

PATTERNS AND TRENDS OF MIGRATION IN
GUANGDONG PROVINCE, CHINA

BY

ZHENG ZIZHEN

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated,
this thesis is my own work.

zheng zizhen

Zheng Zizhen

December 1988

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ABSTRACT

The present study look at migration in Guangdong Province, and is largely based on the Guangdong Province data of the 1986 Migration Survey of Cities and Towns in China which was the first large-scale survey of this type carried out in the country. This study attempts to examine the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants in Guangdong Province; to assess the factors that affect the decision to migrate; and to analyse the patterns and trends of migration and urbanization in Guangdong Province.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides the general background of the study. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature on migration. Chapter 3 examines the age, sex, marital status and education of in-migrants in Guangdong Province. Chapter 4 analyses the determinants of migration in Guangdong Province. Chapter 5 analyses the patterns of migration and urbanization in Guangdong Province. Chapter 6 analyses the trends of migration and urbanization in Guangdong Province, and provides conclusions about the characteristics of in-migrants and about the patterns and trends of migration and urbanization in Guangdong Province.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 OBJECTIVES

Migration and urbanization have been rarely involved in demographic research in China. Along with the "open to the world" policy and the intensive development of the Chinese economic reforms, population migration and urbanization have become an important problem which must be researched and solved.

Guangdong Province, as a coastal province, has experienced substantial migration. Since 1979, as the pioneer area in the Chinese economic reforms, Guangdong's population movement has entered a new active stage. The population of cities and towns has expanded rapidly, and the number of cities and towns has increased remarkably. These processes have influenced the social and economic development in Guangdong. However, compared with other demographic research areas in China, much less attention has been paid to migration research, and much less information has been obtained about migration. This situation may result in the loss of control and in poor planning in migration and urbanization in Guangdong.

The 1986 Migration Survey of Cities and Towns in China (the 1986 Migration Survey in China), the first large-scale population migration survey in China, provides useful information for understanding the nature and the patterns of migration, and for studying the problem of the Chinese population distribution and urbanization. For Guangdong Province, this study has an important and special significance. The present study only looks at migration of Guangdong Province, and is largely based on the Guangdong Province part of the 1986

Migration Survey in China (the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong)

The objectives of this thesis are:

1. to examine the age, sex, education and marital status of in-migrants in Guangdong Province;
2. to assess the factors that affect the decision to migrate;
3. to examine the extent, directions, and forms of the migration flows in Guangdong Province;
4. to assess the effect of migration on urbanization in Guangdong Province;
5. to study the patterns and trends of migration in Guangdong Province.

1.2 MIGRATION PATTERNS AND POLICIES IN CHINA

Since 1949, the changes in migration patterns and policies in China fall into three periods. In the 1950s, the initial period of the founding of the People's Republic, China devoted major efforts to developing industry, especially heavy industry, which is generally located in the extra large cities and the big cities. To obtain a large urban labour force, the Chinese government encouraged the people to migrate to the cities. Thus this process resulted in a high tide of rural-urban migration. For example, from 1958 to 1959 about 20 million rural labourers, excluding their families, migrated to the cities (Tian and Ling, 1986: 298). During this period, the Chinese government did not lay down any clear migration and urbanization policy. The migration was almost without limitation. The cities and the towns were also developed freely.

In the second period, during the 1960s and the 1970s, because of the national economic difficulties and the policy of transfer of the geographic distribution of industry, that is transfer from the cities to the rural

mountain areas, and from the coastal areas to the interior, the Chinese government strictly controlled the expansion of the cities and the towns, and migration into the cities and the towns. At the same time, a lot of workers and their families were required to leave the cities for the rural areas. A large number of skilled workers, engineers and technical personnel were sent to the interior and mountain areas to construct the new industrial bases. During the period of the Cultural Revolution, for political and economic reasons, about 17 million educated young people of the cities were sent to the rural and border areas (Ma, 1987a: 3). In contrast to the first period, there was large-scale urban-rural migration during the second period. At the same time the development of the cities and towns had stagnated. By the end of the 1970s, almost all the educated young had returned to the cities. This suggests that this kind of migration has not been successful.

In the third period, from the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, China has carried out economic reforms. The national economy has developed rapidly. With respect to migration and urbanization, the Chinese government formulates a clear policy -- to strictly control growth of big cities (metropolises), to rationally develop medium-sized cities, and to energetically develop small cities and towns. As a result of all these changes, Chinese population migration has entered a new active stage.

The migration patterns and policies in Guangdong Province are similar to those in the rest of the country. Since the 1980s, however, as the pioneer area in the Chinese economic reforms, the population migration and movements in, to and from Guangdong Province have some special features which distinguish them from those in other provinces.

1.3 THE STUDY AREAS

1.3.1 Classification of Cities

According to the policy of the Chinese government, the cities and the towns fall into five categories. A city with a population of more than one million is defined as an "extra large city". A city with a population of between 500 thousand and one million is defined as a "big city". A city with a population of between 200 thousand and 500 thousand is defined as a "medium-sized city". A city with a population of less than 200 thousand is defined as a "small city". Other urban areas with at least 3000 non-agricultural people are defined as "town" (Ma 1987a: 5).

Towns fall into two categories: Those "organic town" recognized by the government and others, not recognized by the government. For example, the capital of a country generally is an "organic town", but some towns in the same county may not be "organic towns".

1.3.2 Guangdong Province

China is divided into thirty provinces (autonomous regions, or municipalities directly under the Central Government). Guangdong Province, located in the southeastern coastal area of China, is about 220 thousand square kilometres in area with a population of about 63 million in 1986. It has one extra large city, one big city, eight medium-sized cities, eight small cities and about 300 towns including the capitals of the 92 counties (State Statistical Bureau, 1987: 91; Ministry of Public Security, 1985: 55).

Compared with other provinces, Guangdong Province is noted for four aspects. Firstly, light industry is

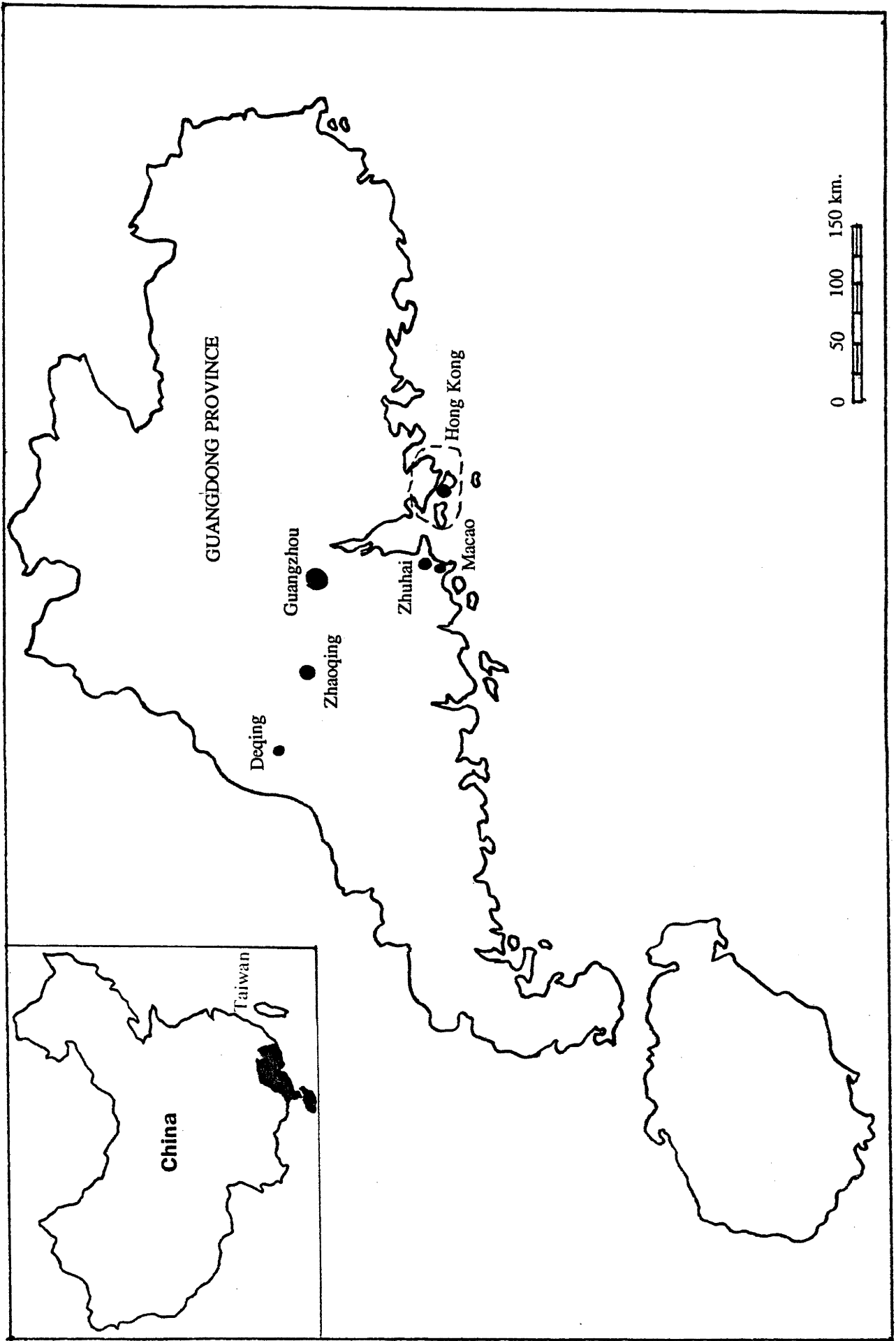


Figure 1.1: Map of Guangdong Province

flourishing. Its refined sugar industry ranks first in the whole country. Heavy industry is well established. Guangdong Province has 4.3 thousand kilometres of coastline (Cartographic Publishing, 1984), and the mainland and the continental shelf of the South China Sea abound in oil deposits. Therefore, fisheries, salt, oil and chemical industries are being developed.

Secondly, Guangdong Province is the economic centre of the south of China and the import and export trading port. It has good transport facilities. Commerce is flourishing. Foreign trade has had a long history.

Thirdly, since 1979, as a pioneer in the Chinese economic reform, Guangdong Province's economy, commerce and foreign trade have developed quickly. These have resulted in a series of changes in its society. The reform and the "open to the world" policy will further deeply affect the development of every aspect of Guangdong Province.

Fourthly, Guangdong Province borders on Hong Kong and Macao. Historically, Guangdong Province is the origin and hometown of a majority of the overseas Chinese throughout the world and the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao ("the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao" is a official definition). The overseas Chinese of Guangdong Province account for about 15 million out of the 21 million of total overseas Chinese, and 5 million compatriots from Guangdong are in Hong Kong and Macao (luo, 1986: 182).

Influenced by these four factors, Guangdong's economic performance was outstanding between 1978 and 1987. The gross value of industrial and agricultural output reached 128.2 billion Yuan in 1987 which was more than about four times the value of the 1978 output. The gross value of industrial output was 89.2 billion Yuan in 1987. Compared with 1986, this represented an increase of 31.8%, implying a growth rate which is the fastest

among the 30 provinces of China. Guangdong experienced increases in gross national product (GNP) from 17.4 billion Yuan in 1978 to 60.8 billion Yuan in 1987. Guangdong's total value of exports was US\$ 550 million in 1987, comprising about 20% of the country's exports, and making the province the largest contributor to China's exports. Between 1979 and 1987, Guangdong's agriculture used about one billion US dollars of foreign capital, and imported about 300 thousand advanced machines (Li Lunbu, 1988). The factor of Guangdong's economic development has played an important role in migration.

1.3.3 Guangzhou City

Guangzhou City, the capital of Guangdong Province, is about 140 kilometres from Hong Kong and Macao. It is an extra large city with a population of 3.3 million (the population of the city proper) (Guangdong Statistical Bureau, 1986).

Guangzhou is the centre of administration, economy, commerce, finance, transport, culture and education in the south of China. The rich industrial basis, transport facilities and good geographic location place it in an advantageous position for economic development. For instance, by the end of 1986, the city had signed more than 700 agreements with foreign companies for a total foreign investment of US \$1.5 billion (Tan, 1987: 9). Since ancient times Guangzhou has been a famous international port and commercial centre, called Canton by the Europeans. As an important arena for China's foreign trade, since 1957 Guangzhou has been the site of the bi-annual China Export Commodities Trade Fairs. In Guangdong Province, 78% of the scientific research organizations, 88% of the scientific research personnel and 55% of the universities are concentrated in Guangzhou (Zhu, 1986: 74)

Guangzhou is famous as the origin and hometown of the overseas Chinese. The overseas Chinese and the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao from Guangzhou number about 1.3 million (Zhu, 1986: 74)

1.3.4 Zhaoqing City

Zhaoqing City, a medium-sized city with about 200 thousand people, is located 130 kilometres west of Guangzhou (Guangdong Statistical Bureau, 1986). This city has a long history as a cultural city and a tourist attraction. However, since the 1970s, industries, especially the food industry and instrument industry have developed quickly. Now Zhaoqing has become an industrial and tourist city. Administratively, this city governs ten counties which are located in the west and the northwest of Guangdong Province.

1.3.5 Zhuhai City

Zhuhai city, with about 160 thousand people, is located 140 kilometres south of Guangzhou, and borders on Macao in the South Sea coast (Guangdong Statistical Bureau, 1986). Before 1980 Zhuhai was a small fishing town. Along with the establishment of a special economic zone in Zhuhai, it has become a window for absorbing foreign capital and advanced technology and equipment, and has developed into a modern city which relies mainly on industry and tourism. Although Zhuhai belongs to the "small city" category, it undoubtedly will soon become a medium-sized city.

1.3.6 Deqing Town

Located about 100 kilometres northwest of Zhaoqing, Deqing Town is the capital of Deqing County with about 28

thousand people. It is under the jurisdiction of Zhaoqing (Guangdong Statistical Bureau, 1986). Deqing town lies in the mountain area, and rosin processing, tea processing, wine-making and silk processing are its major industries. Deqing town has a long history, but until the end of the 1970s its economy had developed slowly. Since the 1980s, because of the effects of the economic reforms, its economic development has become rapid.

The Zhujiang River, the fourth longest river in China, connects Deqing Town, Zhaoqing City, Guangzhou City and Zhuhai City from the northwest to the southeast in Guangdong Province.

1.4 SOURCES OF DATA

1.4.1 The Household Registration System in China

There has been a household registration system in China since 1949. As the basic administration unit, every household has a residence booklet. The members of the household, that is the permanent residents of the household who have government permission to live in a given city, must be registered in this residence booklet. If the permanent residents of the household move to another household in the same city, or migrate to another city, they can (sometimes have to) cancel their residence registration in the original household. But in the second situation, if they migrate from the given city and want to become legal residents of the same city again, they have to apply for a new residence registration. Anyone who is a resident of a city without the approval of the city government is not a legal resident of the city and cannot be registered in the household residence booklet. At the same time these in-migrants cannot get a ration card for food and free medical care, cannot be employed by the government and the public enterprises, and their children cannot go to school in this city.

With the "open to the world" policy and development of the Chinese economic reform, population movement is more and more frequent; the economic penalties cannot prevent people from migrating to cities and towns. Therefore, the household registration system cannot completely control in-migration and record the migration and movement of the people. These conditions must be considered in the 1986 Migration Survey.

