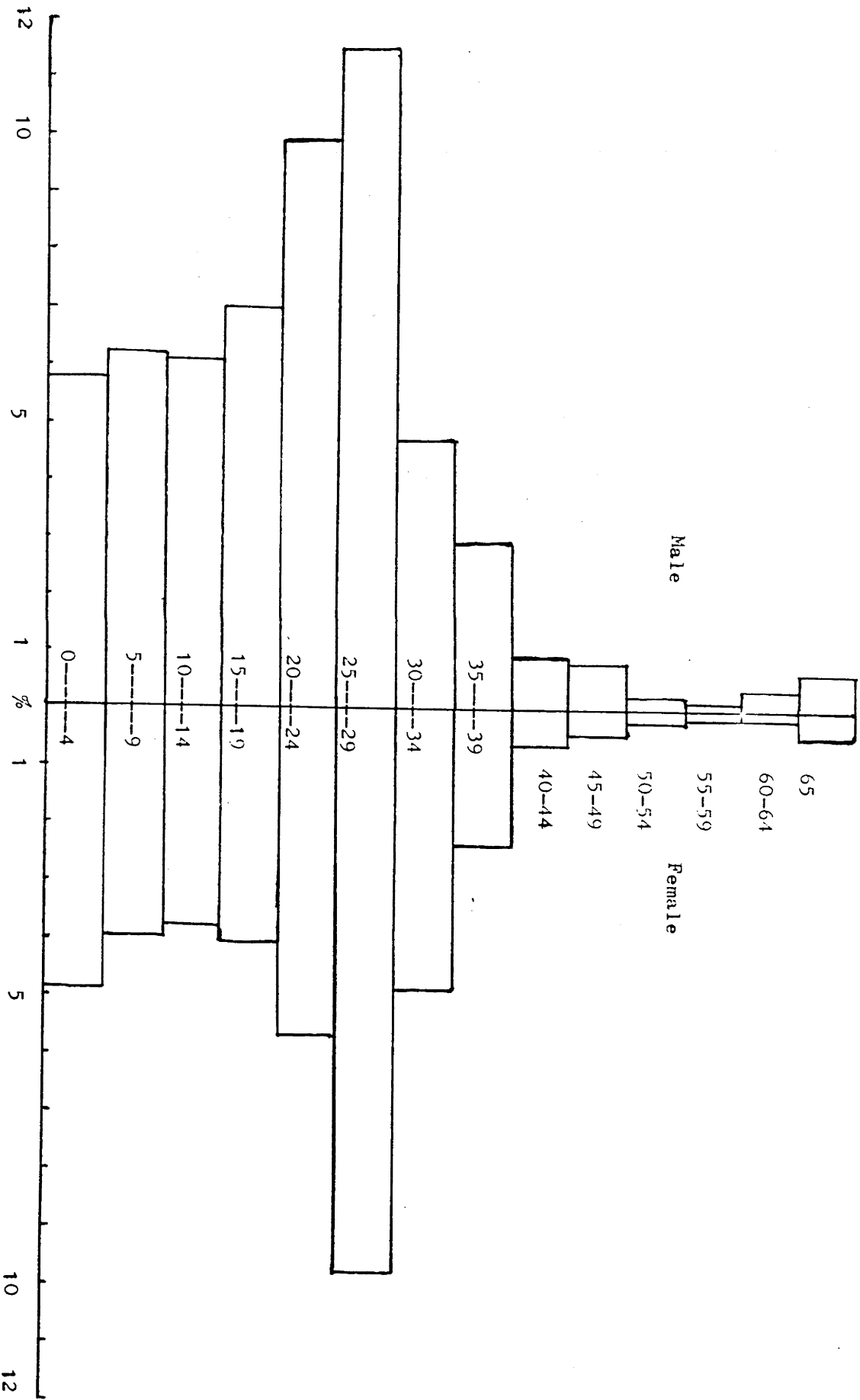


Table 4-2: The Age Structure of In-migrants
(at the time of migration)

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
	(person)	(person)	(person)
0-4	80	68	148
5-9	85	56	141
10-14	84	53	137
15-19	96	57	153
20-24	136	78	214
25-29	158	135	293
30-34	65	67	132
35-39	40	34	74
40-44	13	9	22
45-49	12	7	21
50-54	3	3	6
55-59	2	3	5
60-64	5	3	8
65+	9	7	16
Total	789	580	1369

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Centre, 1984

the percentage of migrants increases to 24 per cent. In the age group 35-59, the percentage of migrants is 67 which is much greater than that of non-migrants. In age group 60+, the migrants also form the majority, with 66 percent of the total in that age group.

The age distribution of migrants (at the time of enumeration) can be easily understood in the light of the migration patterns and trend discribed in Chapter 3. The migration trend and pattern in Beijing shows a great amount of in-migration in the 1950s, and out-migration in the 1960s. Thomas'(1938) and Lee's (1966) theory of age selectivity is that the most selective age group for migrants is 15-29. The migrants in age group 45-59 at the time of the survey in 1984 were just those who were in age group 15-29 in the 1950s. This explains why there are

so many migrants concentrated in age groups 45-49, 50-54 and 55- 59 as shown in Figure 4.1. The high concentration of migrants in these three age groups is the result of a large volume of in-migrants in the 1950s. For the same reason, the low percentage of migrants in the age group 35-44 in Figure 4.1 is coincident with the small scale migration into Beijing in the 1960s, since these groups of people would be in the most migratory age groups at that time. The small proportion of migrants in age group 0-14 indicates that migrants in the last ten years were mostly single movers and there was not much family migration.

Siddhisena (1979:39-41) suggested that migrants can be categorised into five age groups in order to identify the pattern of migration. These five age groups are: 0-14, 15-29, 30-44, 45-59 and 60+, roughly corresponding to five life cycle stages. The first age group are those who tend to migrate with their parents. The second age group (15-29) is the transition period in the life cycle. People in this age group are most active in migration due to seeking employment, higher education and marriage. The people in age group 30-44 are not so active in migration compared with the previous age group. Most people in this age group prefer a more stable life since the majority of them are married and have to raise their children. Most people in age group 45-59 are still in the labour force, and some of them may get a chance for promotion. So migration in this age group is often related to such circumstances. The people in the age group 60 and over are retired and after retirement, some of them prefer to return to their home town or village.

Figure 4.2 shows the age distribution of migrants at the time of migration into Beijing. If we categorise the in-migrants in these five age groups, the proportion in each age group are: 31 per cent in age group 0-14, 48 per cent in 15-29, 17 per cent in age group 30-44, 2 per cent in age group 45-59, and 2 per cent in age group 60+. The high proportion of in-migrants in age group 0-14 suggests that family migration used to be an important form. The data shows that the most selective age group of in-migrants is the age group 25-29, which accounts for 21 per cent of the total. Male migration tends to occur

in age groups 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29. These three groups account for 49 per cent of the total male migrants. The three most selective age groups for females are 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34, indicating slightly higher ages than the males. The females in these three groups account for 45 per cent of total female migrants. One of the biggest contrast between the age profile of migrants at the time of migration and that at the time of enumeration is the different percentage of migrants in age group 0-14. Figure 4.2 shows that 31 per cent of migrants were aged 0-14 when they moved into Beijing. This suggests that the form of migration changed between the 1950s and the 1970s. In the 1950s, family migration was important, but in the 1970s, the individual mover became predominant among migrants into Beijing. One of reasons for this change may be due to the government policy of limiting urban growth which can lead to a biased selection of single migrants.

The pattern described above shows that the theory of age selectivity among migrants applies to Beijing even under China's registration system. There can be two explanations for the applicability of age selective hypothesis in Beijing. One is that, because most of the migrants of Beijing moved into the city in 1950s when there were not much control on population movement, so this hypothesis is applicable. The other argument is that the age selective hypothesis is universally applicable and is even supported by the situation in China under the Chinese government policy on migration and urbanization.

Unlike the age selectivity hypothesis, the sex selectivity hypothesis stated by Ravenstein (1889) is not supported by the migration survey data. Ravenstein's conclusion that females are more migratory than males is not applicable to the Beijing situation. According to the migration survey data, the sex ratio of the total population in Beijing was 108 in 1984. However, for the migrants, the sex ratio was 131 which showed that there were many more male than female migrants (Table 4.3). For non-migrants the sex ratio was 94. In particular age groups, the difference in the sex ratio between migrants and non-migrants is even more substantial. For migrants, the sex ratio

in age group 15-19 is 188, in age group 20-24 is 207, and in age group 25-29 is 231. The sex ratio of migrants in other age groups are also strongly in favor of males. This indicates that individual movers are single male. For the non-migrants, the sex ratio in age group 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 are 108, 97 and 78, which are in favor of females. This shows out-migration of males of these age groups which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 4-3: Age-Sex Distribution of In-migrants and Non-migrants(at the time of the survey)

Age Group	Number of In-migrants			Number of Non-migrants		
	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
0-14	17	18	94	298	295	101
15-29	173	81	214	561	608	92
30-44	260	191	136	192	214	90
45-59	350	296	118	106	116	91
60+	149	118	126	70	68	102
Total	949	724	131	1227	1301	94

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population Research Center, 1984

Table 4-4: Age-Sex Distribution of In-migrants (at the time of migration)

Age Group	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
0-14	249	177	140
15-29	390	270	144
30-44	118	110	107
45-59	17	13	130
60+	14	10	140
Total	788	580	136

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population Research Center, 1984

The sex ratio of migrants at the time of migration is also

strongly in favour of males, with 136 males to 100 females. For the age group 15-19, the sex ratio is 168, for age group 20-24, the ratio is 174, and for age group 25-29, the ratio is 117.

