

Services for Urban Floating Population in China

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1 Introduction

The rural-urban labor migration in China since the initiation of reform and open-up policy in late 1970s has attracted the attention of researchers and policy-makers. The China case differs from other states as follows. First of all, rural-urban migration is in fact an essential part of the reform on marketization because it is not only the result but also the cause of reform. On the other hand, the remaining isolation of rural and urban civil registration system prevents migrant labors and their families from staying in a permanent way in the destination. They are different from local urban residents in life mode, employment and culture, and not eligible for local public service. In some sense, many institutional barriers result in the discrimination on migrate population, which may result in social unjustness and unstableness, possibly influencing the long-run development of China.

In the discussion of labor migration during the transition time, the following issues at least cannot be avoidable: (i) equal treatment in the reform in civil registration system and public

service; (ii) the segmentation of labor market and equal employment right; (iii) the construction of social security system; (iv) the role of the central and local authority.

This article will focus on the public policy in relation to services for urban floating population in China, which is very complex. The history of labor free movement in China is not so long that its mechanism cannot be completely understood. Furthermore, new issues are likely to occur in coming days due to China still in the transition from planned to market economy. In addition, local government is empowered to deliver services for migrant population and accordingly merely local regulations and measures instead of nation-wide policy have been set up. Therefore, rules and regulations vary from region to region.

This article is structured as follows: Section 2 concentrated on the process of reform and population floating in China, followed by the delivery of main services for urban floating population in Section 3. Valuation of actual policies is presented in Section 4. Proposals for further reform are put forward in Section 5, with conclusions in last Section.

2 Economic reforms and urban floating population

2.1 Urban floating population

The labor market in China was fragmented with a significant rural-urban divide. Following the model of the former-USSR, the government of China heavily taxed agriculture to support the development of the heavy industries in the planned-economy era. Before the economic reforms in 1978, although the labor productivity in rural areas was very low, farmers were not allowed to leave land. The rural collectivization and the civil registration system were

the two major barriers that made rural-urban migration impossible or impractical.¹ The income of a farmer was mainly determined by the time he or she spent on the collective land (rural collectivization, *gongfenzhi*).² Under the civil registration system, one with rural *hukou* was not eligible for most of the social services in urban areas, such as health care services and education for children.

The economic reforms in the late 1970s brought big changes in China. The collapse of the system of “People's Commune” and the implementation of the HRS in rural areas, restored greater liberty to farmers in choosing their careers and their modes of production.³ To some extent, rural households can allocate their labor to maximize their expected returns between farm activity, local rural non-farm activity, migration, etc. On the other hand, the development of non-state-owned economies generated large demand for informal workers. Most of the job-openings in informal sectors were low-paid and unattractive to urban citizens, which offered opportunities for rural migrants.⁴ All these factors induced a vast movement of agricultural labor from rural areas to cities.

The civil registration system had been the crucial means for China government to control population migration in the past decades (Davin, 1999). Without urban *hukou*, rural population cannot stay in urban area for a long time. In 1984, the government started to allow non-farm labors with agricultural *hukou* to move and live in cities permanently on the condition that their feeding could be dealt with by themselves. The relaxation of *hukou* restrictions resulted in large quantity of population whose stay place is different from where their *hukou* are registered. They are so called “temporary residents” or “floating population” (Bari, 1997; Goldstein et al., 1991;

¹ See Davin (1999); Zhu (2002).

² See McMillan et al. (1989).

³ See de Beer and Rocca (1997); Zhu and Jiang (1993).

⁴ Because of the wide gap in earning opportunities between rural and urban areas, such low-paid jobs were still attractive to rural migrants.

Ma, 1999; Yang, 1994). We divide the migrants into two sub-groups: permanent and temporary, according to whether their usual residency place and the *hukou* place are different (temporary) or the same (permanent). There are two types of *hukou*: agricultural registration and non-agricultural registration. A permanent rural to urban migration signifies a change from agricultural registration to non-agricultural registration, which is in general difficult for non-qualified agricultural labor. Many researchers have already shown that there exists significant differences between permanent migrants and temporary migrants (Aubert, 1995; Chang, 1996; Fan, 1999; Goldstein, 1990; Goldstein and Goldstein, 1993; Ma, 1999; Wang and Zuo, 1999; Wu and Zhou, 1997; Yang, 1993).

Firstly, authorities directly control permanent migration, thus permanent migration depends largely on government regulation. Individual decisions are not the appropriate focus of research in this case. Push-Pull theory (Lee, 1966) is not proper to be used to explain this type of migration. In contrast, temporary migration is properly studied as individual optimizing decisions in the face of market constraints. Government policy is able to exert temporary migration in an indirect way.

Secondly, permanent migrants are generally highly qualified, integrated in employment programs and government social protection programs. Normally, permanent migrants obtain permanent and stable posts in the urban formal sector and receive the advantages provided by the government. In contrast, temporary migrants are generally without significant labor-market qualifications and they access only to hard manual jobs in the urban informal labor market. Additionally, temporary migrants are excluded from the employment plan and social security provided by the government, because of they are out of control of government. In this sense, the social burden of government and the city they choose to stay does not consequently increase (Ma et al., 1997).

Finally, permanent migration is generally a one-way move, and involves severing links with the place of origin. On the other hand, temporary migrants remain close connection with their places of departure and often keep their plots of land for the sake of security. It is not uncommon for them to return to the countryside and resume their former occupations. Some temporary migrants belong to seasonal migrants.