1.4.2 1986 Migration Survey of Cities and Towns in China

The present study is based on the 1986 Migration Survey of Cities and Towns in China which was the first large-scale survey of this type carried out in this country. This survey was performed by the Population Research Institutes of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and some provincial Academies of Social Sciences in 74 cities and towns in 16 provinces, autonomous regions, or municipalities directly under the Central Government between August and December in 1986. The total sample size is about 20,000 households with about 100,000 people. This study only uses the Guangdong Province data which covers 2,000 households (see Table 1.1). The computer output was produced by the Population Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of social Sciences. The majority of the analysis in this study is based on calculations derived from this computer output.

In this thesis, following the definitions adopted by the survey, relevant terms are defined as follows:

- Non-migrant:** (1) a life-time resident registered in a city;
- (2) a person who is registered in a city and migrated to that city before 1 October, 1949.

- In-migrant:** (1) a person who is registered in a city and migrated to that city on or after 1 October, 1949;
- (2) a person not registered in a city but who has lived in that city for one or more years at the time of survey.

Temporary In-migrant: a person not registered in a city but who has lived in that city for more than one day but less than one year at the time of the survey.

Out-migrant: a person registered in a city earlier, who migrated from that city after 1 October, 1949.

The questionnaire of the 1986 Migration Survey (see Appendix I) consists of five parts: Part A is the basic information about all non-migrants and in-migrants of the household at the time of the survey. Part B is the immigration history of the in-migrants of the household. Part C is intended for non-migrants and registered in-migrants of the household. Part D is for temporary in-migrants of the household. Part E is for out-migrants of the household.

Although the sampling was based on the household as a unit and the residence booklet does not produce a complete record, the questionnaire of the survey was still able to "catch" in-migrants and temporary in-migrants whose names have not been reported in the residence booklets.

Table 1.1: Sample Size and Status of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong Province

City (town)	Household sample	%	n	In- migrants	Non- migrants	Out- migrants
Guangzhou (city proper)	1000	1	4144	1458	2686	165
Zhaoqing	500	11	2030	837	1193	82
Zhuhai	300	8	1327	747	580	35
Deqing	200	26	805	447	358	39
Total	2000		8306	3489	4817	321

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Note: n = In-migrants + Non-migrants.

$$\% = \frac{\text{No. of sample households in a city}}{\text{total number of households in a city}} \cdot \%.$$

According to the stipulations of the 1986 Migration Survey, every province must choose one extra large city or big city (this survey makes it a rule that the city chosen is the capital of the province), one medium-sized city, one small city and one town. Guangdong Province's four sample cities and towns are the result of this stipulations. This choice permits comparison of the migration among the big (or extra large), medium-sized and small cities and the towns.

Although on financial grounds the sample cities and towns could not be randomly chosen, the sample households were selected using systematic sampling based on the resident registration system. In each area the local police station has a near complete list of all household members. New arrivals are supposed to inform the police if they have been resident at a new address for more than three days. If these new arrivals do not register with

the police, the survey questionnaire still can "catch" them, because the questionnaire includes information of all the members of the households who were living in the households at the time of the survey. The households in the selected cities and towns from these registers provided the sampling frame. After considering financial constraints and other factors, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences decided upon a sample size of about 1000 households for extra large cities and big cities, 500 households for medium-size cities, 300 households for small cities, and 200 households for towns. Although the sampling was conducted scientifically, one limitation is that the sampling fraction varies.

For this study, however, the data of the 1986 Migration Survey still have some limitations and defects. Firstly, the proportion of the small cities and towns in the sample of the cities and towns is not large. In particular, there are not enough towns. There are 92 county capitals in Guangdong Province, let alone non-capital towns, but only one town is included in the sample.

Secondly, Guangdong Province is the origin and home of the overseas Chinese and the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao. The proportion of international emigration in the rural areas and the towns of Guangdong Province is quite high, but the 1986 Migration Survey does not include the rural areas. Therefore the data cannot completely reflect the situation. Deqing Town is also not an important origin and hometown of the overseas Chinese and the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao; its international emigration is far less than that of the other towns. Therefore this type of migration is only slightly reflected in the data.

Thirdly, the number of out-migrants in the dataset is not large enough for detailed analysis. At the same time, the 1986 Migration Survey in China was not able to

catch the outmigration of whole families, because their household has been cancelled from the resident registration system of a given city.

Fourthly, because the sampling is based on the resident registration system, that is on the household, the 1986 Migration Survey is not able to catch the migrants who lived in hotels and building sites. Although the number of people living in hotels is small, the number of those living in building sites is quite large in Guangdong Province.

Fifthly, in the returns of the 1986 Migration Survey, for the in-migrants we have data both at the time of their migration and at the time of the survey; but for non-migrants we have only the current data. This brings some limitations on the comparative analysis.

1.4.3 Registration Data

The other data used in this thesis come from the Guangdong Statistical Bureau. Some of these data were published, but some are still unpublished. For the migration study, the biggest limitation of these statistical data is that the Statistical Bureau only recognizes the "legal" migrants who have government permission to live in a given city and are registered. Therefore, other migrants who move without such permission and have no registration are left out.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON MIGRATION

The process of migration and urbanization is an important part of development research. Migration can deeply affect a country, a region, a family and an individual. For a family or for individuals, migration can change their social, economic and living conditions. For a country or a region, migration can change the population size, density and demographic structure (for instance, by age, sex and education), and affect the social and economic development. Similarly, the social and economic conditions of a country or a region can influence migration (for example, the direction, rate and distance of the migration flow). Therefore, the types of migration, reasons for migration, the social and demographic characteristics of migrants, and the interaction of economy and migration have been studied all along by demographers. That is, migration needs to be studied as part of an inter-active, dynamic socio-economic system.

2.1 DEFINITION OF MIGRATION

For a long time the term migration does not seem to have had a clear and accurate definition. Lewis (1982: 6-10) analysed the arguments about the definition of migration, and pointed out that according to the opinions of the investigators, at least five aspects are relevant to the definition of migration. They are: territorial scheme (space), time interval (time), transition of social setting, motivated behaviour and decision-making based on a hierarchy of values.

From the review of the literature it can be concluded that space and time are the major criteria in the definition of migration. Some scholars use space or time to define migration although the definitions are still not fully satisfactory. For example, Lee (1969: 285) defined migration as "a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". Mangalam (1968: 8) described migration as "a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another". They both focused their attention on space, and did not provide a clear definition of time.

Gould and Prothero (1975: 42-45) used time (daily, periodic, seasonal, long-term, irregular and permanent), space (rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban), and whether the individual returns to his place of origin to define and classify migration.

More scholars, for instance Caldwell (1969), Young (1980: 112), Maher (1984: 1), Ma (1987b: 3) and Fei (1983) use both space and time to define migration. The United Nations (1970: 2-3) used space and time to define 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 the United Nations (1973: 173) recognized that definition can not completely include all types of migration.

In China, migration is restricted by the resident registration system and the ration card system. The government only recognizes moves where the migrants have the resident booklets and the ration cards in the destination cities as "migration"; otherwise these moves are recognized as "movement" or "circulation". In a demographic study these restrictions and concepts

must be considered when defining migration (Ma, 1987b: 3-9). Therefore, the resident registration system was considered in the definition of migration and migrant in the 1986 Migration Survey.

2.2 TYPES OF MIGRATION

Migration is usually divided into two main types - international or internal (Young, 1980: 115). Many classifications have been proposed for internal migration. Simmons (1984: 161-162), for example, thought that if migration is examined from different angles it can be classified into categories based on whether it is rural-urban or rural-rural, permanent or temporary, and individual or family migration.

Feng and Jiang (1987: 45-50) classified the Chinese rural migration into three types:

Leaving the plough but not leaving the hometown: the peasants migrate (or move) to the small town, which is not far from their villages, to do non-agricultural work. They do not completely break off relations with the plough and agricultural work. In fact this is a form of short-distance migration.

Leaving the hometown but not leaving the plough: the peasants migrate to other rural areas to do agricultural work. This is a form of rural-rural migration.

Leaving both the plough and the hometown: the peasants migrate to urban settlements and completely break off relations with the plough and the agricultural work.

Tian and Ling (1986: 289) believe that in the last 35 years Chinese internal migration can be classified into two types. The first is government-organized: skilled workers, engineering and technical personnel, and the educated young migrate to the rural and border areas. The second is rural-rural migration, which can also be classified into two types: organized and unorganized.

McGee (1971: 56) is among those who have emphasised "step-migration": the migrants move from a rural area to a smaller town and then to a larger town and then finally to the city.

2.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

One of the established facts in migration research is that migration is selective (Thomas, 1938; Lee, 1966: 52-57). This selectivity is reflected by, for instance, age, sex, marital status and education level of migrants.

For age, a lot of scholars, for example, Caldwell (1969: 58), Jackman (1973: 45-50), Eriksson and Rogers (1978:199), Young (1980:130) and Maher (1984:58), point out that age and migration are directly correlated. Among adults migration diminishes with increased age. Adolescents and young adults are the more migratory groups in a population. In unequivocal terms it is pointed out in some studies that the migrants are mostly concentrated in the age group 15-29 in Africa (Caldwell, 1969: 84), in the age group 13-39 in West Africa (Adepoju, 1983: 60), in the age group 20-24 in Sweden (Eriksson and Rogers, 1978: 199) and Australia (Maher, 1978: 199), and in the age group 15-30 with a substantial portion occurring in the age group 15-24 in

some Asian countries (Mazumdar, 1987: 133-134). Some scholars (Young, 1977: chapter 1; Hugo, 1978: 297-298; Maher, 1984: 57) believed that age selectivity of migration can be described and explained by the life cycle theory although this theory has limitations. For example, Maher (1984, 57-58) pointed out:

"This is not to say that residential relocation is a simple function of a transition through a set of relatively predictable life cycle stages. In the first place reasons for migration are highly variable and include many reasons outside this frame. In the second place the life cycle concept itself can be seen as one of increasing complexity."

For sex, although the classic migration law formulated by Ravenstein (1885) -- that females are more migratory than males -- appears correct when applied to urban and rural-urban migrants in Sweden (Eriksson and Rogers, 1978: 201) and Chile (Herrick, 1965:75), the current situation is quite complicated among the countries and regions. In Asia and Africa men generally are more migratory than women, especially young adult males (Smith, Khoo and Go, 1984: 22; Caldwell, 1969: 58-59). In Africa there are more males than females in the rural-urban migration; this caused a sex imbalance in the cities (Hance, 1970: 192). The reasons for the sex difference in migration are many. One is that "the male-female pattern of migration is related to the structure of economic activities, socio-cultural factors defining sex roles and the impact of education on spatial and occupational mobility of females" (Adepoju, 1983:61-62).

As to marital status, it is generally considered in the literature that single individuals move more often than those who are married (Eriksson and Rogers, 1978: 199; Smith, Khoo and Go, 1984: 22). But some

scholars, for example Adepoju (1983: 64) and Bose (1980: 186) mentioned marriage migration -- migration for getting married -- this results in more females than males in short-distance migration. However, migration of women is not only simply for getting married, accompanying or joining their husbands, or parents, or families. The real reason which causes them to migrate, and the role that women play in the migration decision-making process must be studied (Ware, 1981: 142-182).

With respect to education, it is found that the higher the education level, the higher the propensity to migrate. In some Asian countries, for example Pakistan, Peninsular Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, the education level of the female migrants is higher than that of the female nonmigrants (Shah, 1984: 115; Khoo and Pirie, 1984: 133; Arnold and Piampiti, 1984: 152; and Eviota and Smith, 1984: 165). The interaction of education and migration is important. There have been more males than females in the migration stream, a fact which has been largely but not entirely a product of a sex differential in education. Along with the reduction of educational differences, the sex difference of migrants becomes smaller (Caldwell, 1969: 84-85). Education can also influence the migration decision; for instance, schooling itself turns both males and females towards town life (Caldwell, 1969: 60).

2.4 REASONS FOR MIGRATION

What are the determinants of migration? This is an important task for study. Ravenstein (1885) and Lee (1969) believed that economic reasons are dominant, because in general migration takes place from poorer to richer regions. In other words, it arises from spatial

economic inequalities. Neo-classical economists have traditionally regarded migration as an equilibrating mechanism to eliminate such imbalances.

Some economists and demographers have advanced a series of migration models to describe the determinants of migration. Bogue (1954: 489-490) and Rhoda (1984: 34-41) advanced and developed the widely adopted "Push-Pull" theory, based on the industrial revolution in Western countries in the 19th century. They thought that at that time manufacturing and commerce concentrated in the cities, provided employment chances for the mass of migrants. This is an urban "pull" factor - an attraction. On the other hand, machinery was being used more and more widely in agricultural production, which resulted in a surplus of rural labour. A part of the peasantry had to leave the land to migrate to the cities looking for jobs. These technological innovations, together with a falling death rate and increasing population growth, formed a rural "push" factor - a repulsion. The rural-urban population migration is thus the consequence of the forces of attraction and repulsion. The rural repulsion includes the limitations of natural resources (land that can be brought under agriculture) which are reducing day by day, the continuously increasing agricultural production cost (as less fertile land is brought under cultivation), and the surplus of agricultural labourers expressed in unemployment and under-employment. The urban attraction includes higher income, higher standard of living, more education chances, better amenities and more opportunities generally.

Stark (1982: 63-70) advanced a "Cost-Benefit" conceptual framework. He believed that migration is a cost or an investment, and the advantages which the

people get after migrating are a benefit or a profit. If the costs exceed the benefits, people will not make the decision to migrate; and if the benefits exceed the costs, people will make the decision to migrate. The costs of migration include the physical and money consumption in the process of migration, the loss of opportunity in the sending areas, and the psychological cost, for example, loneliness and separation in the new living environment. The benefits include the possibly higher income, higher standard of living, and the greater opportunity for employment and study.

Todaro (1977: 225-238) advanced the "expected income" theory. He thought that whether or not rural population in the developing countries largely flows to urban areas depends on two factors: the gap in income between the city and the countryside, and the possibility of being employed in the city for the rural-urban migrants. He suggested that at present the large rural population rush to the cities is caused by the large gap in income between the cities and the countryside. Even though the probability of employment in the cities, especially in the formal economy, is very small, a large number of rural people would still want to try their luck.

But migration also takes place for social reasons. Young (1980: 129), for example, has mentioned "chain migration": "often because people wish to join friends and other members of their families. This process of chain migration results in population movement between highly specific origins and destinations."

More ambitiously, Zelinsky (1971) attempted to analyse the historical evolution of population. His theory integrates population migration with the demographic transition theory; it asserts that

population migration interacts with social and economic development, fertility and mortality.

Zelinsky suggested that there are five main development stages in world population migration (or mobility). First, there is a pre-industrial phase. At that time fertility and mortality is quite high, the natural increase is low, and there are no surplus agricultural labourers or any real spatial differences in economic conditions; therefore, the population mobility is low.

The second phase is the initial stage of the industrial revolution (or the early transitional phase - in terms of demographic transition theory). Mortality begins to decline, and the natural growth increases. This results in more and more surplus agricultural labourers, greatly enhanced migration and urbanization. Zelinsky considers that many developing countries are still in this stage.

The third phase is the later stage of the industrial revolution (or the late transitional phase). This phase is characterised by a decline in the rates of fertility and rural-urban migration. A large rural labour force has already transferred to urban areas. Other mobility forms, especially inter- and intra-urban movement and circular migration, become dominant.

Zelinsky believes that currently the developed countries are in the fourth phase of population mobility. In this phase rural-urban migration is basically finished. The inter- and intra-urban migration is the major form of migration, although a new migration form, counter-urbanization, that Zelinsky did not recognise, has become an important feature in several countries in the last two decades (United Nations, 1984: 10).