One of the reason for the high proportion of male migrants may be the small sample size which could result in statistical errors. For instance, for the migrants in age group 15-19 (at the time of enumeration), the sample size is 49 and in age group 20-24, the sample size is 89. But even so, there is no doubt that migrants in Beijing are predominantly male. The other possible reason is the character of Beijing itself. Beijing is the political and cultural centre of China, where government agencies, universities and scientific research institutes are highly concentrated. In contemporary China, government staff, university teachers and scientific researchers are still mostly male. This means Beijing provides more job opportunities for males than for females. The structure of industries in Beijing also favours males. In the 1950s, most industry was light industry, but since the 1960s, manufacturing and heavy industry had been established in Beijing, which provided more job opportunities for males than females. The third explanation is that since the sex ratio of non-migrants in Beijing is strongly in favour of females, especially in the marriage age groups such as 20-24 and 25-29, it may be hard for migrant females to find spouses in Beijing. This may also reduce female migration into Beijing.

4.2 Marital Status

Table 4.5 shows that the proportion of married and widowed persons is higher among migrants than non-migrants. But this is mainly the result of a different age structure of migrants and non-migrants. The proportion divorced among migrants and non-migrants is the same. The "other" category in the table refers to those whose marital status was not clear.

When we examined the marital status of migrants at the time when they moved into Beijing, we found that about 64 per cent of female migrants were never-married when they migrated into Beijing (Table 4.6). Among the male migrants, the proportion never-married was only 46

Table 4-5: The Marital Status of Migrants and Non-migrants
(at the time of enumeration)

	Migrants (%)			Non-migrants (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Never-						
married	14.8	9.3	12.2	49.8	42.4	45.4
Married	81.7	80.2	81.1	47.1	55.0	51.2
Widowed	2.5	9.8	5.9	1.9	3.2	2.6
Divorced	0.8	0.4	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.7
Other	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	925	702	1627	926	995	1921
Size						

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Center, Beijing, 1984.

Table 4-6: The marital Status of In-migrants
(at the time of migration)

	Male(%)			Female(%)		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Never-						
married	47	45	46	54	77	64
Married	53	55	54	46	23	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample						
Size	287	426	713	211	327	538

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Center, 1984

per cent. If we examined the migrants by their origin, we found that 75 per cent of females from rural areas were never-married. But among female migrants from urban areas, the proportion never-married was only 53 per cent. Among males, there was not much difference in marital status between those from rural and urban areas.

One of the reasons why there were so many female migrants in the never-married category may be due to women's position in the home. In China today, especially in rural areas, women do almost all of the housework after marriage. Therefore, it is hard for females to migrate after marriage, unless they migrate with their families. So, those females who want to migrate must do so before they marry. The other explanation lies in the reasons for migration discussed later in this chapter which indicates that the reasons for migration are different for males and females. For males, the main purpose in migrating is to seek employment. For females, reasons relating to the family are the most important. Among those who claimed marriage was the main purpose in migration, 92 per cent were female, and only 8 per cent were male. Among these females, 73 per cent came from rural areas. This indicates that marriage is an important factor in female migration. This may explain why the great majority of females were never-married when they came into Beijing because some of them came to Beijing to get married.

4.3 Education

The educational attainment of migrants is another important factor which influences the decision to migrate. However, past studies have not confirmed whether there is a consistent relationship between migration and educational attainment. Freedman (1949) found that educational selectivity varied from stream to stream in the United States in 1930s. Kuroda (1967) suggested that in-migrants had less education than non-migrants at the place of destination, while some other studies lead to opposite answer (Lee, 1966; Speare, 1969). The migration survey of Beijing also failed to get any clear answer on it.

Table 4.7 gives a general picture of the educational level of migrants and non-migrants at the time of the survey. After standardization for age structure, the data show that a higher proportion of migrants had college education and primary education. For example, among male migrants about 26 per cent had college education, while among the male non-migrants, the proportion with college education was only 12 per cent. Among the female migrants, the proportion of those with college education was 15 per cent. But among

the female non-migrants, the proportion was only 9 per cent. For those with middle education which including senior and junior schooling (from grades 7 to 12), the non-migrants had greater proportion. For instance, among the male non-migrants, 34 per cent of them obtained senior middle education, but among the male migrants, only 21 per cent of them obtained senior middle education. For those with primary schooling, migrants again had higher proportion. Among the male migrants, 20 per cent had only primary education. Among the male non-migrants, the proportion with primary education was 17 per cent. For the female, the percentage of those with only primary education between migrants and non-migrants was 16 per cent against 15 per cent. Male migrants had a slightly smaller proportion to those illiterate than non-migrants with 5 per cent against 7 per cent. But the female migrants had a higher proportion of illiterates than non-migrants, with 19 per cent to 15 per cent.

Table 4-7: The Educational Level of Migrants
and Non-migrants(at the time of the survey)

Education Level	Before Standardization(%)				After Standardization(%)*			
	Migrants		Non-migrants		Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
College	31	20	9	8	26	15	12	9
Senior	18	15	39	44	21	18	34	37
Junior	27	24	35	30	29	31	29	24
Primary	18	16	11	7	20	17	16	15
NO Educ.	6	25	6	11	5	19	9	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Percent)

Sample

size 937 706 929 1005 937 706 929 1005

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Center, Beijing, 1984

* Standardized by the age structure of total sample.

Table 4-8: The Proportion of Migrants and Non-migrants in each Level of Education (at the time of the survey)

	Male(15+)		Female(15+)		Total	Sample
	Migrants	Non-migr.	Migrants	Non-migr.		size
	%	%	%	%	%	
College	49	14	24	13	100	595
Senior	15	33	10	42	100	1346
Junior	24	32	16	28	100	1269
Primary	37	22	26	15	100	513
No Education	14	15	45	26	100	452

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, The Population Research Center, Beijing, 1984.

Table 4-9: The Educational Level of Migrants at the Time of Migration and at the Time of the Survey (aged 15+)

	At the Time of Migration			At the Time of the Survey		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%
College	14	9	11	30	20	25
Senior	19	11	15	18	15	16
Junior	23	20	21	28	24	26
Primary	26	23	25	18	16	17
No Educ.	18	37	28	6	25	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample size	928	691	1619	937	706	1640

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, The Chinese Population Research Center, Beijing, 1984.

The proportion of migrants was much higher among the well educated and least educated groups than among people with mid-level education. That is the majority of those with college education, primary education and illiteracy were migrants, while the majority of those with senior

and junior education were non-migrants (Table 4.8). Among the total who had college education, 73 per cent were migrants, and among those who had primary education, 63 per cent were migrants. Among those with no education 59 per cent were migrants. But among those who had senior middle education, 75 per cent were non-migrants. Among those who had junior middle schooling, the non-migrants account for 60 per cent of the total. This kind of pattern shows that there is no consistent relationship between migration and educational attainment.

Comparing the educational level of migrants at different periods of time, at the time of migration and at the time of the survey, it can be seen that migrants improved their educational attainment after they arrived in Beijing. For example, at the time of migration, only 11 per cent of total migrants had college education. At the time of the survey, the proportion with college education increased to 25 per cent among total migrants. At the same time, the proportion of illiterate migrants declined from 28 per cent to 16 per cent after moving to Beijing (Table 4.9).

4.4 Occupation

This section examines differences in the occupational structure of migrants and non-migrants. It also considers changes in the occupation of migrants after migration to Beijing.

The migration survey shows that of inhabitants 15 years and over in Beijing, 46 per cent are migrants, and 54 per cent are non-migrants. For the migrants 15 years and over, after standardization, the proportion in the labour force is 77 per cent, while for non-migrants, it is slightly lower, 73 per cent. Seventy-two per cent of female migrants are in the labour force compared with 69 per cent of female non-migrants.

According to China's census, there are 16 kinds of occupations in urban areas. Table 4.10 provides the main occupation distribution of migrants and non-migrants. The data suggest that migrants are selected for particular kinds of occupations. The occupations in Table 4.8 can

Table 4-10: The Occupational Distribution of In-migrants
and Non-migrants

Occupation	In-migrants (%)			Non-migrants(%)		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Agriculture	1	0	1	1	1	2
Manufa. Mining,						
Elec. Gas&Water	29	24	27	36	32	34
Tran. Storage,						
Construction	12	6	9	13	5	9
Sales&Service	10	10	10	12	15	13
Prof. Tech. &						
Related	24	22	23	12	15	13
Administra. &						
Managerial	9	4	7	3	2	3
Other	1	2	1	1	2	2
No Work	14	32	22	22	29	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	925	702	1627	926	995	1921

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, The Population
Research Center, Beijing, 1984.

be combined into two broad categories. The first is physical work or blue collar work which includes agriculture, mining, timber, manufacturing, and all occupations related to industrial production. The other category can be called mental work or white collar work which includes scientific research, medical care, educational work, administrative and managerial work and so on. The proportion of migrants and non-migrants in these two categories are different. Among the migrants, the proportion in white collar work was 30 per cent of the total in the labour force. But among the non-migrants, the proportion in white collar work was only 16 per cent of the total in the labour force. The proportion of migrants in physical work was less than 40 per cent, while the proportion of non-migrants in physical work was about 45 per cent.