Table 1 describes the difference of these two kinds of migrants.

Table 1

2.2 Major reforms

The most important aspect in the reform on migration regulations lies in the change of the role of civil registration system. *Hukou* is under the administration of the public security departments. Relying on the civil registration system, each household has a *hukou* registration book, where writes all family members. In planned economy era, it was postulated that all persons live in the *hukou* place. The *hukou* transfer was realized in such particular cases as marriage, employment, and family union, and the approval from public security offices of the place of departure and destination is also required. All households in China are divided into two categories: urban registration and agricultural registration. And citizens in China are accordingly divided into urban and rural population. The division makes China a typical dual economy for a relatively long period.

The civil registration system was put into force in 1951 in urban China, extending to rural area later in 1955. The original aim of the system is to monitor not to control population migration. As a matter of fact, population could move with no barriers from countryside to city.

The civil registration system started to be used to control population migration, in particular rural-urban migration, from the end 1950s. At that time, the central government had to take various approaches to control rural-urban migration because the increasing rural labors moving into city imposed big pressure on cities. The civil registration system is in nature a perfect population registration system, which is a necessary component of planned economy because it guarantees the government could exactly know the population situation anytime and anywhere. However, the significance of *hukou* system lies not in the population registration but in its binding with ration system.

Prior to the economic reforms, the less development of agriculture and light industry made China suffer from supply shortage. As a consequence, the government had to allocate by quota all consumer goods even employment and housing. The allocation was restricted to residents who hold urban registration, making it important to attain urban *hukou*. Since the end of 1950s, the importance of *hukou* status has been strengthened. In addition to consumer goods, employment, housing, social security benefits and so many interests have been allocated according to urban *Hukou*. In this regard, without urban registration, migrants cannot survive long stay in places other than where their *hukou* was registered.

The binding of *hukou* with ratio system actually banned rural-urban migration, whereas the policy was initially aimed to limit the number of urban population who need governmental supply of consumer products. The policy made labor floating connected with employment. Farmers cannot be allowed to stay in city until they have attained a formal career in urban area . And then their *hukou* status can be switched from agricultural to non-agricultural registration, depending on which they are eligible for government-provided supply of consumer products. In this sense, the transfer of *hukou* status, in particular agricultural to non-agricultural *hukou* transfer was under serious control of the government at that time.

This kind of rural-urban dividing policy, on the one hand, avoided the incurrence of slum, high unemployment and crowded employment in informal sectors in cities. On the other hand, the policy distorted the rural-urban economic relation. The economic theory says that migration is able to encourage labor force to move from sectors with low productivity to those with high productivity and hence good to increase the economic benefit and in general good to improve social welfare. In the sense, China's rural-urban dividing policy with no doubt led to social unjustness and loss in economic efficiency.

Various economic relations have been merchandisation and marketization since the economic reforms. All kinds of regulations binding with civil registration system have faded away.

Firstly, the reform in agriculture encouraged farmers' enthusiasm, increased production, and improved feeding supply in cities, making free markets appear in cities. The demand for feeding can be easily met. Thereby the quota system ended up.

Secondly, the industry sector was completely dominated by all-people-owned and collective-owned economies before the economic reforms. There existed merely two kinds of enterprises such as state-owned and collective-owned in urban China. The government took full responsibility of arranging job for urban residents. However, later the conflict between limited posts and increasing demand led by more and more population entering working age pushed the government to permit urban residents to seek jobs by themselves. Non-state economy including self-employed individuals and private enterprise emerged as a result. The establishment of urban labor market made it possible for rural-urban migrants to find jobs and then stay. In addition, the expanding infrastructure construction and the consumption diversification resulting from the improvement of life quality significantly increased the demand for labor in cities.

Thirdly, private property rights have been set with the progress in the transition from

planned to market economy, making it possible for migrant population to have a permanent stay place. In contrast, urban residents' housing was allocated by the government or working units in the past.

2.3 Laws and policies

There has been yet no one nationwide regulation on the administration of migrant population in China so far. Instead, all current regulations are set up by provincial or municipal authority. Guangdong Province published "Regulations on Birth-Control for Migrant Population" in 1987, which is actually the earliest provincial regulation in China. From that on, various regulations have been established in other provinces or cities. These regulations on and serviced for migrant population concentrate on the following aspects.

- Definition of migrant population. Migrant population is often defined as population who move to and stay in cities or counties other than where his or her *hukou* is registered.
- Establishment of administrative agency. A committee composed of multi departments is often set up, whose duty is to make policies on the administration on migrant population and deal with critical issues. The public security offices are engaged in the daily administration, with the participation and cooperation of the agency for labor, for industry and commerce, for birth-control, for civil affairs, for health, and for construction, respectively. In the area where lives more migrant population, an administrative agency equipped with full-time staff would be founded to ensure administration effective and services' delivery in time.
- Application of temporary residence card system. Migrant individuals are in general

required to apply temporary residence card in certain time on their arrival. They have to take ID card or other valid identification certificate to apply from local police office in the place of destination.