The fifth phase of population migration will occur in the super-industrial society. At that time population mobility might enter a new inactive stage. because communication developments and advanced information systems will allow place of work to be brought closer to place of residence. In some cases place of work and residence will be the same.

Some of the most recent and most fundamental explanations for migration have been structuralist ones, taking their text from Marx's statement in Capital that every mode of production has its special laws of population. Thus it has been argued by some (Amin, 1974: 65-121; Forbes, 1984) that migration patterns in many Third World societies are a direct response to the spatially uneven impact of expansion of capitalism on traditional subsistence modes of production.

2.5 DEBATE ON URBANIZATION

The interrelation between migration and urbanization is close. Migration can result in urbanization, urbanization can cause migration; they often display a relationship of mutual causality. Therefore to consider urbanization is natural and essential while studying migration. The patterns of urbanization in the Third World are that not only do a large number of peasants rush to the big cities, but also more and more of the people in the medium-sized and small cities concentrate in the big cities. This process results in a rapid increase in the number of big cities (Liu, 1986; Hay, 1977). In Asia, rural-urban migration dominates the migration streams. Even though unemployment is high and poverty and squalor are

a major part of city life, the rural people still continue to move to the cities (McGee, 1971).

For solving these problems, in 1984 at the international conference on population distribution, migration and development, one point of view considered that although movement to the primate cities still dominated migration streams in many developing countries, medium-sized cities were being recognized as a means of integrating urbanization with rural development. Another point of view was that governments should make migration and urbanization policy that would maximize the welfare of both urban and rural dwellers: slowing down migration to the largest metropolises; giving priority to small and medium-sized cities; and elaborating a strategy of integrated rural development (United Nations Secretariat, 1984: 2-3).

The urbanization policy of the Chinese government is to strictly control the growth of the big cities (metropolis), rationally develop the medium-sized cities, and energetically develop the small cities and the towns.

Fei (1983) favoured this policy. He believed that China's urbanization must be focused on the development of the towns. He believed that the towns are like a lot of 'small reservoirs'; they can absorb the streams of surplus agricultural labourers and other labourers, and prevent the streams of the population which want to move to the big cities (metropolis). There are 53 thousand towns in the Chinese rural areas; if the population grows to 6 thousand people in every town, the towns can hold about 0.3 billion people. This policy is the best way to solve the employment problem. In fact, this is also a kind of short-distance migration policy.

He (1986) did not agree with Fei's opinion. He thought that the development of the towns would occupy a lot of the cultivated lands. For the deficiency of the Chinese cultivated lands, this development is to 'pour oil on the fire'. He pointed out that Japan and Taiwan focused on the development of the big cities. This way they not only saved the cultivated lands, but also increased the social and economic benefits. Moreover, Yang (1986) thought the economic capacity of towns is not sufficient for surplus agricultural labourers, and can not carry and is not suitable for industrial development. Both He and Yang believed that Chinese urbanization must focus on the development of the cities but not the towns. What He does not recognize is that Japan's government formulated a policy in 1977 to control the population of big cities and to develop the medium-sized and small cities, because the development of the big cities has brought a series of problems, such as shortages of housing, transport, and public utilities, and pollution (Yang, 1987:155-156).

CHAPTER 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF IN-MIGRANTS

Similar to the national situation in China, in demographic studies much less attention has been paid to migration research, particularly to the research such as the demographic, social and economic characteristics of migrants in Guangdong Province. One of the main reasons has been the lack of data. However, the research on the demographic, social and economic characteristics of migrants is important, because these characteristics can affect socio-economic development in both sending and receiving areas. For example, a large-scale rural-urban migration of working age people will provide abundant labourers for the cities, but at the same time it may result in unemployment in the cities. It will help reduce the pressure of surplus agricultural labour force in the rural areas, but it perhaps will also result in the lack of high quality human resources in the rural areas. If the migrants are mostly males, it can cause an imbalance in sex ratio in both sending and receiving areas. A good understanding of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants is useful not only for recognizing regular patterns of migration, but also for the formulation of migration and urbanization policy, and the strategy of socio-economic development including such social and related (e.g. health care, adult education) policies that would alleviate social problem resulting from migration.

This chapter utilizes data of the 1986 Migration Survey to examine and analyse the age, sex, marital status and education of the migrants; to assess the

factors that affect the decision to migrate; and to give the theoretical explanations.

3.1 AGE-SEX COMPOSITION

3.1.1 Age Distribution of In-migrants

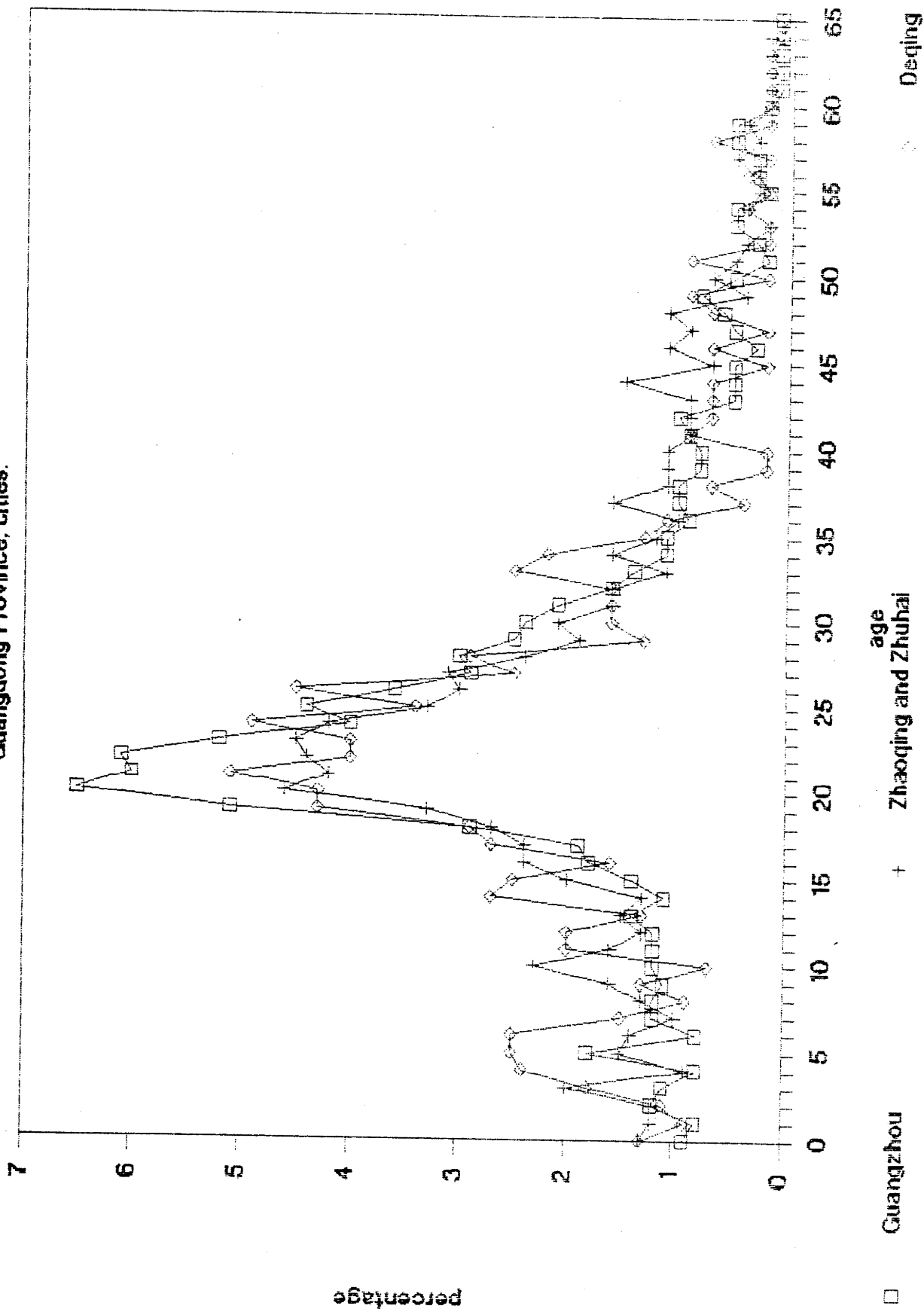
Figure 3.1 shows the age distribution of the in-migrants at the time of migration in the four cities and towns in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong. The percentage shown in the graph is the proportionate distribution of in-migrants by age. According to the curves in Figure 3.1, the age distribution of the in-migrants can generally be divided into four stages. The first stage is the pre-working stage. In this stage the proportions of the in-migrants are low, and the variations by age not large.

The second stage is the work-entering stage. At age X, a turning point, the first stage ends and the second stage begins (for Guangzhou, Zhaoqing and Zhuhai, and Deqing the turning point is at age 14, 14, and 10 years respectively). The proportion of the in-migrants increases rapidly from this point until the peak point at age Y. This is the end point of the second stage (for Guangzhou, Zhaoqing and Zhuhai, and Deqing this age is about 20, 20, and 21 years, respectively). In this stage the relation between the proportions of the in-migrants and age is a nonlinear monotonical increase.

The third stage is the working stage. From the peak point -- the end point of the second stage and the beginning point of the third stage, --to age Z (the stable point), the proportions of the in-migrants are still high, but monotonically decreasing along with the increasing age (for Guangzhou, Zhaoqing and Zhuhai, and

F. 3.1: Age Distribution of Migrants

Guangdong Province, cities.



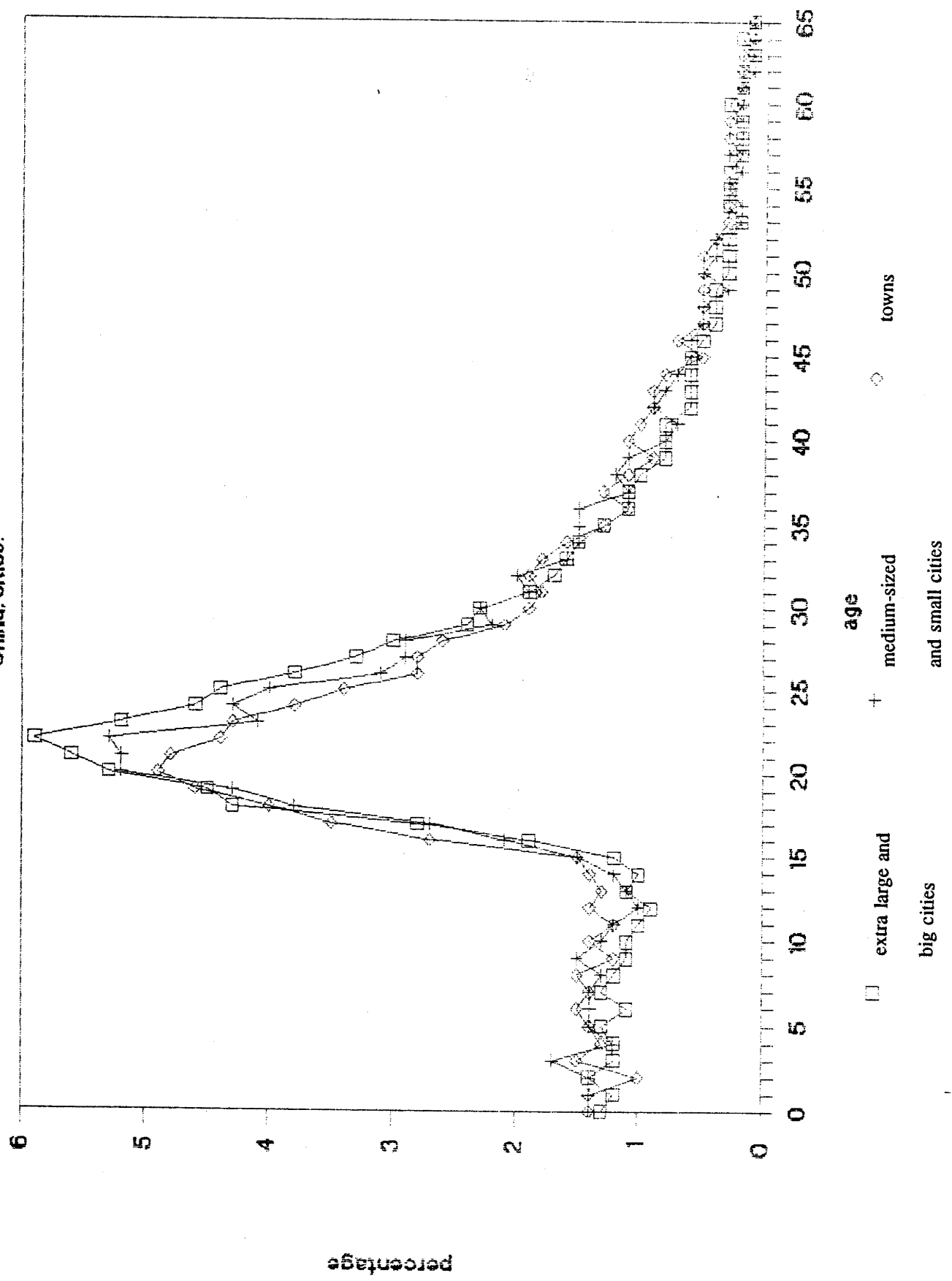
Deqing this age is about 50, 51, and 52 years respectively). The decreasing trend is rapid in the first half of this stage, then slow in the second half of this stage. The curves show the proportions of the in-migrants and age in this stage as a nonlinear relation.

The fourth is the stable stage: the end of the working ages and the retirement ages. From the stable point, the end point of the working-age stage and the beginning point of the stable stage, the changes in the proportions of the in-migrants become quite stable and low, and keep reducing gently. This is why this stage is called the stable stage and the beginning point of the stable stage is called the stable point. In this stage the curves show a linear relationship between the proportions of the in-migrants and age. For old ages (above about 65 years), the proportions of the in-migrants are insignificant.

Figure 3.2 is the age distribution of the in-migrants at the time of migration in the 1986 Migration Survey in China. Three curves separately represent the extra large and big cities, the medium-sized and small cities, and the towns. Because these curves are based on data of 74 cities and towns, they have more generality. Therefore, in Figure 3.2 the images show the turning point, peak point, stable point, the four stages, the linear relationships between the proportion of in-migrants and age in the first and the fourth stages, and the nonlinear relationships in the second and the third stages, more clearly. They not only prove that the differentiating of four stages of the age distribution of in-migrants is correct, but also indicate that the age distribution of in-migrants in Guangdong Province is similar to that of the whole country. Therefore, although the curves fluctuate in the first stage in Figure 3.1,

F. 3.2: Age Distribution of In-migrants

China, cities.



the relationship between the proportion of in-migrants and age in this stage is considered linear.

According to Figures 3.1 and 3.2, the migration to urban areas in Guangdong and in China as a whole is highly age selective. In-migration is in general more selective of people in the 15-30 year age group. This conclusion is similar to other scholar's opinions mentioned in Chapter 2 (Caldwell, 1969: 84; Adepoju, 1983: 60; Eriksson and Rogers, 1978: 199; Maher, 1978: 199; Mazumdar, 1987: 133-134).

3.1.2 Theoretical Explanation for Age Distribution of In-migrants

The age distribution of in-migrants in Guangdong Province and the differentiation of their four stages can be explained by the life cycle theory. According to the life cycle theory, we can divide a person's life time into five stages: the age 0-14 is the child stage; the age 15-29 is the young stage; the age 30-44 is the adult stage; the age 45-59 is the post-adult stage and the age 60 and above is the old stage.