The occupational selectivity was more obvious among females. Among female migrants in the labour force, about 40 per cent were engaged in white collar work as teachers, doctors, nurses, research staff and government officials. But among female non-migrants, the proportion in these fields was only 24 per cent of the total in the labour force. The proportion of female non-migrants engaged in physical work was 75 per cent, compared with about 60 per cent of migrants engaged in physical work.

Table 4-11: A Comparison of In-migrants and Non-migrants by Industries

Industry	In-Migrants(%)			Non-migrants(%)			Total %
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	
Agriculture	26	16	42	26	32	58	100
Construction	31	12	33	42	15	67	100
Sales	19	16	35	25	40	65	100
Administration	48	20	68	19	13	32	100
Science & Technology	46	24	70	17	13	30	100

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population Research Center, 1984

The occupational selectivity of migrants can be further proved by analysis of industries. Migrants comprise 68 per cent of the labour force in administration and management, and non-migrants only 32 per cent. Of these engaged in scientific and technical work, the majority was also migrants, 71 per cent. In physical work, the majority were non-migrants. For example, the non-migrants comprise 67 per cent in construction work and migrants only 33 per cent.

From the above, it is fairly clear that more migrants were engaged in professional, technical, administrative and related kinds of work while non-migrants had a higher proportion in jobs such as industrial production, sales and service work. This study thus confirms the conclusion made by Ravenstein (1885) and Lee (1966) that migration is selective and that migrants are not a representative cross section of the population at the destination.

Analysis of changes in the occupation of migrants is important because it helps to explain why particular people tend to move. One significant finding of this survey is that a large proportion of the people who were not in the labour force before migration joined the labour force after migration. These people who were not formerly in the labour force include three groups: students, retired migrants and people without work. Table 4.12 reveals that migration resulted in many of them joining the labour force. Among students, about 52 per cent joined the labour force after migration. Among those without work before migration, 47 per cent became employed after migration.

The most interesting result was among retired people: about 33 per cent rejoined the labour force after migration. Even more astonishing is that of those who rejoined the labour force, all were in one occupational category; industrial production. There are two explanations for this. First, the age of retirement in industrial production is earlier than in white collar jobs such as professions and administration. The retirement age in industrial production is 60 for males and 55 for females, but for white collar jobs such as teachers in universities, the retirement age can be up to 65 years and over. Since

the age of retirement is relatively early in industry such as manufacturing, some of the workers who were engaged in this sector may feel that they still can do something after retirement. On the other hand, many small collective and private enterprises are willing to hire such workers since they needed skilled and veteran workers. Therefore, some of the veteran workers who previously worked in big enterprises outside Beijing can rejoin the labour force after they return to Beijing after retirement. The other explanation is that usually the industrial and related work need less education and skill, so the retired people can easily get this kind of work provided they are still in good health.

Among those migrants who were already in the labour force before migration, a change in occupation occurred mainly for those engaged in agriculture. About 99 per cent of former peasants changed their occupation after they moved to Beijing. For the migrants in other occupations, the change was not significant. For example, about 80 per cent of those engaged in industrial production before migration remained in the same occupation after migration. There were some people who changed their occupation from white collar to physical work, but the proportion was very small.

The data of the migration survey also reveal that the occupation of migrants is different in different periods of time. In Chapter 3 it was shown that the migration trend in Beijing can be divided into three periods. The first period from 1950 to 1959, was characterized by a large volume of in-migrants and a small number of out-migrants. The second period, from 1960 to 1969, was characterized by large scale out-migration and small scale in-migration. The third period is from 1970 to 1983, which is known as a stable and steady period of population movement with slightly more in-migrants than out-migrants each year. Table 4.13 show that in different periods of time, the occupational structure of migrants varied. The great different can be observed if we compare the occupation of migrants between the first period and the second period. For example, during the first period 1950 to 1959, 15 per cent of migrants were engaged in professional and

Table 4-12: The Occupation Changes of Migrants

Before Migration After Migration	Prof. & Related	Admin. & Related	Clerical & Related	Sales & Service	Production & Related	Agricul. & Related	Other Work	Student	No Work	Retired
Professional & Related	69	9	8	0	3	0	10	25	2	0
Administrative & Related	4	66	2	3	0	1	6	3	0	0
Clerical & Related	7	3	64	6	3	4	14	9	2	0
Sales & Service	3	0	2	65	4	12	8	2	13	0
Production & Related	7	5	110	13	80	42	30	10	14	33
Agriculture & Related	0	0	0	0	0	0.3	0	1	0	0
Other Work	2	0	4	10	2	7.7	26	2	10	0
Retired	4	3	0	3	3	19	0	0	0	67
Student	2	11	8	0	0	4	0	48	6	0
No Work	2	3	2	0	5	10	6	0	53	0
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	94	35	52	31	64	303	50	340	141	45

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, The Chinese Population Research Center, Beijing, 1984

administrative work before migration, 28 per cent were industrial workers, 13 per cent were in the section of house work, and 7 per cent of them had no work. During the second period, 1960 to 1969, the situation changed a lot. Among the total in-migrants, 44 per cent were engaged in professional and administrative work before migration. This number is much larger than that in the period of 1950-1959. During the second period, the proportion of migrants in section of industrial declined to 12 per cent, and the proportion of those doing house work was only 3 per cent. Finally only 2 per cent of migrants had no work when they moved into Beijing during this period.

This situation suggests that during the high tide of in-migration, there were more migrants who were in physical work. During the period of low tide in-migration, there were more migrants who were in white collar work. In other words, when there is a large volume of migration, more unskilled and uneducated people joined the movement. When the migration was on a small scale, the migrants were more restricted to the professionals and educated people. This can be better understood if we link migration with the economic situation. When the economy was prosperous, factories, enterprises and other city services were able to provide more jobs for physical workers, and this created massive migration. At the time of economic depression, these factories and city service system needed less physical workers, and this led to less migration. But for the white collar migrants, their opportunities were relatively stable since they usually seek employment in government, universities and research institutes. The other explanation is that when there were not much restrictions on urban growth, everyone had a chance to move into Beijing, and a number of physical workers flocked into Beijing in 1950s. But when the government carried out measures to control the population movement in 1960s, the occupation of migrants became more selective. The third possible reason is that the migration of white collar workers is related to job transfer whereas this is unlikely for people in physical work. Therefore, the proportion of migrants in white collar work would be greater during the period of low tide of migration and smaller during the period of high tide of migration.

Table 4-13: The Percentage of Occupation of In-migrants
in Different Period

Occupation	Time Period (Year)		
	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1982
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Professional & Administrative	15	44	18
Clerical	8	9	12
Sale & Service	8	5	7
Industrial	28	12	27
House Work	13	3	1
No Work	7	2	6
Student	18	18	24
Others	3	7	5
Total	100	100	100

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
REsearch Center, 1984.

4.5 Reasons for Migration

This section will examine the relationship between the reasons for migration and the characteristics of the migrants which include sex, education, occupation and place of origin. One thing needs to be mentioned is that the reasons given by survey respondents including those who did not have official approval to live in Beijing.

Table 4.14 shows that the migration reasons are quite different for males and females. About 57 per cent of males migrated for job related reasons. But among females, more than half the females migrated for family reasons, which either means moving along with their families or moving for the purpose of family reunion. Only 22 per cent of females migrated for the purpose of work. The other difference is that, for the males, marriage is not factor in migration, with less than 1 per cent migrating for this purpose. But among the females, 11 per cent migrated for the purpose of marriage. Other reasons in Table 4.14 refer to retirement or political reasons. There is not much difference between males and females in the proportion who migrated for these other reasons.

Table 4-14: The Reasons for Migration by Sex and Previous Place of Residence

The Reasons for Migration	Total Migrants		Urban-migrants		Rural-migrants	
	Male	Female(%)	Male	Female(%)	Male	Female(%)
Work	57	22	39	26	66	19
Education	13	8	20	11	8	6
Marriage	1	11	1	7	1	14
Family Reason	21	51	27	44	22	56
Other Reasons	8	8	13	12	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	780	578	320	247	460	331

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Center, 1984

Analysis by place of origin reveals some differences. For example, about 66 per cent of male migrants from rural areas migrated for work, but only 39 per cent of male migrants from urban areas migrated for work. Only 8 per cent of male migrants from rural areas migrated for education, compared with 20 per cent of urban male migrants. Among females there were also some differences between people from urban and rural areas. For example, about 14 per cent of female migrants from rural areas migrated for the purpose of marriage, compared with only 7 per cent of female migrants from urban areas.