- Exercise of sanitation quarantine. Migrant population from where occurs infectious disease is required to report to the epidemic prevention agency in the move-in place. The temporary residence card cannot be issued unless he or she pass the examination and get the permit from the agency. Children of migrant population are required to take vaccination in community hospital.
- Regulations on residence rent. ID card or other equivalent identification certificate is required to rent place to stay.
- Regulations on employment. “Employment Registration Card of Move-out Persons” issued by the labor department, birth-control certificate issued by family plan agency in hukou registered place and valid identification are required if the migrants would like to hunt a job. Migrants inclined to do profit-making business are required to apply license from local administration for industry and commerce. Any unit employing migrants has to sign contract with them and has to register in local labor offices.
- Migrants have to pay security charge and proprietors have to pay security fee charged on the place rented to migrant persons.
- Migrants with no valid identification certificate, no stable stay place, no legal job, no legal finance source, no dependents would be sent back to the place of origin.
- Migrants who do not abide by various regulations will be imposed penalty.

Amendments have been made on some regulations in order to adapt to changing situations.

The amendments include:

- Pre-school education and nine-year compulsory education for migrant children had been incorporated in the local education plan.
- The policy to send back vagrants and beggars had been abolished.
- Rights and interests concerning migrants have been clarified.
- Services covering procreating health, prepotency, contraception and so on have been delivered.
- Infection prevention, immunity and children health care have been provided to migrant children.

2.4 Major statistics on urban floating population

Table 2 provides survey data on floating population (temporary migrants) conducted by the Ministry of Public Security. The floating population increased from 37 million in 1997 to 78 million in 2003, at annual growth rate of 13.1 percent. In terms of the composition, 84.5 per cent of the floating population move for the reason of working, doing business, services and mammy, and 2.3 per cent for agricultural activities, implying that most of the temporary migrants move for economic reasons.

Table 2

From the perspective of stay place, 30 per cent or so stay where the working units locates, implying they stay in the employer-provided place. The percentage of residing in rented places has been rising, reaching 44.1 per cent in 2003, whereas the percentage for staying with local

residents or at the working spot has been decreasing. Analyzed by the type of migrant population, those who are employed tend to stay in the place provided by the employer or rented. In contrast, people who do business and services tend to rent places for stay. And of course, most of mummies choose to live with local citizens.

In 2005, the State Council conducted a survey in *Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong, Shandong, Hunan, Hubei, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Henan, Ningxia* provinces and reviewed migrant-worker-intensive enterprises and residence, training places, labor market, social security agency, migrant-children primary school. On the basis of the survey, the State Council, in April 2006, published a book titled “Survey Report on Migrant Workers in China” (State Council, 2006). According to the report, among migrant workers, 61 percent are 16-30 years old, 23 per cent aged 31-40, 16 per cent aged 41 or over, with average age of 28.6. The survey finds that the male and female accounts for 66.3 and 33.7 per cent of the total migrant workers, respectively. The report says that 58 per cent of the workers in secondary industry belong to migrant workers, with 52% in tertiary industry. That suggests that migrant worker have been an important labor force in China’s industrialization. But the monthly pay is very low, ranging from RMB 500-800 *yuan*. 3.58 per cent of migrant workers earn less than RMB 300 *yuan* per month, 29.26 per cent 300-500 *yuan*, 39.26 per cent 500-800 *yuan*, and only 27.90 per cent earn more than 800 *yuan*. The survey also finds that 53.70 per cent of migrant workers signed employment contract with the employer, and 30.62 per cent did not do so. Unfortunately, 15.68 per cent expressed that they do not know what labor contract is. The outstanding properties of migrants’ job are found as long working time, big working intensity, and high risks. Most migrant workers have to work more than eight hours per day.

2.5 Provincial disparity

Census data can be used to analyze the quantity and geographic distribution of migrant population. In census, temporary migrants are defined as people whose permanent residence is different from their *hukou* place. Table 3 describes the data coming from census in 1982, 1990 and 2000, respectively. There were 6.57 million floating population, 0.66 per cent of the total population, in 1982. However, in 2003, the floating population increased to 144.39 million, equal to 11.62 per cent of total population. Table 3 indicates that in 1982, the migrant population is less but also even geographically distributed. *Heilongjiang* is the province where there are most floating population of 0.55 million, with all other provinces below 0.5 million.

Table 3

In 1990, the floating population increased a lot. And then number of provinces where accepted more than 0.5 million floating population climbed to 22. *Guangong* is the province with the highest migrant population, followed by *Jiangsu*. Besides, the provinces including *Heilongjiang*, *Sichuan*, *Hubei*, *Henan*, *Shandong*, and *Liaoning* have relatively attracted more floating population. A possible explanation may lie in the fact that in the early period of the reforms people mainly move within province. Migration across provinces mainly occurs in *Guangdong*, where early implemented open-up policy, and *Jiangsu*, where had the advanced town-village enterprises.

Census in 2000 tells that the overall floating population reached 144.39 million, 22 folds of that in 1982. Floating population in *Guangdong* equaled to 25.3 million, 30 per cent of its total population. According to Table 3, temporary migrants are mainly distributed in the following

areas: (i) the Pearl River Delta centered on *Guangdong*. *Guangdong*, as the original place of China's open-up, attracted large number of labor across China due to its fast economic development led by labor-intensive enterprises and town-village enterprises. (ii) the *Yangze* Delta centered on Shanghai, along with *Jiangsu*, *Zhejiang*, and *Fujian*. This is another open-up place where attained great development in 1990s. (iii) the *Bohai* Gulf Region centered on *Shandong* and *Liaoning*. This area is advanced in urbanization. (iv) *Sichuan*, *Hubei*, and *Henan*. These three provinces are places with large quantity of population and rural labor surplus. On the one hand, this is where the migrant population moves from. On the other hand, within-province migration is also very important and large quantity of rural labor surplus move from countryside to city in this area.