In the child stage, which corresponds to our pre-working stage, the migration of population aged 0-14 depends largely on the migration of their parents and families. The reasons for migration are simple; generally they are migrating along with the families, seeking shelter with relatives and going to school. In China, migration to the cities and the towns is restricted by the household registration system. If a married person has the chance to get a job which includes a household booklet in a city, he or she is usually faced with three choices: to abandon the chance for family reasons because the family cannot get a household booklet in this city;

or to migrate to this city and leave the family in the place of origin; or to migrate to this city and leave the family in the place of origin, and at the same time apply for a family household booklet for this city, but this takes a long time. An unmarried person also has to face these three choices unless he or she gets married in the city. All these factors affect or delay children's migration, and cause children's migration to maintain a low level. The curves of Figures 3.1 and 3.2 reflect these conditions. Therefore, dividing off ages 0 to about 14 as an independent stage -- the pre-working stage -- does not conceal the regularity; on the contrary, it reveals the age character of Guangdong Province's in-migrants in this stage.

According to the life cycle theory, the young stage (age 15-29) is the important turning period. People experience a series of events such as going to school (or university), getting employment and getting married in this stage. They are faced with a lot of chances and choices. At the same time people are bold in forging ahead and taking risks in this stage. Their thinking is at its most active. All these factors cause migration and movement to happen most frequently in this stage. In Figures 3.1 and 3.2, the curves in the work-entering stage (about age 14-21) and the first half of the working stage (about age 21-29) tally with the theoretical explanation of the high tide of migration in the young stage.

In the adult stage, generally people aged 30-44 are relatively stable. Having families and children, they hope to have stable circumstances. Therefore, the migrants in this stage are much fewer than those in the young stage. In the post-adult stage, people aged 45-59 have had much experience in their work, and they have formed their living style and beliefs. All these factors

result in the continual decrease of migration in these two stages. The curves in the latter half of the working stage in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 reflect this declining trend in the adult and post-adult stages.

In the old stage, people aged 60 and above experience the events of retirement, Figure 3.1 shows that the high tide of retired people's migration does not appear in Guangdong Province. In the middle and later old stage, because of the restriction of the old people's health, migration is negligible. These situations are also reflected in the curves of the stable stage in Figure 3.1.

The age distribution of in-migrants in Guangdong can also be explained by the "Cost-Benefit" theory. Why does migration reduce progressively with age? Why are the young more likely to want to migrate than the old? It is because the young have not yet gained a foothold in the sending areas. If they migrate they do not suffer too much loss. In the migration process the young can overcome difficulties more easily than the old. After migration, the young can adapt themselves to new circumstances of living more easily than the old. To put it in a nutshell, the cost and investment paid by the young in the migration process is less than that paid by the old, and the young can get greater benefit and profit than the old because, for example, they can work for a longer part of the remainder of their lives.

It must be noted that although the curves in the working stage in Figure 3.1 show a decline, the declines of Zhaoqing and Zhuhai's and Deqing's curves are slower than that of Guangzhou's curve; that implies more people migrate to the medium-sized and small cities, and the towns than to the extra large and big cities in the working stage. Firstly, this is because Guangdong's government has relaxed the restriction of migrating to

the medium-sized and small cities as well as the towns. Secondly, it is because compared with the extra large and big cities, the medium-sized and small cities and the towns are more likely hold the people in this age stage. For example, an engineer who is aged 45, because of the in-migration restriction and the saturation with young and experienced engineers in the big cities cannot easily migrate to the big cities. But he can easily and quickly get permission from the government to migrate to the small cities, because the small cities want to develop their economies and lack engineers. This a kind of "pull" force from the medium-sized and small cities as well as the towns. The difference in the speeds of the declining curves in the working stage reflects some important migration dynamics and trends in Guangdong Province.

3.1.3 Sex Ratio of In-migrants

According to the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong, the sex ratio of the in-migrants in Guangdong is 100.6 males per hundred females. For Guangzhou, Zhaoqing and Zhuhai, and Deqing, the sex ratios of the in-migrants are 101.4, 102.6, and 91.8 respectively, so that the sex ratios of the in-migrants are balanced on the whole. This pattern is different from those found in many other countries: females have been more migratory than males (Ravenstein, 1885; Eriksson and Rogers, 1978: 201; Herrick, 1965:75); or males have been more migratory than females in some countries of Asia and Africa (Smith, Khoo and Go, 1984:22; Caldwell, 1969: 59); or there are more males than females in the rural-urban migration which causes the imbalance of the sexes in the cities of Africa (Hance, 1970: 192). The reasons for the balanced sex ratio of in-migrants in Guangdong are: firstly, the equality between the sexes which in China is protected by the law; secondly, the jobs in the cities and the towns

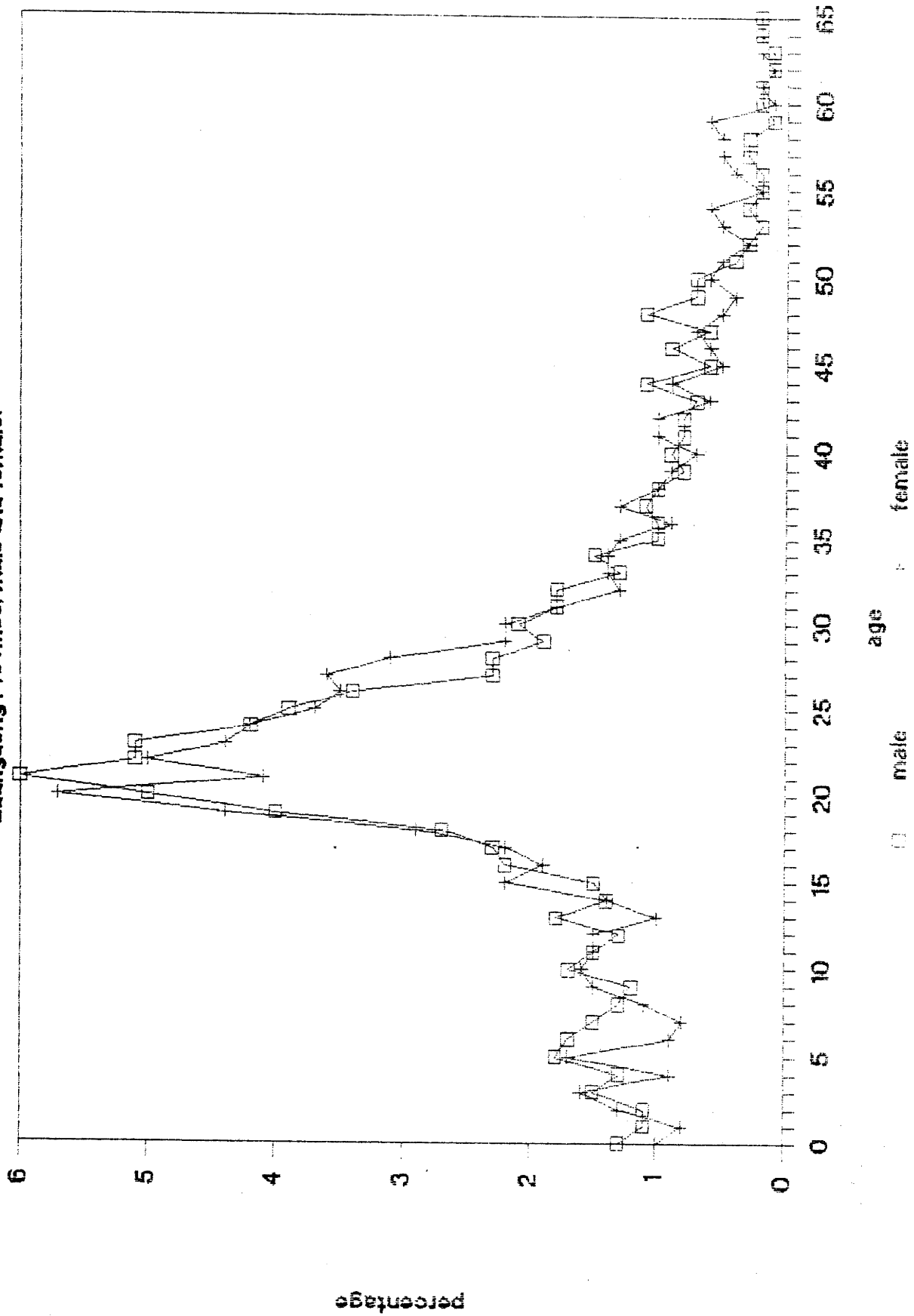
Table 3.1: Sex Ratio (M/F) of In-migrants in Guangdong in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong

age at migration	No. of in-migrants		sex ratio (M/F)
	male	female	
0-4	112	96	116.7
5-9	132	103	128.2
10-14	134	120	116.6
15-19	222	235	94.5
20-24	445	406	109.6
25-29	243	278	87.4
30-34	150	143	104.9
35-39	87	96	90.6
40-44	76	73	104.1
45-49	68	48	141.7
50-54	35	43	81.4
55-59	20	40	50.0
60-64	15	13	115.4
65+	11	45	24.4
total	1750	1739	100.6

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

F. 3.3: Age Distribution of In-migrants

Guangdong Province, male and female.



are generally not sex selective; thirdly, the women's level of education has improved since 1949. These reasons confirm Adepoju's view (1983: 61-62) that the sex ratio of migrants is affected by economic, educational and socio-cultural factors (see Chapter 2)

Considering the age-specific sex ratios of in-migrants in Guangdong, changes in some age groups are observed (see Table 3.1). After age group 50-54, the female in-migrants significantly outnumber the male in-migrants. This is because, firstly, the retirement age of females is earlier than that of males, and the retired women and the old women generally depend on their children, so that they migrate to their children's families. Secondly, an old mother is more welcome in her children's families than an old man because she can help with household chores. Thirdly, old women are generally more common than old men. Before the age group 50-54, the changes in sex ratios are not too big. In the school age groups, boys may be given priority to migrate to the city or town to go to school by some parents, so that girls may have less chance to migrate to the city, or finish school earlier and start working earlier than boys. Working earlier sometimes means that the young girls migrate to the city to work. All these factors mean that male in-migrants are more frequent in child age groups and less frequent in age group 15-19 than female in-migrants. In age groups 25-29 and 35-39, the lower male/female ratio is because of female marital migration and women joining their husbands.

Therefore, the conclusion is that in-migration in Guangdong is not sex selective on the whole; however, in some age groups in-migration is selective of people by sex. Looking at the age distribution, regardless of sex, in-migration is age selective. Because the curves of the age distribution of male and female in-migrants (see

Figure 3.3) are similar to that of Figure 3.1, the same theoretical explanation can be used in male and female migration analysis.

Figure 3.3 also shows that the high tide of female migration comes at a somewhat earlier age than that of male migration. This is because marital migration is common in female migration and the age of marriage of females is earlier than that of males.

3.2 MARITAL STATUS OF IN-MIGRANTS

Table 3.2 shows the relation between marital status and the age of the in-migrants at the time of migration in Guangzhou, Zhaoqing, Zhuhai and Deqing. It displays some characteristic patterns of the marital status of in-migrants. Firstly, the never married in-migrants concentrate in the age group 15-29 with the largest number occurring in the age group 20-24. After age 30 there are almost no never married in-migrants; the main reason is that the proportion of the never married people aged 30 and above is very small (see Table 3.2). The male/female sex ratios in the 15-34 age group are very high (see Table 3.5); they indicate that the never married male in-migrants significantly outnumber the never married female in-migrants.

Secondly, from about age 25 (for females it is about 5 years earlier at age 20), the currently married in-migrants maintain a certain momentum until about age 50. Generally, the large number of currently married female in-migrants is not only larger than that of males (particularly in the age 20-39 group), but also occurs about 5 years earlier than that of males (see Tables 3.2 and 3.5). The most important reasons are female marriage migration (females get married earlier than males) and

Table 3.2: Marital Status and Age of In-migrants
at the Time of Migration

city (town)	age at migration	never	currently	widowed & divorced	row
		married	married		total
		%	%	%	%
Guangzhou	total	55.0	41.7	3.3	100.0
	15-19	27.3	2.2	0	
	20-24	50.9	23.8	2.5	
	25-29	17.8	23.8	0	
	30-34	2.7	20.6	5.0	
	35-39	0.3	13.1	5.0	
	40-44	0.3	9.9	5.0	
	45-49	0.2	6.9	5.0	
	50-54	0.1	4.0	20.0	
	55-59	0.3	3.4	17.5	
	60-64	0	1.2	2.5	
	65+	0.1	1.6	37.5	
	total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	n	(664)	(504)	(40)	(1208)
Zhaoqing	total	40.0	55.9	4.1	100.0
	15-19	37.2	1.3	0	
	20-24	45.9	14.8	3.7	
	25-29	15.0	24.2	0	
	30-34	1.9	19.1	0	
	35-39	0	12.9	7.4	
	40-44	0	9.2	3.7	
	45-49	0	6.7	3.7	
	50-54	0	5.1	3.7	
	55-59	0	2.4	22.3	
	60-64	0	1.6	14.8	
	65+	0	2.7	40.7	
	total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	n	(266)	(372)	(27)	(665)

Table 3.2: Marital Status and Age of In-migrants
at the Time of Migration (continued)

city (town)	age at migration	never married ----- %	currently married ----- %	widowed & divorced ----- %	row total ----- %
Zhuhai	total	43.9	53.5	2.6	100.0
	15-19	38.0	0.6	0	
	20-24	49.8	12.6	0	
	25-29	11.4	19.0	0	
	30-34	0.4	16.1	0	
	35-39	0.4	14.5	0	
	40-44	0	15.6	0	
	45-49	0	12.6	6.7	
	50-54	0	3.2	13.3	
	55-59	0	1.0	33.3	
	60-64	0	1.6	0	
	65+	0	3.2	46.7	
	total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	n	(255)	(311)	(15)	(581)
Deqing	total	44.6	53.3	2.1	100.0
	15-19	40.9	0.6	0	
	20-24	42.3	20.2	0	
	25-29	13.4	25.3	0	
	30-34	2.7	21.3	0	
	35-39	0.7	9.0	0	
	40-44	0	7.3	14.3	
	45-49	0	6.8	0	
	50-54	0	3.9	14.3	
	55-59	0	3.9	14.3	
	60-64	0	1.1	14.3	
	65+	0	0.6	42.8	
	total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	n	(149)	(178)	(7)	(334)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986
Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 3.3: Marital Status and Years of Arrival of In-migrants at the Time of Migration

city (town)	year of arrival	never married ----- %	currently married ----- %	widowed & divorced ----- %	row total %	n
=====						
Guangzhou	1949-60	46.5	50.5	3.0	100.0	(370)
	1961-70	49.6	48.8	1.6	100.0	(127)
	1971-80	66.2	30.9	2.9	100.0	(554)
	1981-86	47.3	44.3	8.4	100.0	(157)
	total	55.0	41.7	3.3	100.0	
	n	(664)	(504)	(40)		(1208)

Zhaoqing	1949-60	37.8	59.1	3.1	100.0	(127)
	1961-70	51.1	48.9	0	100.0	(92)
	1971-80	44.8	49.6	5.6	100.0	(230)
	1981-86	31.5	63.9	4.6	100.0	(216)
	total	40.0	55.9	4.1	100.0	
	n	(266)	(372)	(27)		(665)

Zhuhai	1949-60	57.1	42.9	0	100.0	(42)
	1961-70	43.4	53.3	3.3	100.0	(60)
	1971-80	43.0	51.6	5.4	100.0	(93)
	1981-86	42.7	55.2	2.1	100.0	(386)
	total	43.9	53.5	2.6	100.0	
	n	(255)	(311)	(15)		(581)