Table 4-15: The Reasons for Migration by Education

The Reason Of Migration	Migrant's Educational Level				
	College	Senior	Junior	Primary	No
	Graduate (%)	School (%)	School (%)	School (%)	Schooling (%)
Work	85	38	50	43	26
Education	5	46	8	5	0
Family Reason	2	10	24	41	51
Marriage	1	2	3	4	16
Other Reason	7	4	14	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	197	250	350	399	247

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Center, 1984

The relationship between the reasons for migration and the education of migrants is significant. Among those with higher education (college graduates), about 85 per cent migrated for the purpose of work while only 2 per cent migrated for family reasons, and only 1 per cent migrated for the purpose of marriage. But among those without any schooling, only 26 per cent migrated for the purpose of work, 51 per cent migrated for family reasons, and 16 per cent migrated for the purpose of marriage. There is a negative relationship between education and migration for family reasons. The higher the education of migrants, the less the proportion migrating for family reasons. This is because the more educated migrants are male and they are less likely to migrate for family reasons. There is a similar relationship between education and marriage. On the contrary, there is a positive relationship between education and migration for work, that is, the higher the education of migrants, the greater is the proportion migrating for work. One exception is those who had senior middle education. This is because a large proportion of migrants with senior middle schooling migrated for education, as the next stage after senior middle school is college

Table 4-16: The Reasons for Migration by Occupation

The Reasons For Migration	Work	Education	Family Reason	Marriage	Other Reason
Professional	58. 5	6. 4	20. 0	5. 3	9. 8
Administrative & Managerial	74. 3	11. 4	7. 7	2. 9	3. 7
Clerical & Related	69. 2	5. 8	11. 5	3. 8	9. 7
Sale & Service	54. 8	0. 0	22. 6	6. 5	16. 1
Agricultural Production & Related	47. 9	2. 1	26. 7	10. 0	20. 0
House Work	71. 2	1. 5	10. 6	6. 1	10. 6
Student	8. 5	1. 1	70. 2	20. 1	0. 1
	39. 0	36. 3	22. 9	1. 0	0. 8

Source: Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinese Population
Research Centre, 1984

education. In China, colleges and universities are mainly located in urban areas, especially in big cities such as Beijing. Therefore, a greater proportion of migrants with senior middle schooling would migrate to the big cities for further education.

Table 4.16 shows there are certain relationships between the reasons for migration and the occupation of migrants. Among the migrants who were engaged in administrative work before migration, 74 per cent migrated for work reasons, 11 per cent migrated for the purpose of seeking education, and only 8 percent migrated for family reasons. Among those engaged in sales and service occupations before migration, 55 per cent migrated for work reasons, 23 per cent migrated for family reasons and no one migrated for education. Among those engaged in house work who were mainly females, 70 per cent migrated for family reasons, 20 per cent migrated for the purpose of marriage, and only 8 percent migrated for work reasons.

From the study, we can conclude that the migrants in Beijing are selective on a number of characteristics. Most migrants moved into Beijing at the age of 15-29. Compared with non-migrants, migrants tended to be male, single, with a greater proportion having college education and engaged in white collar work. The study also reveals that migrants with different social economic characteristics have different reasons for migration.

CHAPTER 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OUT-MIGRANTS

Since the migration survey of Beijing did not collect good information on out-migrants, the staff of the Beijing Municipal Government decided to use registration data for Beijing to study the characteristics of out-migrants. In October 1984, the research staff of the Beijing government examined a sample of registration data on persons who migrated out of Beijing in 1980, 1981 and 1982. The sample is drawn from eight districts of the inner city of Beijing by the method of multi-stratified sampling. The sample size is 4430, which accounts for 3 percent of the total number of out-migrants from Beijing in these three years. Since the registration data only reflects the situation of permanent migrants, so the out-migrants referred to in this study had been permanent residents of Beijing before they left.

In this chapter, we examine the basic characteristics of out-migrants including their age, sex, marital status, family size, education and occupation.

5.1 Age-Sex Composition

As described in Chapter 4, migrants can be categorised into five age groups according to their life cycle stage, and mobility tends to be highest in the late teens and twenties as a result of entrance to the labour force and formation of family units (Browning, 1971: 275-312; Goldstein, 1976: 115-142). The proportion of out-migrants in each of these age groups are: 5 per cent in age group 0-14, 49 per cent in age group 15-29, 23 per cent in age group 30-44, 19 per cent in age group 45-59, and finally only 4 per cent in age group 60+. The small proportion of out-migrants in age group 0-14 suggests that not many families with young children migrate out of Beijing. The study shows

Figure 5-1: The Age Profile of Out-migrants

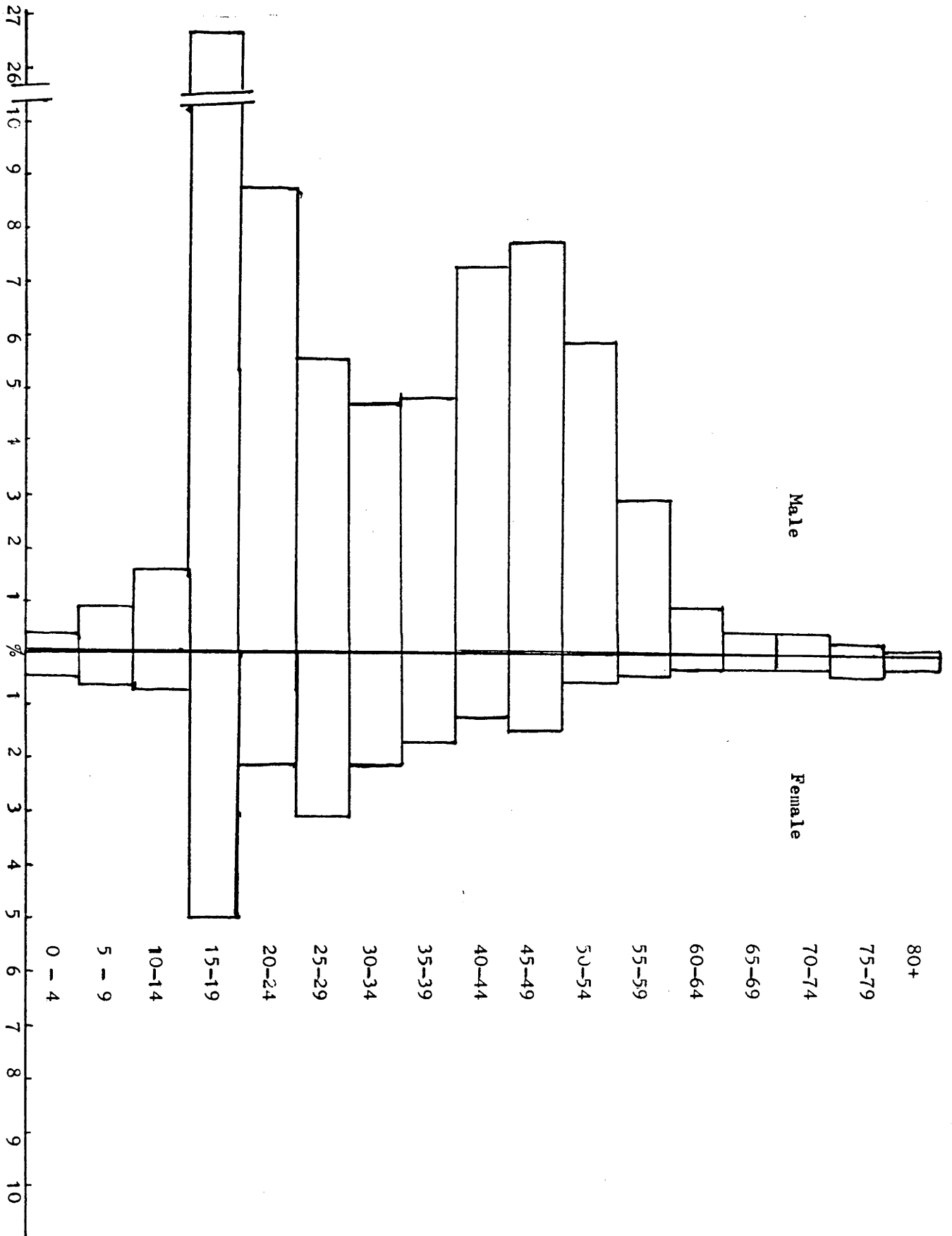


Table 5-1: The Age Structure of In-migrants and Out-migrants (at the time of migration)

Age Group	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	10	12	11	1	2	1
5-9	11	10	10	1	3	2
10-14	11	9	10	2	3	3
15-19	12	10	11	34	24	29
20-24	17	12	16	11	10	10
25-29	20	23	21	7	15	11
30-34	8	12	9	6	10	8
35-39	5	6	5	6	8	7
40-44	2	2	2	9	6	8
45-49	2	1	2	10	7	9
50-54	>*	1	>*	4	2	3
55-59	>*	1	>*	3	2	2
60-64	1	1	1	1	1	1
65+	1	2	1	6	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	789	580	1369	3509	921	4430

*>= less 1

Source: 1. Beijing Statistics Bureau, 1984

2. Migration Survey of Beijing, Chinses Population
Research Centre, 1984

that 91 per cent of out-migrants are economically active, and about 50 per cent of out-migrants are in the young adulthood age group 15-29. The most selective age group for both males and females is the age group 15-19. Among the males, 34 per cent are in this age group. Among the females, the proportion in this age group is 24 percent. Since this study does not have the information on the motives of the out-migrants, it is hard to find the reason why the most selective age group for

Out-migrants is 15-19. One possible explanation is that many young people migrate out of Beijing for higher education (college education). The reason is that, although Beijing is the cultural centre of China and has a number of universities, most of them set high demands on academic standards and the competition is nationwide for admission. So, those less talented have to seek higher education outside Beijing. Table 5.4 shows that about 30 per cent of out-migrants are students before they leave Beijing. This may prove the above assumption that many students in age group 15-19 seek higher education outside Beijing. The other possible reason for the high level of out-migration in early 1980s among those age 15-19 may be the lack of jobs in Beijing and young people had to migrate from Beijing to work elsewhere.