Table 4 tells the geographic distribution of migrant population, depending on the statistics by the Ministry of Public Security. It implies that, in the coastal area such as *Tianjn*, *Shanghai*, *Jiangsu*, *Zhejiang* and *Guangdong*, high proportion of floating population are employed to work. With the development of the open-up policy and export-oriented economy, the inflow of a large amount of foreign investment causes some type of "foreign investment induced exo-urbanization" in the coastal provinces (Sit and Yang, 1997). Most of the foreign investment concentrates in small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and in the labor-intensive sectors, which leads to the expansion of the job market and, as a result, attracts immigrants. Additionally, the demand for construction workers dramatically increased with the rapid growth of city along the coastal line in China. In contrast, in provinces located in middle China including *Anhui*, *Henan*, *Hebei* and *Hunan*, floating population are inclined to do business. In *Heilongjiang*, where is rich in land, quite a number of floating population choose to do agricultural activities.

Table 4

3 Delivery of the services for urban floating population

3.1 Civil status administration (*hukou* and *hukou*-related administration)

Hukou administration is the most important part among regulations on urban migrant population. In China, *hukou* is not only a kind of registration system but also implies legal residence right in a certain place and eligibility for social welfare. Prior to the reforms, *hukou* system is very similar to a type of domestic passport system. Hence, the reform of *hukou* system constitutes a crucial part of the services for urban floating population.

Hukou registration essentially implies two things: residence place and socio-economic eligibility. As for residence place, individual's permanent residence place is decided by *hukou* registered place. In *hukou* registration, each individual just has one regular residence place. *Hukou* registered place also determines various rights concerning daily-life goods supply, housing allocation, and job acquisition in certain scope. Even in now days, only applicants holding local urban *hukou* are eligible for some positions. Secondly, *hukou* is classified as agricultural and non-agricultural, the latter is equivalent to urban *hukou*. In ratio economy, only non-agricultural *hukou* holders are able to get government-supplied feeding provisions.

The transfer of agricultural to urban *hukou*, short as “agricultural-non-agricultural transfer”, is very strict and complex. Various approvals from different government agencies are required. Formal rural-urban migration includes change of residence place and individual qualification. Agricultural-non-agricultural transfer is under control by means of policy and quota, the former regulates the qualification to obtain non-agricultural *hukou* and the latter controls the

growth of non-agricultural *hukou* holders. The process of agricultural-non-agricultural transfer is similar to the immigration visa of the United States. The government stipulates the type and quantity of persons who can change their civil status. Agricultural-non-agricultural transfer can be realized through two channels: formal channel and exceptional channel. Formal channel refers to employment of state-owned enterprises, becoming government cadres, enrollment of high education institution and some personal things (such as disability, parents falling ill, care of minorities). Policies relating to the four kinds of transfer are set up by governmental agency for labor, personnel, education and public security respectively, and the quota is decided by the annual economic plan made by the State Plan Committee (which has been reorganized as the Committee of Development and Reform of China). Exceptional channel means that the government may set up some temporary transfer policy in order to meet some certain needs. The temporary policy is often constrained to particular type of people such as changing temporary workers of state-owned enterprise to formal workers, some veterans' employment in urban area and so forth. The administration of *hukou* is carried out by the public security agency. Of course, some other governmental agencies also have influence on the transfer policy.

As early discussed, reforms in late 1970s resulted in large number of floating population and the *hukou* system has been accordingly greatly influenced. The government had to adjust regulations as follows.

- **Temporary residence card**

The temporary residence card system started to be implemented by the public security departments all over China in 1985. It requires that any individual aged 16 or over has to apply this kind of card on the condition that he or she stays longer than three months in places other than where his or her *hukou* is registered. The policy in fact admits the spontaneous labor migration from countryside to city (Chen, 1994). Through the policy, local government is

empowered to manage and set up regulations on migrant population .Most applicants of the kind of card are migrant workers. In order to work in the urban region, they have to finish complicated registration process, provide sufficient proof and pay city administration charge and other related fees.

- **End-up of Agricultural –to-Non-agricultural Transfer Quota**

Agricultural to non-agricultural registration transfer had been all the way the key to realize formal transfer before the reforms. It played important role till the end of 1990s. The State Council, in 1998, removed some restrictions among the rural-urban *hukou* transfer. Depending on new policies, spouse and other dependents are easier to obtain formal urban *hukou*.

- **Reform of *hukou* system in small towns**

Since 1980s, many local governments have been relaxing various restrictions relating to famers' move to small towns. The State Council announces a notice in 1984 (Mallee, 1994), which permits farmers doing non-farm activity to stay in city on the condition that they themselves can cope with feeding by themselves. They are so called “self-sufficient hukou”. However, this kind of hukou is different from agricultural to non-agricultural transfer because the holders are not eligible to acquire governmental social welfare and various allowance, and because of the *hukou* solely valid in certain place, they are not able to move to other cities and towns. In 1990s, it was replaced by new policy.

In the end of 1990s and the early 2000s, quite a few county-level cities and towns relaxed *hukou* policy. Farmers who have had stable non-farm jobs or stable income source and settled-down residence are allowed to apply urban farmer *hukou*.