Deqing	1949-60	42.4	51.6	0	100.0	(33)
	1961-70	24.6	73.3	1.7	100.0	(57)
	1971-80	53.7	44.8	1.5	100.0	(67)
	1981-86	46.9	50.3	2.8	100.0	(177)
	total	44.6	53.3	2.1	100.0	
	n	(149)	(178)	(7)		(334)
=====						

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 3.4: Marital Status and Area of Origin of In-migrants at the Time of Migration

city (town)	area of origin	never	currently	widowed & divorced	row	n
		married	married		total	
		-----	-----	-----	-----	
		%	%	%	%	
Guangzhou	city	42.0	56.2	1.8	100.0	(276)
	town	40.8	54.6	4.6	100.0	(240)
	countryside	65.4	31.1	3.5	100.0	(682)
	total n	55.1 (660)	41.6 (498)	3.3 (40)	100.0	(1198)
Zhaoqing	city	33.9	64.9	1.2	100.0	(171)
	town	38.3	57.5	4.2	100.0	(240)
	countryside	46.4	47.7	5.9	100.0	(239)
	total n	40.2 (261)	55.8 (363)	4.0 (26)	100.0	(650)
Zhuhai	city	47.4	50.2	2.4	100.0	(249)
	town	39.0	58.1	2.9	100.0	(172)
	countryside	42.6	54.7	2.7	100.0	(148)
	total n	43.6 (248)	53.8 (306)	2.6 (15)	100.0	(569)
Deqing	city	40.9	56.8	2.3	100.0	(44)
	town	22.2	75.6	2.2	100.0	(45)
	countryside	47.5	50.4	2.1	100.0	(236)
	total n	43.1 (140)	54.8 (178)	2.1 (7)	100.0	(325)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 3.5: Sex Ratio (M/F) by Marital Status and Age of In-migrants at the Time of Migration

city (town)	age group	sex ratio		
		never married	currently married	widowed & divorced
Guangzhou	15-19	108.0	20.0	
	20-24	160.0	28.8	0
	25-29	195.0	34.8	
	30-34	200.0	100.0	0
	35-39	100.0	69.2	100.0
	40-44	*	138.1	0
	45-49	*	169.2	0
	50-54	0	100.0	14.3
	55-59	100.0	88.8	16.7
	60-64		500.0	0
	65+	0	60.0	36.0
	total	148.7	68.0	21.2
	n	(664)	(504)	(40)
Zhouqing	15-19	83.3	25.0	
	20-24	205.0	19.6	*
	25-29	471.4	52.5	
	30-34	400.0	77.5	
	35-39		108.7	100.0
	40-44		78.9	0
	45-49		127.3	*
	50-54		58.3	0
	55-59		80.0	20.0
	60-64		100.0	33.3
	65+		100.0	10.0
	total	160.8	63.9	28.7
	n	(266)	(372)	(27)

Table 3.5: Sex Ratio (M/F) by Marital Status and Age of In-migrants at the Time of Migration (continued)

city (town)	age group	sex ratio		
		never married	currently married	widowed & divorced
Zhuhai	15-19	102.1	0	
	20-24	170.2	14.7	
	25-29	314.3	51.3	
	30-34	*	138.1	
	35-39	0	80.0	
	40-44		113.0	
	45-49		178.6	0
	50-54		233.3	0
	55-59		50.0	0
	60-64		66.7	
	65+		100.0	0
	total	147.6	81.9	0
	n	(255)	(311)	(15)
Deqing	15-19	103.0	0	
	20-24	133.3	28.6	
	25-29	300.0	40.6	
	30-34	*	81.0	
	35-39	*	220.0	
	40-44		116.7	0
	45-49		71.4	
	50-54		133.3	0
	55-59		75.0	0
	60-64		100.0	0
	65+		0	0
	total	140.3	63.3	0
	n	(149)	(178)	(7)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

- Notes: 1. * = all are males; 0 = all are females.
2. The blanks mean there are no people in those age groups.

Table 3.6: Sex Ratio (M/F) by Marital Status and Years of Arrival of In-migrants at the Time of Migration

city (town)	years	sex ratio		
		never married	currently married	widowed & divorced
Guangzhou				
	1949-60	173.0	55.8	10.0
	1961-70	231.6	93.8	0
	1971-80	129.4	90.0	33.3
	1981-86	148.0	81.3	22.2
	n	(664)	(504)	(40)
Zhaoqing				
	1949-60	166.7	59.6	0
	1961-70	422.2	87.5	
	1971-80	123.9	65.2	8.3
	1981-86	134.4	58.6	100.0
	n	(266)	(372)	(27)
Zhuhai				
	1949-60	242.9	100.0	
	1961-70	271.4	45.5	0
	1971-80	166.7	77.8	0
	1981-86	123.0	88.5	0
	n	(255)	(311)	(15)
Deqing				
	1949-60	700.0	70.0	
	1961-70	250.0	90.9	0
	1971-80	157.0	100.0	0
	1981-86	97.6	43.5	0
	n	(149)	(178)	(7)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Notes: 1. the blanks mean no people in those age groups.

2. 0 = all are females.

Table 3.7: Sex Ratio (M/F) by Marital Status and Area of Origin of In-migrants at the Time of Migration

city (town)	area of origin	sex ratio		
		never married	currently married	widowed & divorced
Guangzhou	city	197.4	86.7	21.9
	town	263.0	54.1	100.0
	countryside	123.0	63.1	9.1
	n	(664)	(504)	(40)
Zhaoqing	city	190.0	109.4	*
	town	95.7	58.6	25.0
	countryside	217.0	39.0	7.7
	n	(266)	(372)	(26)
Zhuhai	city	151.1	115.5	0
	town	157.7	72.4	0
	countryside	117.2	52.8	0
	n	(255)	(311)	(15)
Deqing	city	260.0	108.3	0
	town	400.0	70.0	0
	countryside	119.6	54.5	0
	n	(149)	(178)	(7)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Note: * = all are males.

0 = all are females.

migration of women to join their husbands and families. But one fact must be mentioned: because the government strictly controls the migration to the extra large, big and some medium-sized cities, some females marry as a means to migrate to cities and become city residents. That is, their aim is to marry to migrate rather than to migrate to marry.

Thirdly, among the widowed in-migrants old people and especially old females are dominant (see Table 3.5), in general females live longer than males; old widows have to depend on their children's families because of lack of financial independence; and old women can do housework for their children's families. All these factors mean that old women are more likely migrate than old men.

To put it briefly, in the extra large and big cities there are more never married in-migrants than currently married in-migrants. This situation is reversed in the medium-sized and small cities and towns. Among the never married in-migrants, there are more males than females. Among the currently married in-migrants, there more females than males. Among the widowed in-migrants old people and females are dominant. Among the divorced in-migrants females are dominant. According to Tables 3.3, 3.4, 3.6 and 3.7 these findings do not change with different years and regions (the areas of origin).

Therefore, the dominant in-migrants in Guangdong are unmarried young males, currently married young and middle aged females, and old widowed females.

3.3 EDUCATION LEVEL OF IN-MIGRANTS

Because of the lack of statistical data on education level at the time of migration, two kinds of data, that

Table 3.8: Education Levels of In-migrants and Non-migrants Aged 6 Years and Above

city (town)	category	university %	middle school		primary school %	illiterate %	total %	
			senior %	junior %				
Guangzhou in-	migrants	A	7.8	32.4	25.7	26.4	7.7	100.0
		B	12.8	34.5	27.6	19.2	5.9	100.0
	(n)							(1362)
	non-		5.8	35.8	26.2	24.0	8.2	100.0
	migrants	(n)						(2414)
Zhaoqing in-	migrants	A	7.1	25.2	25.9	30.4	11.4	100.0
		B	8.7	29.4	27.4	24.9	9.6	100.0
	(n)							(764)
	non-		3.0	24.9	34.2	27.1	10.8	100.0
	migrants	(n)						(1063)
Zhuhai in-	migrants	A	12.0	29.4	25.1	26.1	7.4	100.0
		B	13.5	30.4	28.4	21.5	6.2	100.0
	(n)							(693)
	non-		1.0	22.0	31.4	37.1	8.5	100.0
	migrants	(n)						(509)
Deqing in-	migrants	A	7.5	28.5	29.0	27.5	7.5	100.0
		B	8.2	32.5	28.9	24.9	5.5	100.0
	(n)							(400)
	non-		0.3	32.5	35.0	23.6	8.6	100.0
	migrants	(n)						(314)
Guangdong Province's	1982 census		0.5	9.1	19.4	46.5	24.5	100.0
Deqing County's	1982 census		0.2	9.0	19.8	49.0	22.0	100.0

Sources: 1. Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

2. Guangdong Statistical Bureau (1983)

Notes: 1. A: the education level of in-migrants at the time of migration;
2. B: the education level of in-migrants in 1986;
3. the education level of non-migrants is in 1986.

Table 3.9: Education Level and Year of Arrival of In-migrants Aged 6 Years and Above

city (town)	year of arrival	university	middle school		primary school	illiterate	total
		%	senior %	junior %	%	%	

Guangzhou	1949-60	5.2	13.6	19.5	45.8	15.9	100.0
	1961-70	18.9	28.0	23.5	24.3	5.3	100.0
	1971-80	7.0	46.2	30.3	13.0	3.5	100.0
	1981-86	8.7	35.1	27.0	25.4	3.8	100.0
	n	(106)	(441)	(350)	(360)	(105)	(1362)
Zhaoqing	1949-60	3.9	15.4	19.2	43.8	17.7	100.0
	1961-70	9.6	20.2	25.0	32.7	12.5	100.0
	1971-80	7.6	27.5	26.8	27.9	10.2	100.0
	1981-86	7.2	29.8	28.7	25.3	9.0	100.0
	n	(54)	(193)	(198)	(232)	(87)	(764)
Zhuhai	1949-60	6.7	4.4	28.9	31.1	28.9	100.0
	1961-70	9.5	23.8	28.6	28.6	9.5	100.0
	1971-80	4.2	28.0	25.4	32.2	10.2	100.0
	1981-86	14.8	33.0	24.2	23.8	4.2	100.0
	n	(83)	(204)	(174)	(181)	(51)	(693)
Deqing	1949-60	11.8	11.8	17.6	47.0	11.8	100.0
	1961-70	11.1	23.8	30.2	25.4	9.5	100.0
	1971-80	6.5	38.7	28.0	21.3	5.3	100.0
	1981-86	6.1	29.0	30.7	27.2	7.0	100.0
	n	(30)	(114)	(116)	(110)	(30)	(400)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Note: Education level of in-migrants is at the time of migration.

Table 3 10: Education level and Area of Origin of In-migrants
Aged 6 years and Above

city (town)	area of origin	university %	middle school		primary school %	illiterate %	total %
			senior %	junior %			
Guangzhou	city	19.5	29.5	22.1	21.1	7.8	100.0
	town	6.6	23.8	28.0	34.3	7.3	100.0
	countryside	3.4	37.0	26.0	25.7	7.9	100.0
	n	(105)	(439)	(345)	(358)	(105)	(1352)
Zhaoqing	city	13.5	30.6	16.6	32.6	6.7	100.0
	town	7.8	29.7	29.7	22.9	9.9	100.0
	countryside	1.9	17.0	28.9	35.6	16.6	100.0
	n	(53)	(189)	(194)	(224)	(86)	(746)
Zhuhai	city	21.1	35.2	20.1	19.7	3.9	100.0
	town	9.4	33.5	25.9	22.2	9.0	100.0
	countryside	1.7	16.9	31.7	38.8	10.9	100.0
	n	(83)	(202)	(170)	(174)	(50)	(679)
Deqing	city	22.4	32.7	18.4	20.4	6.1	100.0
	town	12.2	32.7	22.4	24.5	8.2	100.0
	countryside	4.4	27.0	31.1	29.7	7.8	100.0
	n	(30)	(111)	(111)	(109)	(30)	(391)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986
Migration Survey in Guangdong.

- Notes; 1. Education level of in-migrants is at the time of migration.
2. In categories of area of origin the "others" is omitted.

is, the education level of non-migrants at the time of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong and the 1982 Chinese census data, are used here as indicators. The two data sets are not strictly comparable, because the current average level of education of people is generally higher than in the past. However, even using these standards, the conclusions are still valid.

Table 3.8 indicates that the proportions of in-migrants with senior middle school level and over are higher than those of the non-migrants in all kinds of cities and towns in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong. In particular, the proportion of in-migrants with university level education is far higher than among non-migrants. Conversely the proportions of illiterate in-migrants are lower than those of the non-migrants. As the capital of Guangdong Province, Guangzhou has the highest average level of education in Guangdong. Although the proportion of in-migrants to Guangzhou with senior middle school education is lower than that of non-migrants, the proportion is still far higher than those with senior middle school education in Guangdong, from data in the 1982 Guangdong census. For Deqing, where about 73% of the in-migrants come from the countryside, the proportion of in-migrants to Deqing with senior middle school level is lower than the level for town. This is natural, because Deqing is the capital of Deqing County, and its average level of education is the highest in the county. However, compared with the 1986 Guangdong and Deqing County census data, the proportion of in-migrants to Deqing town with senior middle school level is far higher than the relevant level of Deqing County.

According to Table 3.9, the situations mentioned above do not change with the years of migration. On the contrary, the proportion of the in-migrants with higher education becomes larger as years go by. Although the

level of education in China has improved since 1949, and the proportion of young migrants is large, these two reasons are not the major influential factors. For example, according to the statistics (State Statistical Bureau, 1987: 99), the highest proportion of university level and senior middle school education among the 5-year age groups in Guangdong in 1986 are 2.0% and 28.3% respectively. Even using the level in 1986 as the standard for comparison, the level of education of in-migrants is still much higher. Table 3.10 also shows that these situations do not change with the different areas of origin.

After migration, the education of the in-migrants continuously improved (see Table 3.8, comparison between A and B). The proportions of in-migrants with university education and senior middle school education in 1986 are higher, and the proportions of illiterate in-migrants in 1986 are lower than those of non-migrants in 1986 (see Table 3.8, comparison between B and non-migrants). Particularly in Guangzhou these situations are quite glaring because Guangdong's universities are largely concentrated in Guangzhou. These patterns reflect the fact that some people migrate to city for further study.

Briefly, the data analysis indicates the following conclusion: whether according to the education standard of areas of origin, or that of destination areas; whether in different years, or in different areas of origin, the migrants are selective of people by education level; the higher the education level, the more migration.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS

What individual demographic characteristics may affect whether a person does or does not migrate? The

above analysis on age, sex, marital status and education level of the in-migrants gives the following conclusions: in-migration to the cities and towns in Guangdong is selective. The age-sex distribution of in-migrants forms an inverted "v" shape. The never married young adults, the currently married females who do not live together with their husbands, the old widowed females, the divorced females, and the better educated people are more likely migrate to the cities and the towns than other people. These individual demographic characteristics can be generalized by a descriptive formula, which only indicates the possibility and the degree of possibility of the in-migrants's characteristics but does not give the calculation, as follows:

$$P = e^{-\frac{(x-x_p)^2}{k}} E_k U_r M_r W_r$$

Where: P = The possibility and the degree of possibility of the characteristics of the in-migrants to the cities and the towns.

x = Age of in-migrants.

x_p = Peak age point of the age distribution of in-migrants (which is usually among age 20-24).

$e^{-\frac{(x-x_p)^2}{k}}$ = Age distribution of in-migrants (its curve increases monotonically until age x_p , then decreases monotonically).

E_k = Education level of in-migrants (the bigger k, the higher the education level).

U_r = Unmarried young adults (most young females who take marriage migration are included here).