Previous studies in other developing countries have found that the social-economic and demographic characteristics of in-migrants differ from those of the out-migrants (Rose, 1966: 88-92). Table 5.1 reveals the different age structure of in-migrants and out-migrants. For the in-migrants, 31 per cent are in age group 0-14, but the proportion of out-migrants in the age group 0-14 is only 6 per cent. This indicates different migration form between in-migrants and out-migrants. This is easily understandable. Since Beijing is a modern city and the living standard is higher than most parts of China, the in-migrants are willing to bring their families when they come. But for the out-migrants, they would prefer leave their families behind in Beijing as root that when day they may return back.

Compared with the in-migrants, the out-migrants have a large number of people in older age groups. For example, the proportion of out-migrants in age group 45-59 is 14 per cent, in age group 60+ is 7 per cent. But the proportion of in-migrants in age group 45-59 accounts for 3 per cent, and in age group 60+ is only 2 per cent. This may indicate that, in a developing country like China, the age structure of in-migrants tend to be younger while the age structure of out-migrants from big cities tend to be older. However, the validity of this hypothesis need to be tested in further studies.

Figure 5-2 also shows that the out-migrants are mostly males. Among the out-migrants, 79 per cent are male, and only 21 per cent are female. The sex ratio is 381 males to 100 females. Male migrants dominated in all age groups. For example, in the age group 0-14, the sex ratio is 171. In the age group 15-19, the sex ratio is 533. In the age group 20-24, the sex ratio is 419. There is a similar pattern in the old age groups. For example, in the age group 40-44, the sex ratio is 513. In the age group 45-49, the sex ratio is 541. This strong male dominance among the out-migrants confirms the idea that in Beijing, males are more migratory, no matter whether they are in-migrants or out-migrants. This situation also suggests that in China today, women are still heavily influenced by traditional norms and culture which prevent them from migrating.

5.2 Marital Status and Family Size

Among the sample of 4430 out-migrants, 54 per cent had not been married when they left Beijing. Among the male out-migrants, the proportion of never married people was 55 per cent. Among the female out-migrants, 52 per cent were unmarried. In chapter 4, we observed that among the in-migrants, the proportion never-married was also greater than the proportion married. This confirms some early findings in migration studies suggest that migrants tend to be single people (Thomas, 1938: 289).

Table 5.2 provides a general picture of the marital status of out-migrants starting from the age group 20-24. The proportion of married people in the age group 15-19 is less than 1 per cent, so the table did not include this age group. One of the significant findings from these data is that out-migrants prefer late marriage, or that they tend to delay their marriage. For example, 53 per cent of females in the age group 25-29 were still not married when they left Beijing. This is very different from the situation in China as a whole. According to China's 1982 census data, 95 per cent of the females in the age group 25-29 were already married. If we compare the marital status between out-migrants and non-migrants, the difference is also considerable. For example, about 90 per cent of female out-migrants in the age group

Table 5-2: The Marital Status of Out-migrants

Age group	Never Married(%)			Married(%)		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
20-24	92	89	91	8	11	9
25-29	69	53	63	31	46	37
30-34	20	19	20	80	81	80
35-39	7	3	6	93	97	94
40-44	3	4	4	97	96	96
45-49	4	5	4	96	95	96
50+	3	4	3	97	96	97
Sample						
Size	722	155	877	594	141	735

Source: Beijing Municipal Government, Social Research
Office, Beijing, 1984

20-24 were never-married, while among the female non-migrants, the proportion of never-married in this age group were 67 per cent. About 70 per cent of male out-migrants was never-married in age group 25-29, but the proportion of never-married among male non-migrants in this age group was only 34 percent. These facts prove that migrants tend to be single and unmarried, at least in the case of Beijing. The other possible reason for the large number of never-married people among out-migrants was due to the high proportion of college educated people which will be discussed in next section. In China, school regulations forbid students getting married while they are in college.

The sample also provides some data on form of migration and the family size of out-migrants. Among the 4430 out-migrants, 86 per cent were single movers. The rest (14 per cent) of the migrants migrated along with their families. Therefore, family migration among out-migrants from Beijing is not important. According to the data, these 14 per cent of out-migrants belong to 186 families. The family size (including the migrants) of these migrants were as follows: 33 families had two people, 73 families had three people, 68 families had

four people, and 12 families had five people. Among the 4430 out-migrants, 30 per cent had no relatives in Beijing and 70 per cent had relatives in Beijing when they migrated. Among those who had relatives in Beijing, 62 per cent of them had not been married and 38 per cent of them were married before they left Beijing. Among these married migrants, 53 per cent of them left their spouses and their children in Beijing, and more than 90 per cent of the married migrants left either their spouses or their children in Beijing. It is quite unexpected to find that so many people moved out of Beijing without their families. The possible reason for this is, since Beijing is the capital and cultural center of China, the living conditions and cultural facilities are better, so that the people prefer to leave their families in Beijing if they are moving to smaller cities or rural areas. From the finding above, it seems that many of these out-migrants will eventually come back to Beijing since their families are in Beijing.

5.3 Education

This section will compare the educational attainment of out-migrants with that of in-migrants and non-migrants. The educational level of in-migrants and non-migrants referred to here were at the time of the survey in 1984.

Table 5.3 shows the educational attainment of out-migrants, in-migrants and non-migrants (after standardizing for age distribution). Compared with non-migrants the out-migrants had a higher proportion of people with college education and a lower proportion of illiterate people. For example, 20 per cent of the out-migrants had college education, while the proportion of non-migrants with college education was only 11 per cent. Only 4 percent of the out-migrants were illiterate, but 11 per cent of non-migrants were illiterate. However, about 63 per cent of non-migrants had senior or junior middle education (from grade 7 to 12). Twenty percent of out-migrants but 15 per cent of non-migrants had primary education.

When we compared the educational attainment of out-migrants with

Table 5-3: Percentage Distribution of Migrants and Non-migrants (age 15+) by Education

	Non-migrants		In-migrants		Out-migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
College	12	9	26	15	19	21
Senior	34	37	21	18	25	27
Junior	31	24	29	31	30	29
Primary	16	15	20	17	22	18
No Education	7	15	5	19	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sample	929	1005	937	706	3366	841

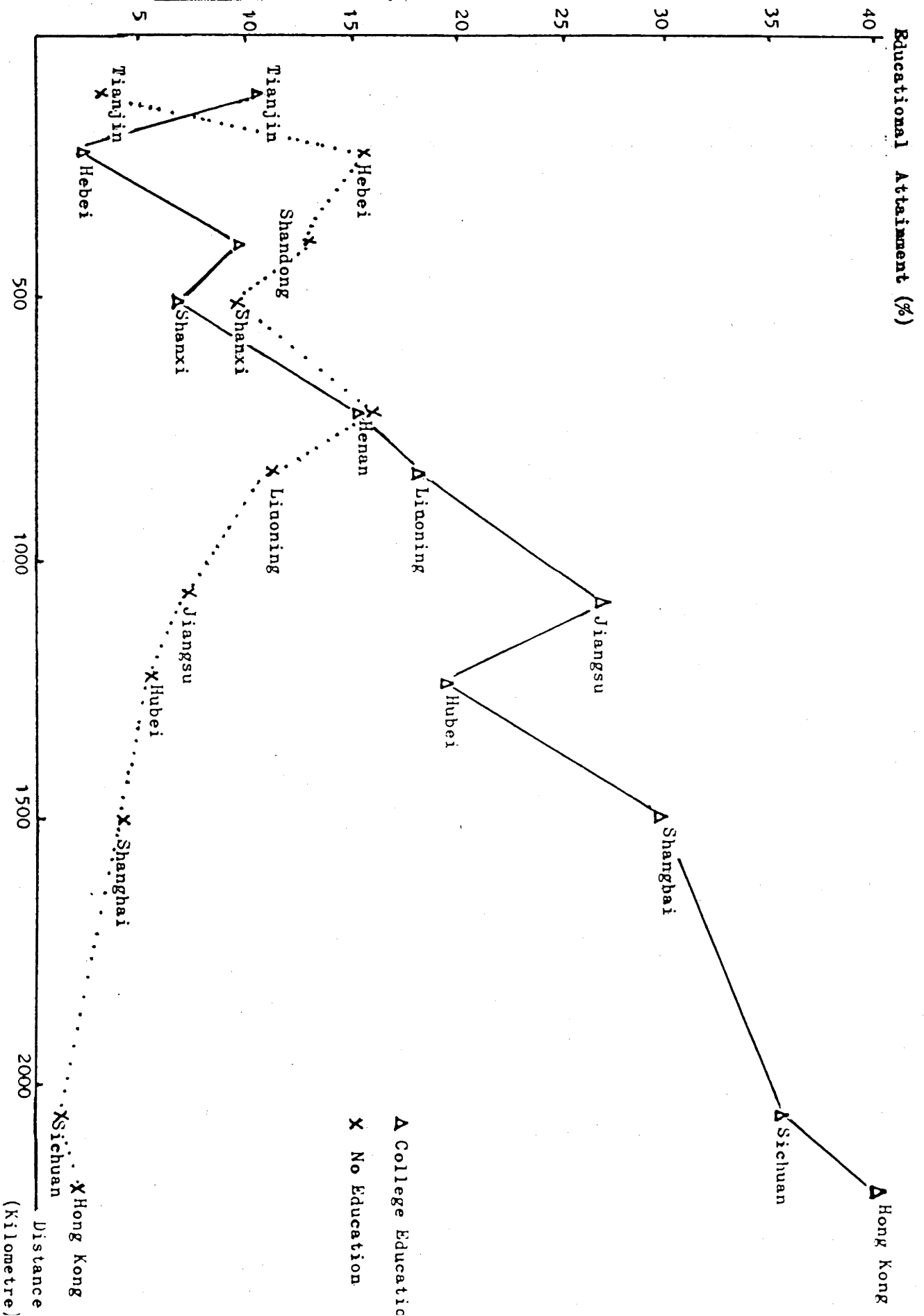
Source: Beijing Municipal Government, Social Research Office, Beijing, 1984

that of in-migrants, the difference occurred mainly among the females. Female out-migrants had a higher level of education than female in-migrants. For example, among the female out-migrants, 21 per cent had college education, while among the female in-migrants, the proportion with college education was 15 per cent. Only 5 per cent of female out-migrants was illiterate, but the proportion illiterate among female in-migrants was 19 per cent. This is because many female in-migrants came from rural areas, and rural women were not as well educated as women in Beijing.