- **Blue-sealed hukou**

The central government allowed local governments to issue a kind of urban *hukou* locally

valid only since the early 1990s. It is named after the seal in blue on the *hukou* registration book, different from that in red on formal urban *hukou* book. Compared to formal urban hukou, the blue-sealed *hukou* do not increase the financial burden of the central government. In addition, any blue-sealed *hukou* applicant has to pay relatively large amount of city expansion fee. The activity in essence has no difference from the commercialization of *hukou*. What's more, the price of urban *hukou* varies from city to city and also changes with time.

In general, since 1980s, the administration of floating population expressed the following properties: (i) Some rural population, in particular the rich, the skilled and the well-educated, are easy to stay in cities. (ii) Local governments are in full control of the hukou administration. (iii) The civil registration system restored to its original role as a population registration system, pushed by the isolation of *hukou* with ratio system.

3.2 Employment and job-related training

Most of migrant population moves to the city in order to find a job. Therefore, job plays an important role in the life of migrants. From the perspective of delivering services, the government tries to lend a hand in job search and training.

- **Job search**

Job information is symmetric in complete competitive market. However in China, big part of job information is asymmetric because position in city is scarce and some positions are allocated by the government. Thereby, means of job search values.

Most of migrant people do not know urban life and regulations before moving in. Local government of where labors move from has no responsibility of presenting job information and training because the migration is spontaneous not government arranged. Local government thereby does not pay attention to the migrant population's activity of working and doing business

in other places, and are not aware of the importance to encourage local residents to set up their own business. In theory, migration is pushed and pulled by economic power, is a kind of individual action, and does not need government involvement.

Upon arrival in cities, in order to enter the job market, migrant population has to apply temporary residence card and various certificates according to the governmental regulations. But in reality, they do not know well about employment regulations and consequently lots of migrants did not apply. This is mainly because they have too little information to know it necessary to do so. In addition, they do not think it useful based on the fact that they enjoyed nothing even though they paid for services.

Generally there are four types of job search channels: governmental agency (such as employment center), market competition (response to advertisement or job notice), social network (introduction of relatives, friends, and other acquaintances) and self employment. Depending on a survey (Song and Appleton, 2006), floating population find out job mainly through market competition (35%), self-employment (35%) and social network (26%). And less than 3 per cent found jobs through governmental agency. Accordingly one can say that the government plays a limited role in job search for migrant population. The situation may be due to the following reasons:

Firstly, urban labor market can be classified into three levels: educated-labor market, urban employee market and hiding labor market. Both the former two markets are mutually independent although both organized by government agency. The educated-labor market and the urban employee market are administrated by the personnel ministry and the labor department, respectively. Both of the markets mainly aim to solve the employment issues of graduated from high education institutions and the laid-offs of state-owned enterprises, and migrants are excluded from that. Therefore, they have to turn to the hiding labor market, which is existing but not

accepted and admitted by the current regulations. Actually the hiding labor market basically runs on the basis of market rule.

Secondly, there are employment agencies in some cities. These agencies help migrant workers to find jobs in certain period such as the Spring Festival (i.e. Chinese New Year). But not many migrant workers can be employed through this channel. This is mainly because migrant workers cannot not meet job requirement due to their low education attainment and cannot bear high charged commission.

Thirdly, job hunters in employment agency are normally required to have social old-age insurance. However, migrant workers generally do not meet the requirements. On the other hand, the employer would not like to contribute to social insurance programs for them. Thereby they are in disadvantage in job search, compared with the urban unemployed.

Fourthly, migrant workers would like to bargain with coming employer face to face and are not accustomed to the means popular in employment agencies. Therefore, they have to take the job at low salary and unfair working condition in informal labor market.

- **Job Training**

It is difficult for the government to organize serial job training for migrant population because the migration is spontaneous and moving frequently. Most of migrant workers are not able to or would not like to participate in training programs organized by governmental agency due to the reasons such as: (i) Such governmental agencies as education and job training institutions concentrate on schooling students or employees in state-owned enterprise or in other formal sectors, and migrant workers are accordingly excluded. (ii) Contents and forms of training are not in concurrent with the needs of migrant workers. What migrant workers need is practical skills not formal and long-time education. (iii) Migrant workers cannot afford job training delivered by private agency because of high tuition.

What is currently popular across China is enterprise-provided training and training for farmers who lost land.

Enterprise-provided training. This kind of training focuses on working rules and regulations not on skill training. In fact, most of migrant workers are working in small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in informal sectors owing to the segmentation of labor market and low education attainment. Quite a lot of enterprises are unlikely to train migrant workers. They prefer to use limited money to realize profit maximum rather than training program for migrant workers, under financial constraint. Besides, many enterprises cannot afford, without aid from the government.

Government-provided training program for land-lost farmers entering cities. Farmers lost their lands because of various reasons such as the construction of urban infrastructure, transportation, power and so on. These farmers entered the cities not for the voluntary reason. In contrast, most are government arranged migration. The government has to take the responsibility of help them in settle-down and employment, and job training is of course included.

The training is currently used to land-lost farmers in working age. The training program is financed and managed by various governmental departments including agriculture, labor, education and treasury and related enterprises. The training is often short-term or one-off, and is normally carried out by village authority. Trainees who accomplish the training can get certificate from the county government. However, its effect is not as significant as expected due to the reasons as follows:

(i) There is no universal supervision agency and criteria for certificate. The training is basically temporary. And the trainees have to pay tuition, increasing their financial burden.

(ii) The training effect is very limited and few trainees can find job after they finish the program. This is mainly owing to the less-qualified training staff, non-clear training objectives,

and shortage of practical contents.