M_r = Currently married females who do not
live together with their husbands.

W_r = Old widowed females and divorced females.

CHAPTER 4

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Through analysing the numerous reasons for migration which were collected in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong, this chapter looks for the determinants of migration, and gives an explanation and model for these.

4.1 CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR MIGRATION

In the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong the reasons for migration are classified into 13 categories (see Table 4.1; the reason "others" is omitted here as it is negligible):

1. Transfer of work (reason 1).
2. Being assigned to a post (reason 2).
3. Study or training (reason 3).
4. Going to live with relatives (reason 4).
5. Demobilization of servicemen (reason 5).
6. Return of educated youth to cities (reason 6).
7. Retirement or resignation (reason 7).
8. Recruitment of workers or taking up retired parent's post (reason 8).
9. Implementation of policies (reason 9).
10. Engaging in private trade or other private business (reason 10).
11. Marriage migration (reason 11).
12. Accompanying or joining spouses, or parents, or families (reason 12).

Table 4.1: Age of In-migrants at Migration and Reason for Migration in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong

reason	male (%)						female (%)					
	total	<15	15-24	25-54	55+	POW total	total	<15	15-24	25-54	55+	POW total
1	25.0	0.4	20.0	76.4	3.2	100.0	17.4	0.3	21.8	77.2	0.7	100.0
2	9.5	0	67.9	32.1	0	100.0	4.3	0	80.3	19.7	0	100.0
3	2.9	14.9	78.7	6.4	0	100.0	2.1	20.6	64.7	14.7	0	100.0
4	6.2	52.0	28.4	7.8	11.8	100.0	11.9	21.5	22.6	29.2	26.7	100.0
5	9.4	0	46.8	53.2	0	100.0	0.4	0	33.3	66.7	0	100.0
6	10.6	0	69.5	30.5	0	100.0	9.7	0	65.8	34.2	0	100.0
7	0.9	0	6.7	33.3	60.0	100.0	0.5	0	37.5	37.5	25.0	100.0
8	4.3	0	68.6	31.4	0	100.0	4.0	0	68.2	30.3	1.5	100.0
9	3.1	0	17.3	61.5	21.2	100.0	1.8	0	24.1	58.6	17.3	100.0
10	3.5	0	65.5	34.5	0	100.0	2.9	2.1	62.5	31.3	4.1	100.0
11	1.4	0	17.4	82.6	0	100.0	12.5	0	53.7	46.3	0	100.0
12	23.2	78.0	18.4	3.4	0.2	100.0	32.5	48.2	20.7	26.0	5.1	100.0
total	100.0						100.0					
n												1636

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

In this thesis, these 12 reasons are divided into three groups: political movement related (reasons 6, 8 and 9), work related (reasons 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10), and family and relative related (reasons 4, 11 and 12).

These 12 reasons are generally individual and superficial reasons; moreover, sometimes they are not the real reasons for some people. Because of the restrictive policy on migrating to the cities and the towns, in order to get government's permission to migrate, sometimes the in-migrants only give the superficial reasons which are within the limits permitted by the policy, even though their real migration reasons are not these. Therefore the real determinants of migration are not disguised through the analysis of the given 12 reason categories.

4.2 POLITICAL MIGRATION

In the period of the Cultural Revolution (from the end of the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s), many urban educated youths were sent to the rural areas, and many city's residents were required to leave the cities to the rural areas. From the middle of the 1970s the Chinese government corrected these mistakes, adopting a series of methods and policies to let the urban educated youth return to the cities; for example, letting them go to school, recruiting them as workers and allowing them take up their retired parents' positions. The government implemented the Party's policy, and allowed these city's residents to return to their cities. The reasons for migration such as "Return of educated youth to cities" (reason 6), "Recruitment of workers or taking up retired parent's post" (reason 8, which sometimes applies only for urban educated

youth who were sent to rural areas before), and "Implementation of policies" (reason 9) reflected these kinds of migration. These return migrations were caused by political movement, that is the political factor is the determinant of these migrations. The data of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong also show these kinds of migration only happened in a special period (between the middle of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s). Therefore in fact these kinds of migration can be considered political migration. This kind of large-scale political migration may not happen again in China.

4.3 SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION

Besides political migration which is considered as a temporary phenomenon, are the main determinants of migration social, economic, or a combination of both? Table 4.1 shows that most of the in-migrants, regardless of their years of migration (about 62% of the in-migrants came after 1975, see Table 5.3), are satisfied with their migration to the cities and the towns. They think that after migration their situations in income, housing, work conditions, chances for study and education, cultural life and living environment are much better than before migration. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 show that this situation does not change with ages, education levels and areas of origin of in-migrants.

This information has four implications. Firstly, the migration to the cities and towns is voluntary, and the migration decisions are made by in-migrants themselves. Secondly, the in-migrants consider not only one factor (for example, the economic factor) or themselves, but also other factors or their children, spouses and families in the process of making the

Table 4.2: Comparisons Before and After In-migration in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong According to Years of Migration

years of migration	income (%)			housing (%)			work conditions (%)			chances for study and education (%)			cultural life (%)			living environment (%)		
	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse
1949-1960	71.2	25.0	3.8	66.4	21.0	12.6	71.7	25.1	3.2	76.2	20.1	3.7	82.0	15.0	3.0	83.7	11.9	4.4
1961-1970	79.8	17.7	2.5	74.6	17.7	7.7	73.8	24.4	1.8	77.3	19.5	3.2	85.3	13.0	1.7	88.0	9.0	3.0
1971-1980	82.8	15.7	1.5	74.3	15.8	9.9	80.9	18.0	1.1	84.8	13.3	1.9	89.1	9.5	1.4	88.9	8.9	2.2
1981-1986	79.0	19.0	2.0	71.0	17.9	11.1	65.9	30.4	3.7	67.3	25.5	7.2	74.1	17.8	8.1	81.9	14.1	4.0

sample size: (3489)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 4.3: Comparisons Before and After In-migration in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong According to In-migrant's Age at the Time of Migration

age at migration	income (%)			housing (%)			work conditions (%)			chances for study and education (%)			cultural life (%)			living environment (%)		
	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse
0-4				71.6	20.6	7.8				73.5	23.1	3.4	77.5	20.0	2.5	82.4	15.1	2.5
5-9				74.5	17.6	7.9				86.2	12.1	1.7	85.4	13.0	1.6	86.2	10.9	2.9
10-14				72.4	18.5	9.1				84.6	13.0	2.4	86.6	9.9	3.5	85.8	9.9	4.3
15-19	84.2	14.9	0.9	72.2	18.8	9.0	80.4	18.3	1.3	81.2	15.8	3.0	85.6	11.2	3.2	86.9	10.5	2.6
20-24	88.8	9.4	1.8	73.7	15.9	10.4	81.6	16.6	1.8	79.9	15.5	4.6	85.0	10.9	4.1	88.6	8.9	2.5
25-29	82.9	14.4	2.7	72.9	15.4	11.7	73.7	23.4	2.9	76.6	18.6	4.8	83.7	12.9	3.4	85.8	10.9	3.3
30-34	75.8	19.1	5.1	66.9	21.8	11.3	66.2	29.7	4.1	70.0	23.2	6.8	76.5	18.4	5.1	81.9	13.0	5.1
35-39	76.0	20.8	3.2	67.2	17.5	15.3	65.0	29.0	6.0	64.5	29.0	6.5	76.5	17.5	6.0	83.6	10.9	5.5
40-44	71.7	23.7	4.6	64.5	23.0	12.5	64.5	30.3	5.2	61.2	32.9	5.9	66.4	22.4	11.2	74.4	19.7	5.9
45-49	68.9	23.0	8.1	72.4	17.2	10.4	56.0	40.5	3.5	62.1	31.0	6.9	69.0	23.3	7.7	75.0	19.8	5.2
50-54	69.6	19.0	7.2	58.0	23.2	18.8	62.3	33.3	4.4	71.0	24.6	4.4	73.9	20.3	5.8	75.4	20.3	4.3
55-59	77.6	19.0	3.4	74.1	8.6	17.3	69.0	31.0	0	74.1	25.9	0	93.1	6.9	0	96.6	0.2	0.2
60-64	70.0	28.0	0	68.0	28.0	4.0	56.0	44.0	0	56.0	40.0	4.0	84.0	12.0	4.0	88.0	12.0	0
65+	59.7	38.8	1.5	76.1	14.9	9.0	61.2	37.3	1.5	56.7	41.8	1.5	83.6	14.9	1.5	92.5	6.0	1.5

sample size: (3489)

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 4.4: Comparisons Before and After In-migration in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong According to In-migrant's Education Level at the Item of Migration

education level	income (%)			housing (%)			work conditions (%)			chances for study and education (%)			cultural life (%)			living environment (%)		
	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse	better	same	worse
university	77.7	18.7	3.6	69.2	18.0	12.8	62.7	31.1	6.2	65.2	22.0	12.8	67.0	19.4	13.6	76.2	13.6	10.2
senior middle school	84.5	13.3	2.2	73.8	15.7	10.5	75.6	21.4	3.0	78.3	16.0	5.7	84.9	10.3	4.8	86.9	10.2	2.9
junior middle school	83.1	14.7	2.2	71.6	17.2	11.2	76.5	22.1	1.4	78.6	18.6	2.8	85.2	11.7	3.1	88.1	9.4	2.5
primary school	74.2	23.2	2.6	68.4	20.2	11.4	73.3	23.9	2.8	75.9	21.1	3.0	80.5	16.4	3.1	83.1	13.3	3.6
illiterate	72.9	26.4	0.7	74.0	17.2	8.8	69.2	30.4	0.4	71.8	27.8	0.4	84.2	15.0	0.8	89.4	9.5	1.1
total	79.7	18.0	2.3	71.4	17.6	11.0	73.6	23.9	2.5	76.0	19.6	4.4	82.2	13.5	4.3	85.5	11.1	3.4
sample size: (3219)																		

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 4.5: Education Level of In-migrants in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guaney in Guangdong According to Reason Categories Related to Work