When we examine the destination of out-migrants, we found that there is a certain relationship between the distance of migration and the educational attainment of migrants. Figure 5.2 indicates that the more educated people tend to move a longer distance away from Beijing. In other words, among the out-migrants from Beijing, the longer the distance to the destination, the greater the proportion of migrants with college education, or the shorter the distance to the destination, the greater the proportion with no education.

Figure 5.2 shows 11 places of destination for out-migrants. Three of them are big cities. They are: Tianjin, Shanghai and Hong Kong. Tianjin has a population of 7 million. Shanghai is the biggest city in

Figure 5-2: The Relationship between Education of Migrants and the Distance of Migration



China with a population of more than 10 million. Hong Kong has a population of 5.5 million. The remaining eight are provinces. The data on Figure 5.2 has already been standardized for differences in age distribution. The figure shows that except for a few cases there is a positive relationship between the education of migrants and the distance they migrated. For example, Hebei province is the nearest to Beijing (Beijing is surrounded by this province); the proportion with college education among migrants going to this province is the lowest among the eight provinces: only 2 per cent. Liaoning Province is located in the northeast of China, which is about 800 kilometers away from Beijing. The proportion with college education among out-migrants going to this province is 18 per cent. Sichuan Province is more than 2000 kilometers away from Beijing. The proportion of migrants with college education accounts for 35 per cent, which is the highest among the eight provinces.

If we compare the three big cities, the same relationship exists. Tianjin is the nearest to Beijing, about 100 kilometers away. The proportion of migrants with college education is 11 per cent. Shanghai is 1500 kilometers away from Beijing. The proportion of those with college education accounts for 28 per cent of its total migrants from Beijing. Hong Kong is more than 2000 kilometers away from Beijing, the proportion of those with college education is the highest among the three: 38 per cent.

Figure 5.2 also indicates that there is a negative relationship between the education of migrants and the distance of migration. For example, Henan Province is about 700 kilometers away from Beijing, and 18 per cent out of its total migrants from Beijing had no education. Hubei Province is more than 1000 kilometers away from Beijing, the proportion of those with no education is 5 per cent of its total. Sichuan Province again, is the farthest province from Beijing among these eight provinces. It has the lowest proportion of migrants with no education. This clearly shows that the longer the distance of migration from Beijing, the smaller the proportion of migrants with no education. One probable explanation is that lower educated people were mainly in

blue collar jobs, they had difficulty to move long because they can not afford costs of travelling for long distance. So they may settle with their family in nearby province. But for highly educated people, they usually migrate for job transfer, moving long distance paid by the government or their units.

Since these out-migrants moved out of Beijing in early 1980s, there can be an other explanation. In early 1980s, because of the relaxation of government policy, there were no much other factors but economic factor inducing people to migrate. If this is true, some classical hypotheses may be helpful to explain this. For the migrants with lower education, they usually migrate first and try to settle down by finding job latter on. Most of them have no idea of job opportunities at the destination until they finally arrived there. Therefore, they do not intend to travel long distance because of the high cost on the way and uncertain benefit return in the future. But for the migrants with higher education, it is a different story. First, many of them often migrate as a result of job transfer rather than seeking employment for the first time. Second, unlike those with lower education, the migrants with higher education usually have some ideas of job opportunities at the destination by seeking information in newspapers or through other channels before they migrate. Therefore, they can migrate long distance with less risk and more opportunities of future benefit return.

5.4 Occupation

The data in Table 5.4 provides a general picture of occupational structure of out-migrants and non-migrants. The data on out-migrants come from the population registration, and the information on non-migrants is based on the migration survey of Beijing in 1984. The comparison of occupation between out-migrants and non-migrants points to some noteworthy differentials. The most obvious difference is that the non-migrants tend to be concentrated in manual occupations, while the out-migrants contain a considerable proportion of people in white collar work such as professional and administrative work. For example, among male non-migrants, 48 per cent work in industrial production, but

the proportion for out-migrants in this field is only 30 per cent. Among the male non-migrants, only 4 per cent engage in administrative and related occupations and the proportion of out-migrants working in this field is 14 per cent. The occupational difference between female out-migrants and non-migrants is even more considerable. For example, about 38 per cent of female non-migrants work in industrial production, but the proportion of female out-migrants in this field is only 18 per cent. Among the female non-migrants, only 3 per cent work in the administrative and related sector, but the proportion of female out-migrants working in this sector is 11 per cent. In Chapter 4 we found that in-migrants also had a higher proportion engaged in white collar work. Therefore, we can conclude that people in white collar work are more migratory than the people in blue collar or manual work. In other words, those people such as teachers, scientists, technicians, doctors, managers and government staff are more migratory than the industrial workers, miners, shop assistants, waitresses and so on. However, this conclusion only refers to the situation in Beijing, and the situation in other parts of China may be different.

The other noteworthy thing is that the proportion of students accounts for 30 per cent of total out-migrants. But this does not mean that about one third of migrants migrated for further education. The real situation is that there is a large proportion of college graduates among these 30 per cent. These college graduates left Beijing for employment rather than for education. So the proportion of white collar workers among the out-migrants should be greater than the data on Table 5.3 indicates because some of the people reported as students are actually no longer students.

The comparison of occupational structure between out-migrants and in-migrants (at the time of migration) also shows that out-migrants had a higher proportion in white collar work. For example, 27 per cent of out-migrants were in white collar work, but the proportion of in-migrants engaging in white collar work only accounts for 10 per cent. But since the out-migrants referred to the study are migrants from Beijing in the early 1980s, and the in-migrants referred to are the

Table 5-4: The Occupation of Out-migrants and Non-migrants

	Out-migrants		Non-migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Production &	%	%	%	%
Related	30	18	48	38
Agriculture	0	0	1	1
Sale &				
Service	3	7	8	14
Administrative				
& Related	14	11	4	3
Professional				
& Technical	11	17	12	14
Others	3	2	1	2
No Work	7	16	9	13
Student	31	30	17	15
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	2799	877	705	608

Source: Beijing Municipal Government, Social Research
Office, Beijing, 1984

migrants to Beijing from 1950s to 1980s, the comparison between out-migrants and in-migrants has limited significance because of the different time reference.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

Studies of internal migration in China are very few. This study, therefore, tries to fill the gap by examining population movement into and from Beijing. The study focuses on the pattern of migration and the social-demographic characteristics of migrants in Beijing during the period from 1950 to 1983. It also assesses the validity and applicability of some hypotheses and models put forward by demographers and economists. Because of the limitations and the unavailability of the census data for China, this study is mainly based on two other kinds of data, one is a migration survey in 1984, the other is the registration data for Beijing from 1950 to 1983.

The study reveals that the population growth rate of Beijing in the past thirty years has not been as fast as that of some other big cities in developing countries, such as Mexico City, Seoul, Manila, and Jakarta. One of the reasons for this slower population growth in Beijing is due to the uneven migration trend into Beijing in the past. To recapitulate, the migration trend and pattern in Beijing during the period 1950 to 1983 can be divided into three periods: 1950-1959, 1960-1969 and 1970-1983. The migration trend of the 1950s has characterized by a large number of in-migrants and a small number of out-migrants. However, during the second period of the 1960s, the migration pattern and trend changed fundamentally. Total out-migrants greatly outnumbered the total in-migrants during the whole ten years and this was seldom seen in other developing countries at that time. Since 1970, the migration trend and pattern in Beijing has been in relative small scale with more in-migrants in most year. It is suggested that the life cycle stage phenomenon is important in understanding the age profile of both in-migrants and out-migrants. For

example, the study shows that a great number of migrants tend to migrate at ages 15 to 29. This is because this time period is a transition in people's life stage. At these ages, people begin to seek higher education or employment and to anticipate marriage and family formation. It has also found that among migrants the sex ratio has strongly male, and most migrants tended to be single when they migrate. The study also shows that, compared with non-migrants, migrants had a higher proportion of people in professional, administrative, clerical and other white collar work. This indicates that the motivation for migration strongly depends on variables such as age, sex, education, occupation and place of origin.

6.2 Some Major Findings

By reviewing the migration trend and pattern of Beijing during the period 1950-1983, the study showed that there were three factors affecting population movement to and from Beijing. These factors were: government policies, economic development and the political situation. Sometimes, these three factors are related to each other. For example, in 1950s, government policy was in favour of heavy industry and there was not much control on migration; besides this, the economic situation was also in favour of rural to urban migration. In China, the 1950s was known as a "golden period" for economic development, a lot of factories were built during that period. Therefore, both the policy factor and the economic factor contributed to a large in-migration flow into Beijing in the 1950s. In 1960s, because the government carried out a policy of controlling big city growth, and there were also political unstability, many people moved out of Beijing.