(iii) Just land-lost farmers not all migrant population are eligible for this kind of program. Besides, it is difficult to organize because farmers live in dispersed geographic scope.

Therefore this non-systematic and low-level training cannot be recognized by the employer and hence no good effects (Jiang, 2005).

3.3 Family birth-planning

Rapid increase of floating population exerts big pressure on birth-control. China's birth-control was previously carried out on the superincumbent base. Inflow of migrant population make the composition of urban population more complex and then more and more people become out of the sight of birth-control departments. Non-planned birth giving is very serious. For instance, in Shanghai, the number of birth giving out of plan among floating population equals to 13 folds of that among permanent urban citizens in 1993. For this reason, the State Birth-Planning Committee published "Regulations on the Management of Birth-Planning of Floating Population" in 1991. It prescribes:

- Local government at various levels should incorporate birth-planning of migrant population into local population and birth-control plan.
- Both governments of the migrant population's *hukou* registered place and current stay place are responsible for the birth-control management, and the latter plays major role. The authority of the place where migrant population currently stays takes the duty of daily administration.
- Before moving out, grown-ups should apply marriage and birth-giving certificate, which should be handed in to the government of where they move in.

- Married women in childbearing age can give birth in current stay place, if they hold the birth-giving certificate issued by the government where their *hukou* are registered.

Currently, in floating-population-intensive places, there have established agency special for birth-control of migrant population and regulatory systems. Based on the cooperation of multi agencies, migrate population has been incorporated into local birth-control system.

Similar to the administration, the management and services of birth-control of floating population is carried out by quite a few agencies.

(i) Birth-planning agency is responsible for issuing and checking birth-giving certificate, examining situations such as pregnancy and birth-giving, propagandizing the goodness of family-planning, and providing contraception pills and instruments.

(ii) The public security agency is responsible for the registration and issuance of temporary residence and check the birth-giving certificate.

(iii) Agencies for industry and commerce are responsible for checking birth-giving certificate when issuing license.

(iv)The authority for construction is responsible for checking the application of birth-control contract.

(v) Health department gives support to the birth-planning agency to deliver birth-control services.

(vi)The labor department has to check out the birth-giving certificate when issuing employment certificate and also is responsible to manage the birth-control of the employed floating population.

(vii) The civil affairs department takes responsible for marriage register.

But seen from the whole country, the administration of birth-control of floating population is still very poor. There exist some issues such as:

(i) It is difficult for local government to manage the birth-control of floating population for the reason of their high frequency of moving.

(ii) Management outlay cannot be guaranteed.

(iii) Various agencies cannot well cooperate.

3.4 Children education

Floating population's children education has been becoming more and more serious with their increasing quantity and extending stay time. The government has taken various measures.

Serial regulations have been published by the central government. In 1998, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Public Security put forward "Interim Measures on Floating Teenagers' Education", which stipulates that children's education should be the duty of local government of where the floating population currently stay, and encourage individuals to set up school special for floating children. Later in September 2003, the State Council requires local government implement compulsory education of floating children, and part of urban education budget should be allocated to floating children's education. In addition, the local government is required to take various approaches to help floating children enjoy primary education. In addition to "Law on Compulsory Education", there are various local regulations.

There exist five models of floating children's education in China (Li et al., 2003): (i) Public school or qualified private school in city, which attracted floating population with higher earnings. (ii) Public school special for floating children, which has better facility and qualified teaching staff. (iii) Some public schools appointed by the government to adopt floating children. (iv) migrant-children schools, which have not qualified facility and teaching staff and many of them are not admitted by local governments (Wang, 2005). (v) School in their home town. Quite many migrant workers are forced to send their children back to home town to study.

Among the above models, the most popularly used is the migrant-children school because it is difficult for migrant children to enter public schools in cities. Quite number of urban citizens would not like the public school to adopt floating children on the one hand. On the other hand, migrant children cannot enjoy equal treatment in school. Additionally, the tuition of the public school is too high for migrant workers to afford. In fact, migrant workers cannot tolerate their children's long stay in home town. Under this condition, schools special for migrant children appeared.

According to a survey done by Shanghai Statistics Bureau, employment population with no local *hukou* reached 3.75 million (39.5 per cent of the overall employment population), 0.32 million of whom are at the age of compulsory education. Most of the children are dependents of migrant workers. Statistics show that 123 thousand of the children (38.5 per cent) are studying in public schools, 191 thousand in schools special for migrant workers' children (59.8 per cent). Of all studying floating children, 86.1 per cent are in primary school, 10 per cent in kindergarten, and small part of them in middle school (Huang and Cheng, 2005).

Migrant children school originates from the isolation of rural and urban *hukou* system. That means that *hukou* in fact acts as a barrier for rural-urban migrants to acquire urban identification. Similarly, education of two generations of migrants cannot be guaranteed. Migrant children schools are still facing a lot issues. (i) Minority of the migrant children's school get approval of both governments of inflow and outflow place of migrants. Actually, the majority of them are only recognized by the government of their departure place. (ii) Much lower payment than its public counterparts made the schools difficult to employ qualified staff, resulting in low education quality. (iii) Children of migrant workers cut off the links with rural customs on the one hand. On the other hand, they have not become a member of urban civilization in real sense. The conflict, together with less care from parents, who are normally too busy to concern them, makes

them reluctant to study.