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=====
reason          education level at in-migration (%)
category -----
                middle school
                -----
                university  senior  junior  primary  school  illiterate  total  n
                -----
reason 1      20.9    35.3    25.8    17.0    1.0    100.0    695
reason 2      32.6    37.9    15.4    13.2    0.9    100.0    227
reason 3       6.2    53.1    21.0    16.0    3.7    100.0    81
reason 5       7.5    36.9    37.5    17.5    0.6    100.0    160
reason 7       8.7    17.4    47.8    21.7    4.4    100.0    23
reason 10      0.9     4.7    28.3    57.6    8.5    100.0    106
=====

```

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

decision to migrate. Thirdly, the benefit which the in-migrants get from migration is not perfect, because some migrants are not satisfied with some aspects; This means that although migration is predominantly beneficial, some migrants still have to lose some benefits in the areas of origin and pay a cost for migration. Fourthly, there are surely 'gaps' between the areas of origin and the destinations; these gaps do not mean only social or economic gaps; there are many differences.

4.3.1 Work Related

According to the statistics, "Transfer of work" (reason 1) is one of the major reasons for migration; the proportion (21.2%) of the in-migrants in this reason category is the second largest in all the reason categories (see Table 4.1). Within this category there are more married than unmarried, and the proportion of the in-migrants with university education is notable (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.6: Area of Origin of In-migrants in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong in Reason Category "Transfer of work"

destination	area of origin (%)				total	n
	city (1)	town (2)	countryside (3)	(2)+(3)		
Guangzhou	44.5	29.6	25.9	55.5	100	189
Zhaoqing	29.4	56.7	13.9	70.6	100	201
Zhuhai	49.1	39.8	11.1	50.9	100	216
Deqing	16.6	24.4	59.0	83.4	100	78

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey.

Table 4.6 exposes two characteristics of this kind of migration. Firstly, for the cities more than 50% of the in-migrants come from the three towns and the countryside. In Zhaoqing and Deqing these proportions even reach about 71% and 83% respectively. For Deqing, about 59% of the in-migrants come from the countryside. Therefore although the reason for migration is "Transfer of work" (generally it is the migrant's own decision), it cannot cover the rural-urban migration tendency. Only the people who are employed by the government use the reason "transfer of work", because these people can be permanently employed by the government, and they only change their work place. The Chinese government always calls and encourages its employees transfer to rural areas as well as small cities and towns, why do these people still migrate from rural areas to urban areas? This phenomenon

implies that the social and economic gaps between rural areas and urban areas cause this migration.

Secondly, with the increase in scale of cities, the proportion of the in-migrants who come from cities and towns has become higher; the migration shows a form of what might be called "migration by degree" : that is, the people from the countryside move to the towns, the people from the towns move to the small and the middle-sized cities, the people from the small and medium-sized cities move to the extra large and the big cities. In Zhuhai, as a small city, the proportion of in-migrants who come from cities reaches 49.1% which is higher than that of Guangzhou (see Table 4.6); this is because Zhuhai is a new modern city and a special economic zone of China. On one hand, Zhuhai urgently needs a large number of highly educated people and has a flexible in-migration policy for them. On the other hand, its development future attracts these people. In general the highly educated people concentrate in cities; their migration to Zhuhai causes the high proportion of in-migration who come from cities in this city. Among these in-migrants, about 15% come from other provinces. Some of them want improve their work condition through migration, but their major aims are to provide better study and living conditions for their children and families through migration from inland cities, even if this migration may be unfavourable for themselves. Therefore, Zhuhai's situation not only supports the migration characteristics mentioned above, but also reveals that the gaps between the provinces (regions) or the cities can also cause migration.

The reason "Transfer of work" is within the limits of the government's migration policy, in fact the real reasons for migration include a lot of socio-economic factors such as "to get a city household booklet for

children and family", "to return to hometown", and "to provide better study and living conditions for children and better work conditions for themselves", but these are not within the migration policy limits. All these reasons reflect the fact that the determinants for migration cannot simply be summed up as a social or an economic reason.

The reason "Being assigned to a post" (reason 2) includes two aspects: one is that the university and technical secondary school graduates are assigned to jobs; the other is that the rural youth are assigned to jobs in the towns and cities. In this situation the people, who mostly are the rural youth and rural young adults with high education (see Tables 4.1 and 4.5), face two choices after school (or university): stay in (or go to) the cities or return to the countryside. Under the government's policy of strictly controlling the city population this is a chance for them (actually a lot of rural youth and young adults use these methods to strive for the chance to become legal city residents). The 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong shows that more than 50% of the in-migrants in this reason category come from rural areas.

The reason "Study or training" (reason 3) is that because the universities and training schools are concentrated in the cities and towns, the people have to migrate to the cities and towns for study and training. Some of these study or training institutions already provide posts for people to stay and work in cities and towns after their study or training. Some institutions do not provide this; after study or training people will still face the situation of "being assigned to a post". However, with the opportunity to become legal city or town residents, people like the chance to study or train. The 1986

Migration Survey in Guangdong shows that of the in-migrants in this reason category, 60.5% come from the countryside and 19.8% come from the small towns. The youth and the young adults with good education are dominant in this category (see Tables 4.1 and 4.5). They are actual or potential permanent legal residents of cities and towns.

For the reason "Demobilization of servicemen" (reason 5), the government's policy generally is "Where they come from, there they return". However, the servicemen, who are mostly the rural youth and the young adults with good education and technical training (see Tables 4.1 and 4.5) still have the chance to get a city or town resident booklet after army service. This situation can be confirmed by other statistics. For example, every year about 400 Guangzhou City's young join the army, so every year the number of demobilized soldiers of this city should be about 400; however, the actual number is eight times 400 (Wu, 1986: 37).

Therefore, although the above three reasons do not mention the real intention, the data imply that in fact these kinds of migrations are indirect (or potential) rural-urban moves in some situations.

In recent years, the Chinese government has allowed people to work in private economic activities. Therefore more and more people go to the cities and the towns to engage in private trade or other private business. The survey statistics shows that the bulk of the in-migrants in this reason category "Engaging in private trade or other private business" (reason 10) are young with low education (see Tables 4.1 and 4.5) and come from rural areas. This policy is not only beneficial to economic development, but also helps to solve the problem of the surplus of agricultural

labourers, because the surplus agricultural labourers can engage the non-agricultural jobs now.

The reason "retirement or resignation" (reason 7) consists of two aspects: the old people retire; and the working age people resign from public posts to engage in private economic enterprise. The statistics shows that in this reason category the Guangzhou City in-migrants mostly come from cities, and Zhaoqing, Zhuhai and Deqing's in-migrants mostly come from towns and the countryside. However, the number of in-migrants in this reason category is very small (see Table 4.1).

4.3.2 Family and Relative Related

If the reason for migration mentioned above can be called the "active migration reasons", the reason "accompanying or joining spouses, or parents, or families" (reason 12) can be called a "passive migration reason". As shown in Table 4.1, the proportion of in-migrants in this category is largest of all the reason categories accounting for 35.4% of the in-migrants. This is natural because if a married man, for example, migrated to the city for the reason "transfer of work", of course he would bring his family which generally consists of more than one member. The statistics indicate that in this category the males are mainly children and teenagers; the females are found in almost every age (see Table 4.1). The education level of people in this category is not high (see Table 4.7).

Outwardly this kind of migration is passive; inwardly the family factors often are important in the process of making the decision to migrate. A common example is as follows: the head of a family (generally the father) may have a high income and good social position in an inland city, and he may not want to

Table 4.7: Education Level of In-migrants in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong According to Reason Categories Related to Family or Relatives

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=====
reason      education level at in-migration (%)
category -----
                middle school
                -----
                university  senior  junior  primary  school  illiterate  total  n
-----
reason 4    1.9    10.3    17.9    42.8    27.1    100.0    262
reason 11   0.9    21.8    22.6    39.3    15.4    100.0    234
reason 12   0.9    17.8    19.7    45.6    16.0    100.0    680

total      1.1    16.9    19.9    43.7    18.4    100.0    1176
=====

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Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

migrate. But to provide better study and living conditions for the children, or in order to return to their hometown area, or for a better living environment, the rest of the members of his family may contribute to the decision to migrate. These reasons, however, are not enough to get government permission for migration; the other members of the family must urge the head of the family to take action. Therefore the head of the family follows the family idea, and applies for "Transfer of work" because this is within the limits of migration policy. In this situation the passive person is the head of the family but not the family dependents. The reason "Transfer of work" is only a superficial and passive reason but not the real and active reason; sometimes the work conditions become worse for this person after migration. For instance, among Zhuhai's in-migrants who have university's education, 25% think their "chances for study and education" became worse, 35% think their "cultural life" became worse, and 45% think their "work conditions" are the same as before the in-migration. This indicates that family factors are often considered by the head of the family who generally has the highest education level in family; for his family, he can sacrifice his personal interests.

Table 4.8 Area of Origin of In-migrants in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong in Reason Category "Accompanying or joining spouses, parents, or families"

destination	area of origin (%)				total	n
	city (1)	town (2)	countryside (3)	(2)+(3)		
Guangzhou	31.2	29.7	39.1	68.8	100	253
Zhaoqing	27.4	47.2	25.4	72.6	100	248
Zhuhai	41.4	34.8	23.8	58.6	100	256
Deqing	9.3	11.6	79.1	90.7	100	129

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Despite the superficial reason for migration, Table 4.8 reveals that the characteristics of this kind of migration are the same as the category "Transfer of work": most of the in-migrants come from rural areas (town and countryside); the smaller the cities, the more in-migrants come from the countryside. It is evident that the gaps, which not only exist between the rural areas and the urban areas but also between the cities (or towns), are the important factors which cause migration.

According to the statistics, in the reason category "going to live with relatives" (reason 4), the in-migrants mainly come from rural areas (see Table 4.9), and are mostly composed of two kinds of people: children and old people, particularly old women (see Table 4.1). Their education is not high (see Table

4.7). Usually the city schools are better than those in the town; and those in the town are better than those in the countryside. To go to a better school the children, who do not have a city resident booklet, have to go to live with relatives who are city residents. The old people who migrate to the cities and towns are usually going to live with their children's families; they can get better medical and living conditions in the cities and the towns. These situations indicate that the social, cultural and economic gaps between the rural areas and the urban areas or between the cities (or towns) cause migration.

Table 4.9 Area of Origin of In-migrants in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong in the Reason Category "Going to live with relatives"

destination	area of origin (%)				total	n
	city (1)	town (2)	countryside (3)	(2)+(3)		
Guangzhou	19.7	24.3	56.0	80.3	100	152
Zhaoqing	5.7	9.6	82.7	92.3	100	51
Zhuhai	32.6	23.1	44.3	67.4	100	50
Deqing	4.9	4.9	90.2	95.1	100	41

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

"Marriage migration" (reason 11) to the cities and the towns generally is permitted by the government's

Table 4.10: Area of Origin of In-migrants in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong in Reason Category "marriage Migration"

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=====
destination
=====
area of origin
-----
city (1)      town (2)      countryside (3) (2) + (3)      total      n
-----
%             %             %             %             %
-----
Guangzhou    30.4          29.1          40.5          69.6       100.0     (79)
              26.3          4.5           10.3
              sex
              ratio
              %
-----
Zhaoqing     17.8          26.0          56.2          82.2       100.0     (73)
              62.5          18.8
              sex
              ratio
              %
-----
Zhuhai       13.6          25.0          61.4          86.4       100.0     (44)
              0            22.2
              sex
              ratio
              %
-----
Deqing       7.6           28.2          64.2          92.4       100.0     (39)
              0            22.2
              sex
              ratio
              %
=====

```

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Note: Sex Ratio = males per 100 females.

policy. Although males and females have the same rights in this matter, rural males have much less chance than rural females of finding a potential spouse in the cities and towns. That means that in the process of trying to migrate to the cities and towns, the women have one more option than the men: to marry. Tables 4.1, 4.7 and 4.10 show that in the category "Marriage migration" most in-migrants are young females with general education, and they mostly come from the countryside and the towns. It is hard to explain the sex ratio bias and the area bias if the only consideration is "migration to the cities and the towns for marriage"; but if "marriage for migration to the cities and the towns" is considered together with all the gaps between the rural areas and the urban areas or between the cities (towns), then it becomes easier to understand and explain this phenomenon.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In China, migration has been restricted by the government's policy of controlling migration and the resident registration system. Among the numerous reasons for migration sometimes it is hard to distinguish sham reasons from genuine reasons, or direct reasons from indirect reasons. However the analysis of the data of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong indicate that no matter what reason people use for migration, rural-urban migration, and migration from lower level city (or town) to higher level city dominate the migration streams in Guangdong. In general the migrants improve their social, economic, cultural and environmental conditions. Therefore, the social, economic, cultural and environmental gaps between the rural areas and the urban areas, or between

the cities (towns, regions) are the determinants of migration.

Faced with the reasons for migration in the preceding section, the "Expected income" theory, the "Push-Pull" theory and the "Cost-Benefit" theory mentioned in Chapter 2 can not completely explain all of the reasons each on its own. But if we absorb and modify the rational parts of these three theories to contribute the "modified theory", then this theory can explain migration in Guangdong Province. The framework of the modified theory is as follows: Firstly, the determinants of migration are the gaps between the rural areas and the urban areas, or between the cities (or the towns, or the regions); this is the same as the Todaro's view (1977: 225-238). However these gaps do not only mean the gap in income between the cities and the countryside; as Todaro (1977: 225-238) has said, they include a series of gaps in society, economy, politics, culture, geography, climate, demography and living environment.

Then, secondly, these series of gaps cause the cities (or the towns, or the regions) to form an attraction -- the "Pull" factors which include higher income, better housing, higher standard of living, better study and work conditions, more educational chances, better cultural life and amenities, better living environment (including more relatives and friends), better geographic place and climate, and more opportunities; and so cause the countryside (or the comparative cities, towns and regions) to form a repulsion -- the "Push" factors which include lower income, lower standard of living, worse study and work conditions, lower education level, in some instances. The "Push" factors may also be due to lack of relatives and friends, worse geographic place and climate,

limitation of natural resources, and fewer opportunities (including the surplus of agricultural labourers). The sphere of these "Push" and "Pull" factors is considerably wider than that defined by Bogue (1959: 489-490) and Rhoda (1984: 34-41).

Thirdly, affected by these "Push" and "Pull" forces, people weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of migration; the gain and loss due to migration -- that is the "cost" and "benefit" as Stark (1982: 63-70) has said. If the benefit exceeds the cost, the people make the decision to migrate, and vice-versa. For example, to provide better study conditions and a better future for children, a family which lived in an inland big city would migrate to the small coastal city Zhuhai, even if the parents' work conditions become worse there. In order to return to the hometown area, some people abandon excellent conditions (for instance, good housing, good standard of living) in the big city and migrate to a small city. These situations found in this survey are common. People may make mistakes in weighting up the costs and benefits of migration and making the decision to migrate, but these do not mean that the people migrate unrealistically. The "costs" and "benefits" include the "Push" and "Pull" factors, and Stark's definition mentioned before.

Thus, every kind of migration (for example twelve reasons for migration) in Guangdong Province can be explained by this "modified theory". The political migration occurring in the special period -- the period of the Cultural Revolution -- is believed to be a temporary episode in history. Therefore it is excluded in the approach to reasons for migration in this section.

CHAPTER 5
PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION
IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE

Using the data of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong and the statistical data, this chapter analyses the patterns of migration and urbanization in Guangdong.

5.1 PATTERNS OF MIGRATION IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE

5.1.1 Rural-Urban Migration

In Guangdong Province, the main patterns of migration can be summed into four types: rural-urban migration; urban-urban migration; rural-rural migration; and international emigration.

Rural-urban migration is dominant in Guangdong. It has experienced two stages in its development since 1949: firstly, before the middle of the 1970s, the migration to the extra large and the big cities was not stable; it showed a large-scale in-migration in the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, then a large-scale out-migration in the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s. The rural-urban migration to medium-sized and small cities and towns developed slowly. During this period the proportion of urban population in Guangdong Province was lower than 18%.

Secondly, since the middle of the 1970s, the urban population has increased rapidly. For example, the proportion of urban population increased from 18.6% in 1982 to 59.0% in 1986 (see Table 5.1). The town

population especially increased from 3.5 million in 1982 to 6.9 million in 1985, almost doubling in three years.

Table 5.1: Urban Population in Guangdong 1953-1986

	year				
	1953	1964	1982	1985	1986
urban population (thousands)	433	719	1104	1877	3744
% of urban population	13.2	17.8	18.6	30.0	59.0

Sources: 1. Chen and Li (1988)
2. State Statistical Bureau (1987)

Note: The urban population in 1986 included the population of the counties under the jurisdiction of the city governments.

An important reason for this situation is the change in the definition of urban population and the increase in the number of cities and towns. But the fact is that results of rural-urban migration cannot be ignored. The data of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong confirm that the bulk of the in-migrants in the cities and the towns come from rural areas (see Table 5.2), and that most of them migrated to the cities and towns after the middle of the 1970s (see Table 5.3). This state is common in the medium-sized and small cities and the towns. For example, the number of registered in-migrants in Zhaoqing, Zhuhai and Deqing in 1985 were 19300, 10152 and 4484 respectively, which made up 10%, 6.8% and 16.3% of that same city's (town's) total population in 1985

respectively (Guangdong Statistical Bureau, 1986). In fact, in regard to Guangdong's towns, almost one-fourth of the town's current total population are in-migrants who have come from the countryside in the recent several years (Zheng, 1986: 25-35). In the last decade, rural-urban migration has become the dominant direction and form of migration in Guangdong.

Table 5.2: Area of Origin of In-migrants in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong

destination	area of origin				total %	sample size
	city % (1)	town % (2)	countryside % (3)	% (2)+(3)		
Guangzhou	23.8	21.6	54.6	76.2	100	1446
Zhaoqing	26.6	38.7	34.7	73.4	100	815
Zhuhai	42.4	31.7	25.9	57.6	100	733
Deqing (town)	12.3	12.6	75.1	87.7	100	438

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

Table 5.3: In-migrants Arriving 1976-1986 in Four Cities and Towns in Guangdong in the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong

destination	total number of in-migrants	in-migrants arriving 1976-1986	
		number	%
Guangzhou	1458	723	49.6
Zhaoqing	837	505	60.3
Zhuhai	747	611	81.8
Deqing (town)	447	312	69.8

Source: Calculated from computer output of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong.

5.1.2 Urban-Urban Migration

The urban-urban migration in Guangdong includes two aspects. Firstly, within Guangdong Province the urban-urban migration shows a form of what might be called "migration by degree": that is, the in-migrants to towns mostly come from the countryside (that is rural-urban migration in the first degree) and small towns; the in-migrants to medium-sized and small cities mostly come from towns and other small or medium-sized cities; the in-migrants to extra large cities come from big, medium-sized and small cities and towns (we do not have data to study "step migration").

Secondly, urban-urban migration between Guangdong Province and other provinces shows a different form ("counter-migration by degree"), which is almost the

reverse of the one described above: the people, who live in the big or extra large cities of other provinces, migrate to the small or the medium-sized cities of Guangdong Province. The data of the 1986 Migration Survey show that in Zhaoqing and Zhuhai in-migrants from other provinces are generally from the big or the extra large cities. These people largely have high education. Under the household registration system in China, leaving extra large and big cities is a serious problem; it usually means the people who undertake migration to small and medium-sized cities lose their household booklets in their cities of origin of a higher level and it is hard to get them again. However, along with the rapid development of economy in Guangdong, this "counter-migration by degree" from other provinces has become more and more common, reflecting a migration trend from hinterland to coastal areas.

5.1.3 Rural-Rural Migration

From the 1950s to the middle of the 1970s, Guangdong's government organized the migrants of rural people from the densely populated areas to Hainan island to bring land there under cultivation. However, this conclusion is not applicable in Guangdong now, because since the middle of the 1970s, the transfer form of the surplus agricultural labourers has relied mainly on engaging sideline production, village and town industry (township enterprises) and tertiary industry. Some of the surplus agricultural labourers are engaged in sideline production such as raising animals, growing flowers and medical plants in their hometowns. More of them migrate to the township enterprises which are in the rural areas, and to the cities to do non-agricultural work. This type of migration belongs to the migration category "leaving both plough and the hometown" (Feng and

Jiang, 1987: 45-50), but these migrants generally do not have household booklets in the destination areas. With the development of township enterprises, rural-rural migration in Guangdong is quite different from before: the migrants are not engaged in agricultural work after migration, and the rural destination areas are more and more industrialized.

In the coastal rural areas of Guangdong, since 1978, a lot of foreign companies, overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have invested or jointly invested with local peasants to open factories in the villages, attracted by the cheap labour, lands and factory buildings. From 1978 to 1986, about 30 thousand of these factories went into operation involving about US \$ 800 million of foreign investment and importing about 300 thousand sets of machinery (Chen and Liu, 1988). More and more the rural migrants and local peasants work in these factories. In some coastal counties, this kind of rural migrants, the surplus agricultural labourers, number about 200 thousand in each county, excluding their families (Suan, 1987; Chen and Liu, 1988). The villages become "industrial villages", and agriculture becomes diversified. The changes in agricultural production and the development of rural industry seems to contribute to the urbanization of Guangdong Province.