The study reveals that there is age selectivity of migrants in Beijing even under China's migration policy. The age profile of migrants indicates that most migrants tend to migrate at age 15 to 29. However, the study finds that there are some differences between in-migrants and out-migrants. For in-migrants, the most selective age group is 25-29, which accounts for more than 20 per cent of the total in-migrants. But for out-migrants, a large proportion tend to migrate in their late teen ages. The proportion of out-migrants in the age group 15-19 accounts for 27 per cent of all out-migrants.

Unlike the age selectivity hypothesis, the sex selective hypothesis, which suggests that females are more migratory than males, is not applicable in Beijing. The study shows that males predominate among in-migrants into and out-migrants from Beijing. This male predominance among the migrants may be due to the Chinese culture and tradition. In the Chinese traditional way of life, the women's role is at home, especially after marriage.

The study reveals that there is a difference between the marital status of male migrants and female migrants. Among male migrants, the proportions of married and single are roughly equal. But among female migrants, the majority are single at the time of migration. This is especially true among females from rural areas. The study shows that almost all the out-migrants migrated alone, even those who got married before migration. This finding suggests that most of these out-migrants would eventually return to Beijing.

The study finds that there is no consistent relationship between migration and educational attainment. Migrants tended to be concentrated in two categories, those with college education and those with no education or primary education. However, the study does find a sort of relationship between the educational attainment of out-migrants and the distance of migration. This relationship seems to be positive, that is, the longer the distance of the destination from Beijing, the greater the proportion of out-migrants with college education, or the closer the destination is to Beijing, the greater the proportion of out-migrants with no education.

By comparing the occupational structure of migrants and non-migrants, the study finds that a greater proportion of migrants were engaged in white collar work, such as professionals, scientists, managers and government staff. One of the reasons for this is the characteristics of Beijing itself. Since Beijing is the political and cultural centre of China, many universities, research institutes and government agencies are located there, and it provides more opportunities for professional and educated migrants. Furthermore,

unlike in other developing countries, the services sector in Beijing is extremely backward. Therefore unskilled and non-professional migrants have difficulties in finding jobs in Beijing.

It was found that people with different demographic and social-economic characteristics had different reasons for migration. Generally speaking, males tended to migrate for work related reasons such as seeking employment and job transfer, while females tend to migrate for family reasons or marriage. People with high education tended to migrate for work reasons and people with low education tend to migrate for family reasons. People from urban areas tended to migrate for work reasons and people from rural areas tended to migrate for family reasons.

6.3 Suggestions for Further Study

One of the limitations of this study is that it only examines the pattern and characteristics of long-term migrants to and from Beijing. It does not tell anything about short-term and circular migrants. The experiences in other developing countries show that the nature or process of population movement cannot be well understood unless all types of migration are considered simultaneously (Hugo, 1978: 100-112; Pryor, 1974: 7-13; Sternstein, 1971: 46-52). Evidence in Beijing indicates that in recent years, temporary and circular migration have become a more important form of population movement. For example, the number of seasonal workers in Beijing doubled from 40,000 in 1979 to 90,000 in 1983 (Mao Hu, 1984). So, to get a comprehensive picture of the population movement of Beijing, temporary and circular migrants must also be examined, including the pattern, trend and volume of these movements, the socio-demographic characteristics of these migrants, their motivation and origin, as well as their contribution and the problems they create.

Since China is a big country and the social, demographic and economic situations vary enormously from place to place, the findings and the conclusions of this migration study of Beijing cannot be always applicable to other parts of China, especially to small and medium

sized cities. Therefore, in order to have a clear understanding of internal migration in China, further migration studies should be carried out in selected small and medium sized cities. This would allow a comprehensive and comparative analysis of the patterns, trends and characteristics of migrants in different kinds of cities. Only then can a clear picture of the pattern of internal migration in China be obtained.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE MIGRATION SURVEY IN BEIJING

Note:

This questionnaire was used for the migration survey of Beijing in April 1984. When preparing this questionnaire for the appendix of the thesis, I am faced with the problem of translating Chinese into English. First of all, by doing so, it would be impossible to keep the questionnaire in its original form. Secondly, largely owing to my limited English, the intended meaning in Chinese would not come out in the other language, and this may lead to misunderstanding among the readers. Therefore, I decided to put the original questionnaire into the appendix. In order to help people to read it, I have translated the meaning of each item on the questionnaire into English (not the exact questions asked by the research staff in the survey).

This questionnaire consists of five part: Part A is for all the residents of the households; Part B is for those who migrated from suburb to city; Part C is for those who migrated into Beijing from other provinces; Part D is for temporary migrants (less one year); Part E is for the out-migrants.

This thesis only uses some information from the survey, partly because, since the survey is completed with the help of the local authority, some results of the survey cannot be disclosed without the permission of the local authority.

Part A: For all the Residents of the Households

A1 name, A2 the relationship with the head of household, A3 sex, A4 nationality, A5 date of birth, A6 place of birth, A7 the category of the birth place (rural or urban), A8 the official residence after birth (rural or urban), A9 the date of change of the official residence (if one did), A10 relatives in rural areas, A11 relatives in native place, A12 present education, A13 Where did the person attend university (only for those who had high education), A14 the industry the person work, A15 present occupation, A16 present marital status, A17 the date of first marriage A18 the total number of children one has, A19 the number of children one had before change of official residence (if one did), A20 the date of giving first birth, A21 the date of giving last birth, A22 the time one spend on the way to work, A23 the detail of the house work one does, A24 the priority of house work one want to do, A25 the priority problems one hopes the government to solve, A26 the motive for further migration, A27 the best place one wants to migrate, A28 the category of the place one wants to migrate (big city, medium city, small city or town, rural areas, overseas), A29 the reason for further migration.

Part B: For the Internal Migrants within Beijing Metropolitan Area (from suburb to city districts)

The name of the person should be consistent with that in A1.

B1 how many times one migrated into the city, B2 The time of last migration, B3 the original place before last migration, B4 the detail of origin (last time), B5 the official residence before migration (rural or urban), B6 the education before migration (last time), B7 the main reason for migration (last time), B8 the relatives in city districts before migration (last time), B9 the occupation before migration (last time), B10 the time of departure from the origin (last time), B11 the reason of leaving from origin (last time).

Part C: For the Migrants from outside of Beijing Metropolitan Area

The name of the person should be consistent with that in A1.

C1 how many times one crossed the Beijing Metropolitan border, C2 the date of migration into Beijing (first time), C3 the origin of the migrants (first time), C4 the category of the origin (rural or urban), C5 official residence before migration (first time), C6 the education before migration (first time), C7 the reason for migration (first time), C8 how many children one had before migration (first time), C9 change of occupation after migration (first time), C10 relatives one had before migration, C11 change in living condition after migration (better, same, worse).

Question C12 to C17 are only for those who moved out of Beijing but now are back in Beijing: C12 the date of last migration out of Beijing, C13 the destination of the last migration, C14 the category of destination (rural or urban), C15 the official residence after migration (rural or urban), C16 the reason for migration (last time), C17 the change of occupation after migration.

Question C18 to C24 are only for those who moved into Beijing twice: C18 the date of migration into Beijing (last time), C19 the origin of last migration into Beijing, C20 the category of origin of last migration (rural or urban), C21 the official residence before last migration C22 the education before migration (last time), C23 the reason for migration (last time), C24 whether have relatives in Beijing before migration (last time).

Part D: For Temporary Residents of the Households (less one year)

D1 name, D2 the relationship with the head of household, D3 sex, D4 date of birth, D5 education, D6 marital status, D7 Where is the official residence, D8 the origin of migration, D9 the category of official residence (rural or urban), D10 how long has been in Beijing, D11 the work the person is doing, D12 how long the person intend to stay in Beijing.

Part E: For Out Migrants

E1 name, E2 the relationship with the head of household, E3 sex, E4 date of birth, E5 place of birth, E6 marital status, E7 date of departure from Beijing, E8 the education before migration, E9 the reason for migration, E10 who is going along with, E11 the occupation before migration, E12 the marital status before migration, E13 number of children one had before migration, E14 the children left in Beijing, E15 the destination of migration, E16 the category of destination (rural or urban), E17 the official residence after migration, E18 the present residence, E19 the relatives in Beijing, E20 the motivation for moving back. (rural or urban).