In order to solve these problems, local governments have taken various regulatory measures (i) To regulate the qualification of administrator and teaching staff, teaching plan, teaching condition and budget. And hence some unqualified schools have been ceased to teach or move out. (ii) To encourage public schools to set up classes special for migrant children, or with external financial aid, to establish migrant-children school so that teaching qualification can be met. (iii) To ensure that migrant children from households with low income are able to pay tuition via installment or able to enjoy reduced tuition. (iv) To employ teachers who have retired from public schools.

The abolishment of some unqualified schools is good to improve teaching quality but on the other hand, increased the burden of other public schools in urban China. Furthermore, some schools which are forced to move out of city could not survive normally due to fewer enrollment.

In addition to the governmental agency, some private institutions and individuals, most of which are intermediaries such as education agency, also get involved in the education of migrant children. The education agencies assist migrant-children schools in setting studying status record, teaching rules and regulations, training for teachers and school staff, and so forth.

3.5 Social security

Social insurance schemes covering pension, unemployment, health care, workers compensation, and maternity insurance are the main parts of China's urban social security system. However, the implementation of social insurance has been basically based on *hukou* status. The social welfare targeting migrant population is just in its orphan stage.

The frequent move of migrant workers, which are actually the majority of floating population in China, makes the establishment of social security system extremely difficult. On

the one hand, China's current pension insurance is regionally pooled and the pension funds between provinces are mutually independent. However, the account of social pension account for migrant workers requires to transferring easily from region to region and hence needs a nation-wide network. On the other hand, migrant workers do not care much on social insurance benefits. What they care most is to get payment in time to improve life quality, and the next is workers compensation and children's education.

Some research indicates that the coverage rate of migrant workers' pension, unemployment, health, workers compensation and maternity insurance is only 33.7, 10.3, 21.6, 31.8 and 5.5 per cent. In reference to employer-provided supplementary insurance, mutual insurance, and private insurance, the participation rate gets much less, 2.9, 3.1 and 5.6 per cent respectively (Chen, 2005).

There is no universal social security system all over the country, instead of local measures. "Comprehensive social insurance" carried out in *Shanghai* and *Chengdu* gives us a good example (Hu, 2006).

The comprehensive social insurance program, which incorporates old-age allowance, hospitalization, workers compensation and accidents together, is the first insurance product designed on the basis of synthesized premium rate. Its premium rate and benefits are both lower than the counterparts of urban employees. The program was firstly carried out in *Shanghai* in 2002, then in *Chengdu* in 2003 and *Dalian* in 2006.

The *Shanghai* scheme contains:

- (i) Floating population who are currently working in Shanghai and have no permanent urban *hukou* are eligible for the scheme. Persons who do housekeeping service and agricultural activities are excluded to be insured.
- (ii) The employers who are employing migrant workers and the self-employed are both

required to contribute per month. The contribution rate equals to 12.5 per cent of 60 percent of average monthly earning last year.

- (iii) Depending on the time period of their contribution, migrant workers are eligible for workers compensation, hospitalization and old-age benefits.
- (iv) The scheme is managed by local labor and social security department.

The *Chengdu* program is similar. The difference lies in: (i) both the employer and the employed have to contribute. (ii) the self-employed are required to pay their contribution per year, in contrast with the employer's pay per month. (iii) earning base is divided into eight classes, and the contribution rate is fixed at 20 per cent. (iv) there are more classifications of benefits.

In general, *Chengdu* program is more particular and perfect whereas Shanghai scheme is more easy to carry out because of lower contribution rate and no need of migrant workers to contribute. As a result, the participation rate is much higher in *Shanghai* (80 percent in some districts) than in *Chengdu* (10 per cent).

The most outstanding advantage of this kind of comprehensive social insurance lies in reducing the financial risk coming from work accidents and medicare, and also preparing for old-age benefits. The advantage is in accordance with low income and frequent move of migrant workers. On the other hand, the old-age benefits are too low to link with the social insurance of urban employees. Whatever, the trial is indeed a good start.

4 Disadvantages of the current services delivery

The above analysis indicates that administration on and services for urban floating population have been in progress with the furthering reforms. The government has changed the

policy from restricting to permitting migration, and from administration to services. And the separated labor market in rural and urban area has been incorporated. However, in general, there still exist some institutional barriers and discriminations, preventing floating population from entering urban labor market and enjoying fair competition.

- **Discrimination in *hukou***

Hukou is in reality the institutional base of various discriminations in employment, job training, compulsory education, social security for rural floating population. Among all social and economic systems, *hukou* has change little change for the past decades.

In urban China, the *hukou* has no fundamental change in its main function, although ratio system has been removed and welfare benefits for urban residents have been reducing. In fact, some interests such as employment, housing, and health care are still closely connected with urban *hukou* status, implying that people with no urban *hukou* cannot enjoy. Therefore, it seems that hukou system still acts as the main means to maintain the social structure.

The city authority of where floating population now stay takes more responsibility and pressures. As described earlier, the central government has undergone a serial of reforms on civil registration system since the adoption of reform and open-up policy in late 1970s. But not all regulations made by the central government were carried out all over China. Instead, some local governments set higher threshold, for instance, much higher city expansion charge, in order to control the inflow of floating population. In this sense, it is basically impossible for farmers especially those moving from other provinces to stay permanently in large or medium-size cities.

- **Discrimination in employment regulation**

Migrant workers as a whole cannot enjoy equal rights in job search, employment, administration and so forth. For example, there are quantity, career and position control of

rural-urban floating population. And they often have to pay various administration fee.