5.1.4 International Emigration

In Guangdong Province, along with the pursuance of the "open to the world" policy, international emigration has entered a new active period. Guangdong has a long history of international emigration, a large number of Guangdong's people (Cantonese) live abroad and in Hong Kong and Macao. With this background, international emigration usually appears as the characteristic "chain

migration". The data of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong indicate that the reasons for international emigration concentrate on "Going to live with relatives", "marriage migration" and "Accompanying or joining spouses, or parents, or families". This chain migration and its determinants can also be explained by the modified theory mentioned in Chapter 4.

Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have played an important role in the social and economic development of Guangdong. They have brought back a lot of capital, technology and information to Guangdong, and have brought a great advance in relations between Guangdong and the rest of the world. Largely affected by these factors, the coastal rural areas of Guangdong have been rapidly industrialized, and the industrialization of the coastal rural areas has caused the large-scale rural-rural migration which appears more and more to take on the quality of urbanization. Therefore, in fact international emigration from Guangdong has indirectly affected migration and the urbanization process in Guangdong.

5.2 RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS AND SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE

The rapid urbanization in Guangdong is expressed not only by the rapid increase of the urban population, but also by the rapid developing of the cities and towns (see Table 5.4). Before the end of the 1970s, the development of the cities and towns had stagnated; the number of cities and towns increased only slightly. However, since the end of the 1970s, the development of the cities and the towns has entered a new stage with rapidly increasing speed. Firstly, the increase in the number of the medium-

sized and small cities is fast, while the extra large and the big cities have developed slowly. For example, in only four years, the number of the small and medium-sized cities increased from 13 in 1982 to 18 in 1986. There still is only one extra large city (Guangzhou) and no big city in Guangdong. Secondly, the speed of increase of the towns is faster than that of the small and medium-sized cities. In the short time of three years, the number of towns increased from 132 in 1982 to 421 in 1985 (see Table 5.4). The development and increase in the number of the towns and small and medium-sized cities not only reflects the increasing rural-urban migration, but also provides the conditions and probability for rural-urban migration.

Table 5.4: Number of Cities and Towns in Guangdong Province 1953-1986

category of city (town)	number					
	1953	1964	1982	1984	1985	1986
extra large city	1	1	1	1	1	1
big city	0	0	0	0	0	0
medium-sized city	1	6	7	7	7	10
small city	7	3	6	8	8	8
town	*	*	132	325	421	*

Sources: 1. Chen and Li (1988).

2. State Statistical Bureau (1987).

Note: * : not available.

Compared with the forms of migration and urbanization in other provinces and the national urbanization policy, the migration and urbanization in

Guangdong have their own characteristics. Firstly, although rural-urban migration is dominant, the form of urbanization in Guangdong does not simply follow the national policy of strictly controlling the growth of extra large and big cities, rationally developing medium-sized cities, and energetically developing small cities and towns. It appears that the development of extra large and big city has been strictly controlled; however, the towns, and the small and medium-sized cities have been energetically developed in the last decade. Secondly, the rural-rural migration has showed more and more quality of urbanization in the last decade, and has caused the coastal rural areas to become potential urban areas in Guangdong.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 SUMMARY

Based on the data of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong and in China -- the first large-scale migration survey in China, and the registration data of Guangdong, this thesis analyses the patterns and trends of migration in Guangdong Province. These patterns and trends include several aspects. Firstly, the thesis analyses the demographic and social characteristics of in-migrants to cities and towns. It points out that this migration to cities and towns is selective of people by age and education. In some age groups, sex and marital status also show high selectivity. These selectivities are summarized into some functions to estimate and describe the characteristics of in-migrants.

Secondly, the thesis analyses the determinants of in-migration. In spite of many reasons for in-migration, they reveal the real nature of rural-urban migration stream. The substantive reasons are a series of gaps between rural areas and urban areas (or between cities, or between regions). All the reasons for migration and the process of making the decision to migrate can be explained by the modified theory, which absorbs and modifies parts of Todaro's "Expected income" theory, Rhoda's "Push-Pull" theory and Stark's "Cost and Benefit" theory. The "migration by degree", even the political migration can also be explained by this theory.

Thirdly, the thesis analyses the directions and forms of migration in Guangdong. Influenced by the historical, social, economic and demographic factors, the main forms of migration in Guangdong are rural-urban

migration which is dominant, urban-urban migration which shows "migration by degree " within Guangdong and "counter-migration by degree" between other provinces and Guangdong, rural-rural migration which appears more and more to have the quality of urbanization, and international emigration which has the form of the chain migration. The forms of migration, and manner and speed of urbanization in Guangdong are quite different from other provinces and the country as whole.

6.2 SOME MAIN FINDINGS

6.2.1 Characteristics of In-migrants

a. Age

In Guangdong Province, in-migration to cities and towns is selective of people by age. This in-migration is in general more selective of people in the 15-30 year age group. Regardless of whether they migrate to extra large cities, medium-sized cities, or small cities and towns, the age distributions of in-migrants have a similar curve. These curves show that the age distribution of in-migrants follows a certain pattern which can be explained by the life cycle theory.

b. Sex

In Guangdong Province, in-migration is on the whole not selective of people by sex (sex ratio M/F of in-migrants is 100.6). Considering the various kinds of the cities and the towns, for Guangzhou (the extra large city), Zhaoqing and Zhuhai (the medium-sized and small cities), and Deqing (the town) the sex ratios M/F are 101.4, 102.6, and 91.8 respectively; only in the case of Deqing Town do female in-migrants outnumber male in-migrants. Looking at the age-specific sex ratio of in-migrants, before about age 50, the differences in sex ratios of in-migrants generally are not pronounced. In some parents' opinion, the boys have priority in migrating to cities or towns to go to school, and girls do not need to study too much, so that the girls normally leave school earlier and work earlier than the boys. This is the cause of more males than females in the child and school age groups, and more females than males in the age group 15-19 among in-migrants. In the age groups 25-29 and 35-39, the greater number of females than males is because the female marital migration and migration to join their husbands are frequent in these age groups. After about age 50, female in-migrants significantly outnumber male in-migrants. The reasons are firstly, the retirement age of females is earlier than that of males, and the retired women and old women generally must depend on their children so that they migrate to their children's families. Secondly, for their children's families, an old mother is often more welcome than an old father in doing household chores. Thirdly, in general there are more old women than old men. (see Table 3.1).

c. Marital Status

In the extra large city the never married in-migrants outnumber the currently married in-migrants; this situation is reversed in the medium-sized and the small cities and the towns (see Table 3.2). Among the

never married in-migrants, there are more males than females, especially in the age group 15-29. Among the currently married in-migrants there are more females than males, especially in the age group 20-39. Among the widowed and the divorced in-migrants, the females and old people are dominant (see Table 3.5).

d, Education Level

Because of the lack of statistical data on education level at the time of migration, two kinds of data, the education level of non-migrants at the time of the 1986 Migration Survey in Guangdong and the 1982 Chinese census data, are used here as the indicators to examine the in-migrants' education. The two datasets are not strictly comparable, because the current average level of education is higher than that of the past. However, even using these standards, the conclusion is still confirmed.

Whether according to the education level standard of origin areas, or that of destination areas; whether in different years, or in different origin areas, in Guangdong in-migration is selective of people by education level: the average educational level of in-migrants is higher than that of non-migrants and that of the whole population in Guangdong; in particular, more in-migrants have university education (see Table 3.8).

6.2.2 Determinants of Migration

The determinants of migration to the cities and the towns are the gaps between rural areas and urban areas, or between towns and cities, or between towns, or between cities, or between regions. The gaps represent a series of differences in society, economy, politics, culture, geography, climate, demography and living environment. These gaps result in the creating of the attraction of some cities and towns, and the repulsion of the

countryside and other cities and towns. Affected by the attraction and repulsion, through weighing the costs and benefits, people make the decision about whether and where to migrate.

6.2.3 Patterns of Migration and Urbanization in Guangdong

In Guangdong, the main directions and forms of migration are rural-urban migration; urban-urban migration; rural-rural migration; and international emigration. They are all closely linked with urbanization in Guangdong.

Rural-urban migration is the dominant migration stream in Guangdong. Urban-urban migration implies "migration by degree" within the province of Guangdong: the in-migrants to towns mostly come from the countryside (this is the rural-urban migration); the in-migrants to the small and medium-sized cities largely come from the towns and other cities of a lower or the same level; the in-migrants to the extra large city come from the cities of lower level and from the towns, and shows "counter-migration by degree" in the migration from neighbouring provinces to Guangdong: the in-migrants to Guangdong's cities who come from other provinces largely come from the cities of higher level. Rural-rural migration has increasingly the quality of urbanization. Because of the investment of foreign companies, overseas Chinese and compatriots of Hong Kong and Macao, the coastal rural areas of Guangdong have become industrial areas in fact. This process has caused large-scale rural-rural migration to these areas with more and more the quality of urbanization. The international emigration indirectly speeds up the urbanization process because it means the return of capital, technology and information (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

6.3 TRENDS OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE

Before assessing the trends of migration and urbanization in Guangdong Province, it is important to understand what caused Guangdong to form its special migration and urbanization style. Firstly, urbanization is a social historical process. A country which wants to become a modern country must experience this urbanization process. China is a country with a rural population of 800 million, working for industrialization and modernization. In this developmental process the translation of agricultural population into industrial population is essential, thus urbanization is the inevitable outcome. This is the economic reason for China's migration and urbanization. Guangdong has experienced this process, as has the whole country.

Secondly, China is faced with heavy population pressure, especially the pressure of the large number of surplus agricultural labourers. Under the conditions of a weak economy, to develop towns and small cities is the best way to absorb the surplus agricultural labourers and prevent the rural population from migrating to the extra large and the big cities. This is one demographic reason for China's urbanization. Guangdong is also faced with heavy population pressures.

Thirdly, since 1978 China has carried out economic reform. As the pioneer area of economic reform, Guangdong's economy and society has developed far more rapidly than other provinces'. This process has speeded up Guangdong's particular types of migration and

urbanization, and has contributed to the increase in the number and their development compared with other provinces. For example, the average ratio of big (extra large) cities, medium-sized cities and small cities in China was 1:1.8:4 in 1986 (Li, 1988), but in Guangdong this ratio this ratio was 1:10:8.

Fourthly, Guangdong is located in the coastal area, and shares borders with Hong Kong and Macao. It has transport facilities and wide international connections. In particular, about 20 million overseas Chinese and compatriots residing in Hong Kong, Macao and in other parts of the world come originally from Guangdong Province. Among them there is no lack of heads of factories, businessmen, engineers and professors; in other words they have a lot of capital, technology and information.

The good geographic location and the large number of overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao place Guangdong in an advantageous position for absorbing foreign capital and advanced technology, collecting economic and commercial information, and importing and exporting of foreign trade. More and more foreign companies and overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have invested in factories, enterprises and other businesses in Guangdong. From 1978 to 1986, about 40 thousand of these factories went into operation (Chen and Liu, 1988).

These factories, enterprises and other businesses largely belong to medium-sized and small sized industries, or processing industry, therefore in the competition of attracting them the towns, the rural areas and the small and the medium-sized cities have superiority; the towns and the wider rural areas can provide cheap labour, land and factories; the small and medium-sized cities can provide certain conditions of

technology besides cheap labour, land and factories. The extra large and the big cities lack many of these provisions. For example, although they have good technology, they lack cheap labour, land and factories.

All these processes have resulted not only in the rapid increase in in-migrants to the towns, and the small and medium-sized cities, but also the increase in number and expansion of the towns and small and medium-sized cities. This pattern is quite different from the national urbanization policy and the migration and urbanization styles of other provinces, where increase only occurred in towns and small cities.

With regard to the first and the second aspects, Guangdong's situation is similar to the description of the second phase in Zelinsky's (1971) theory: In many developing countries, in the industrialization process, the pressure of increasing population results in more and more surplus agricultural labourers, greatly enhanced migration and urbanization. This is a necessary historical rule. Guangdong has experienced this process as has the whole country. However, the third and the fourth aspects are unique to Guangdong. Therefore the industrialization process of Guangdong has developed faster than that of other provinces; Guangdong has greater economic strength than other provinces, thus allowing the large-scale transfer of surplus agricultural labourers and the development of towns and small and medium-sized cities.

The four conditions mentioned above are the major factors which affect migration and urbanization in Guangdong. These conditions are likely to continue over a long period, therefore, they not only have influenced the past and the current patterns and dynamics of migration and urbanization in Guangdong, but also sustain these trends: rural-urban migration dominates the migration

streams; This rural-urban migration is largely rural to town and small and medium-sized city migration; The towns and the small and the medium-sized cities develop synchronously; The quality of urbanization of the rural-rural migration becomes more and more and causes some rural areas to become urban areas in fact, even though they are not designated as cities or towns by the government; The speed of urbanization in Guangdong will be greater than for the nation as a whole. The increase in the number and size of medium-sized cities will be quite fast, and will be inconsistent with the national policy on the development of medium-sized cities.

6.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Resulting from the analysis of migration in Guangdong Province, the following suggestions are made:

Firstly, in the past, migration and urbanization in Guangdong Province experienced several rises and falls. This reflects the puzzlement and confusion in the theoretical understanding and policy on migration and urbanization. Since the end of the 1970s, migration and urbanization in Guangdong have entered a new stage with the development of the Chinese economic reforms. More and more rural people migrate to urban areas; more and more surplus agricultural labourers are transferred to urban areas. The process of migration and urbanization is well coordinated with the socio-economic development in Guangdong. Now the policy allows rural people to migrate to the towns and the medium-sized and small cities, it brings a advance in the prosperity of society and economy. Compared with the current policy, the policy of prohibiting population migration is not sensible.

Secondly, with regard to the current policy in Guangdong, the important matter is to determine the

direction of migration and pattern of urbanization. Under the favourable social-economic conditions and in its advantageous geographic position, Guangdong should develop medium-sized cities boldly in the same way as the small cities and towns. Its policy of migration and urbanization need not be constrained by the national policy "to rationally develop medium-sized cities". Therefore, the migration policy should be to allow rural people to migrate to the medium-cities in the same way as to the small cities and the towns.

Thirdly, according to the determinants of migration in Guangdong, for attracting people to migrate to the medium-sized and small cities and the towns, the social, economic, cultural and educational conditions should be further improved and developed in these types of cities and towns.

Fourthly, rural-urban migration may result in a reduction in the average educational level and an increase in the average age of agricultural labourers in rural areas. However, agriculture is important for China because it has a huge population. To ensure the development and modernization of agriculture, the positive policy is not to prohibit rural-urban migration, but to develop the economy, culture, education and transport in rural areas so that enough labourers with good educational levels will remain in rural areas, or be attracted to return.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire of Population of Cities and Towns

Sample code

province	city (town)	street	type of household	household code

Questionnaire of Population Migration of Cities and Towns

Head of household: _____

Interviewee: _____

Address of family: _____ province (city,district) _____ town

_____ street _____ No.

Basic Information of Household

No. of permanent residents of household	type of family	economic type of household
Living one year and over in this household	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. nuclear family 2. stem family 3. joint family 4. jointly stem family 5. others 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. wage-earning household 2. self-employed household 3. industrial & agricultural household 4. professional household 5. livestock farming household 6. others

Sample code

province	city (town)	street	type of household	household code

Questionnaire of Population Migration of Cities and Towns

Head of household: _____

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