北京市居民调查问卷

家庭地址 北京市昌平区 沙河 办事处

居委会 西三旗紫竹院

胡同(街) 北

区 楼 单元 号

次数	访问时间			完成调查	迁居外地	拒绝回答	其它	调查员姓名
	月	日	时分					

备注:

所有15岁以上的人填报

只问15岁以下的妇女(69年4月以前出生)										所有15岁以上的人填报									
A14		A15		A15		A17		A18		A19		A20		A21		A22		A23	
现在的行业		现在的职业		现在的婚姻状况		初婚年月		生育子女总数 和存活子女总数		农转非以前 生育子女数		生育头胎 年月		生育末胎 年月		上班上学所 需路途时间		家务劳动负担情况	
您在什么部门和单位工作?		具体做什么工作?		您现在是否已经结婚?		您是哪年哪月结婚的? (是初次结婚还是再婚?)		您生过几个孩子? 现在存活几个?		在您的户口转为城镇户口之前, 您生过几个孩子?		您第一个孩子是哪年生的?		您最后一个孩子是哪年生的?		您上班或上学需要多长时间? (单程)		在家务劳动中, 占用您时间最多的有哪些工作? (选两项按强度排列)	
01. 农林牧业 02. 矿业及木材采运业 03. 电力、煤气、自来生产供应业 04. 制造业 05. 地质工作 06. 建筑业 07. 交通、运输、邮电通信 08. 商业、物资供应业 09. 住宅、公共事业管理居民服务 10. 卫生和体育福利 11. 教育、文化、艺术 12. 科研和技术服务 13. 金融、保险 14. 国家机关、党派和群众团体 15. 其它行业 16. 无业		01. 科技、科研教育工作者 02. 文体、卫生、新闻工作者 03. 机关党群组织、企事业单位负责人 04. 办事人员和有关人员 05. 商业工作者 06. 服务性工作者 07. 农林渔牧劳动者 08. 生产、运输工人 09. 不便分类的其他劳动者 10. 待业人员 11. 在校学生 12. 退职退休人员 13. 家务劳动者 14. 其它无业者		1. 未婚 2. 有配偶 3. 丧偶 4. 离婚 5. 其他		(如有二次以上婚姻则写初婚年代)		生过(活产)几个 现存活几个		(只问农业户口转为城镇户口前的育龄妇女)		(只问二胎以上的人)		1. 不到15分钟 2. 15分钟到30分钟 3. 30分钟到1小时 4. 一小时到一个半小时 5. 一个半小时到两个小时 6. 两小时以上		1. 买主、付食及蔬菜 2. 洗衣服 3. 做饭 4. 照看学龄前小孩 5. 教育子女, 安排子女生活 6. 照顾老人、病人 7. 做衣服 8. 其他		第一项 第二项	
16	1	2	5303	0505	5412	6307	0	1	2										
07	0	2	5303				1	1	2										
03	0	1					3	1	2										
06	0	2	8304				3	1	2										
00	0	2	8304				3	1	2										
06	0	2	8304				3	1	2										

所有 15 岁以上的人填报 (69 年 4 月以前出生)

A 2 4		A 2 5		A 2 6		A 2 7		A 2 8		A 2 9					
希望优先解决的家务劳动问题		希望市政府今后优先处理的工作		未来迁移的愿望		理想的迁往地		想迁往地区		想进一步迁移的原因					
在家务劳动方面, 您希望帮助解决哪些问题? (选两项按强度排列)		您认为市政府今后在管理城市、安排好人民生活方面首先应注意抓好哪些事? (选三项按强度排列)		如果能自由选择的话, 您是否想离开北京, 搬到其他您认为更理想的地方去住?		您认为最理想的地方是哪里?		您希望住在大城市、中小城市还是农村?							
1. 请保姆、照顾老人、病人、儿童 2. 请保姆料理家务 3. 增设家庭服务, 解决临时困难 (如打家具、刷房、搬运、洗衣被等) 4. 增设面包、馒头等主食品供应 5. 送煤、送奶、换液化气等 6. 在居民点附近增设商、饮、服务网点 7. 延长商、饮服务业营业时间 8. 解决孩子入托入园难问题 9. 为学生放学, 放假后提供学习活动场所		01. 住宅建设与分配 02. 增加肉食、蔬菜品种生产与供应 03. 扩大煤气、液化气用户 04. 加强市场管理、稳定物价 05. 广开就业门路, 使待业青年尽快就业 06. 增加商、饮服务网点 07. 办好托幼事业 08. 解决就医难、住院难问题 09. 缓和交通紧张状况 10. 增建公共文体设施, 丰富群众文化、体育生活 11. 安排组好退休职工生活		12. 加强社会治安 13. 搞好环境卫生 14. 整顿市容治理污染 15. 植树种花美化绿化城市 16. 提高商业服务质量, 改善服务态度 17. 加强精神文明建设, 改善社会风气 18. 其他		1. 想离开北京 2. 不想离开北京 3. 无所谓 4. 没考虑过 (如果回答“想离开”则填下去问, 否则 A 表结束)		1. 大都市或省会 2. 一般城市 3. 县、镇 4. 农村 5. 国外 6. 其他		因为那里有更好(高)的 01. 经济收入 12. 就业机会 02. 文体生活 13. 发展前景 03. 教育机会 14. 医疗保险 04. 子女教育 15. 商品供应 16. 交通设施 05. 住房条件 17. 社会治安 06. 工作 18. 生态环境 07. 专长发挥 19. 气候条件 08. 家庭团聚 20. 低生活费用 09. 与其他亲友团聚 10. 社交生活 11. 环境适应					
第一项	第二项	第一项	第二项	第三项		省或市		第一原因	第二原因						
01. 5	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2							
02. 5	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2							
03. 5	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2							
04. 5	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2							
05. 5	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2							
06. 5	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2							
07. 5															
08. 5															
55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70

人口調查報告

[illegible]

८५

[illegible]

只同曾在北京市二次以上的人。(参看·C1)

C12	C13	C14	C15	C16	C17	C18	C19	C20	C21	C22	C23	C24
(最后一次迁出北京的时间)	(最后一次迁往何地)	迁往何地类别	迁出后户口类别	(最后一次迁出北京的主要原因)	最后一次迁出北京前职业	(最后一次迁入北京的时间)	是从哪里迁来的?	迁入前居住地类别	迁入前的户口类别	迁入时的文化程度	(最后一次迁入北京的主要原因)	(最后一次迁入北京前在京亲属)
您曾迁出北京X次?请回答最后一次迁出是什么时候?	迁到了哪一省?	迁出后还在城市还是农村?	迁出后您的户口是城镇户口吗?	这次迁出北京的主要原因是什么?	您迁出北京前半年中主要做什么工作?迁出后呢?	您曾迁入北京多少次?您最后一次迁入是哪年哪月?	是从哪里迁来的?	您迁入前住在城市还是农村?	当时您的户口是城市户口吗?	在最近一次迁出时您具有什么样的文化程度?	您最近一次迁入北京的主要原因是什么?	迁入前,您有亲属在北京吗?有哪些?
		1. 大城市或省会城市 2. 一般城市 3. 县、镇 4. 农村 5. 国外 6. 其他	1. 城市户口 2. 农村户口 3. 机构户口	C1. 工作调动 02. 分配工作 03. 随家迁入 04. 学习、培训 05. 寄养、投亲 06. 复员、转业 07. 上山下乡 08. 退职、退体 09. 招工 10. 顶替、对调 11. 精简、下放 12. 随军 13. "五七"干校 14. 遣返 15. 出国或去港、澳、台 16. 其他	01. 科技教育工作者 02. 机关、卫生、新闻工作者 03. 民主党派、组织、企事业单位负责人 04. 办事人员和有关人员 05. 商业工作者 06. 服务性工作者 07. 农林、渔、牧劳动者 08. 生产、运输工人 09. 不便分类的其他劳动者 10. 待业人员 11. 在校学生 12. 退休、退职人员 13. 家务劳动者 14. 其他无业者			1. 大城市或省会城市 2. 一般城市 3. 县、镇 4. 农村 5. 国外 6. 其他	1. 城市户口 2. 农村户口 3. 机构户口	1. 大学(或中专)以上 2. 大学肄业或高中(中专) 3. 小学 4. 不识文字 5. 识字很少 6. 不满七岁	01. 工作调动 02. 分配工作 03. 随家迁入 04. 学习、培训 05. 寄养、投亲 06. 复员、转业 07. 上山下乡 08. 退职、退体 09. 招工 10. 顶替、对调 11. 精简、下放 12. 随军 13. "五七"干校 14. 遣返 15. 出国或去港、澳、台 16. 其他	1. 有 2. 没有 3. 不知道
年	月	省或市			迁出前职业	迁出后职业	年	月	省或市			
7	9	12	0	8	3	0	6	0	7	0	9	

2

初步逻辑检查程序：

1. 从封面开始到最后一页，检查一下是否应该填写的项目均已填写，看看每一小格内的编码数字是否都填写的正确、清楚。
2. 检查一下户总表中 H·2 —— H·6 各项人数是否与 A —— E 各分表中登记的各类人数相一致。
3. 检查一下 A·B·C·E·各分表所登录的人员姓名，看看是否每一页的人员都与其编号一致，特别注意一下记录中是否有错行错号的人员。
4. 查看各表中每个被查者的出生年项，看看其年龄是否与其文化程度、婚姻状况；职业等在逻辑上相符。
5. 查看各表中每个被查者的性别，看看是否与生育等项目在逻辑上相符。
6. 查看每个被查者各种迁移事件的年代，是否在逻辑上相符。
7. 对照户口登记资料与被查者的回答情况，填写左边效度表中 A 1 —— A 6 各项的检验情况。

效 度 检 验 表									
编 号	1. 相符 2. 不相符 3. 新增人口								
	A 1	A 2	A 3	A 4	A 5	A 6			
	姓 名	与户主关系	性 别	民 族	出 生 年	出 生 地			
01	/	/	/	/	/	/			
02	/	/	/	/	/	/			
03	/	/	/	/	/	/			
04	/	/	/	/	/	/			
05	/	/	/	/	/	/			
06	/	/	/	/	/	/			
07									
08									
栏号	1	2	3	4	5	6			

调查员 王敬也 检查日期 84 年 4 月 8 日
审核员 _____ 审核日期 _____ 年 _____ 月 _____ 日