We now take Beijing as an example. Beijing, due to her particular political status in China, has been implementing strict control policy in the inflow of migrant population. Since 1995, migrant workers have been restricted to be employed in 206 types of work over 13 industries, most of which are not favored by local residents. Meanwhile, the industries which are forbidden from employing population outside of Beijing are forced to employ local residents. For recent years, restrictions on industries and types of work has been removed, and replaced by the qualification control. According to the regulation, migrant workers who would like to work in some industries or take some positions have to meet certain qualifications. What needs to say is that the quantity control has no change at all. That implies that the policy change can just lead to the change in the composition of migrant population not to the increase of migrant population. In practice, many positions are just open to applicants with *Beijing hukou*. In essence, the restrictions in *hukou* are still in force, indicating that migrant workers have to bear dual restrictions.

- **Discrimination in Social Security**

According to some survey (Song et al., 2006), in urban China, local urban employees enjoy the highest benefits from social security, the next is local rural labors, followed by migrant rural labors. Urban employees are generally covered by social insurance including old-age, health care, unemployment, maternity and workers compensation insurance. In some places with developed economy, rural labors also are enjoying pension and health insurance benefits. In contrast, migrant workers generally have no any benefits from social security system. Of course, *Shanghai* and *Chengdu* are exceptional. In this respect, the discrimination in social security prevents rural labors from migrating.

- **Discrimination in education and job training**

Whether migrant children can enjoy compulsory education rights is the important for rural labors' decision to stay in places other than their home town. As stated earlier, migrant workers face quite a few difficulties in children's education. All these difficulties result from the restrictions in *hukou*. Discrimination in job training is similar.

5 Suggestions for future developments

5.1 Responsibility of Central Government

China's current economic management system characterized by rural-urban isolation is a basic tool for government agency at various levels to carry out public administration. Under this system, local authorities are, in principle, only responsible for residents within their jurisdiction. As a result, there occurs difference in policy target between the central government and local government.

In the opinion of central government, farmers, whose economic situation has not been greatly improved, are an important group in national economy. On the basis, central government tends to remove various barriers which banned rural labors from floating, to speed up urbanization, to narrow rural-urban gap, and to increase farmers' earnings. But from the perspective of local authority, its responsibility is just restricted to public affairs within its prefecture. In addition, the current civil registration system provides a valid and legal instrument to divide responsibility. Therefore, the following conflict appears in practice. On the one hand, local authority encourages farmers to move out. On the other hand, the local authority of where migrant population choose to stay has to permit the inflow for the reason of local economic

development, whereas taking various measures to prevent floating population from localization, to restrict them having fair opportunity of employment and urban welfare. We have to remember that local authorities only have right to relax the *hukou* system with its jurisdiction. Due to the limited right in policy making and limited quota, local authorities would like to favor local farmers. In a word, depending on local authorities, the current system would not be fundamentally changed. In contrast, the radical change has to depend on the central government.

When making policy, interests of local governmental authority and related departments should be taken into consideration. And the policy explanation should be also delivered in detail so that the universal policy would be correspondingly realized everywhere in China. Additionally, an efficient supervision system had better be set up so that policy can be adjusted in time.

5.2 Reform of Civil Registration system

Above analysis indicates that *hukou* is actually the base of various regulatory barriers and discrimination. Therefore, the reform of civil registration system is the necessary condition to perfect the services for floating population. The key is to transform it from an approval system to a registration system. Also disparity in benefits related to *hukou* status should be ended up step by step, including social security, employment, education and so on.

The reform of *hukou* is sure to influence many groups and the interests of local government. The establishment of a united labor market is a hard and complex task. The openness of *hukou* should be carried out day by day, otherwise large number of floating population would possibly move into cities in a very short time. Temporary or local blue-sealed *hukou* can be extended to all farmers who have had stable job or whose investment has reached a threshold. All these temporary *hukou* would be changed to formal urban *hukou* under certain conditions. Finally farmers are free to enter and stay in city.

In addition, for those migrant workers staying in city for a long time, housing and children's education are the other two crucial factors to prevent them from staying in city permanently. Therefore, local authorities should provide social infrastructure at the affordable cost.

In the consideration of the complex property of *hukou* system and its relationship with other social systems, its removal cannot be come into true until a more radical reform, which is not able to occur in short time (Chen, 2006).

5.3 Reform of employment system

In current urban China, non-organized migrant workers are eager to have a place to hunt job. At the same time, self-employed individuals, private and collective enterprises also need a labor market to look for employees at low cost. Unfortunately, there is yet no this kind of place so far. Hence, local government should set a labor market special for floating population, which had better meet the conditions such as: (i) low transaction cost and simple enrollment. (ii) face-to-face talk between the employed and the employer. (iii) local authorities should take the administration responsibility of labor contract in order to protect the rights and interests of migrant workers.

In training, government may take the following measures to help migrant workers to adjust to urban employment and life.

Firstly, current career training institutions should be encouraged to train migrant workers. Training time had better last one to three months so that the training tuition could be reduced. Training contents should be decided by the demand of labor market. Otherwise, relying on cooperation between training institutions and enterprises, the institutions deliver customized training programs (Ren, 2005).

Secondly, government, through aid in enrollment and job search, should encourage the set

up of private non-profit training agency. Local authorities of where migrants move from can help in enrollment, and the local authorities of where migrant workers move in could give help in job search (Li, 2005).

Thirdly, training can be carried out depending on community network because community is where migrant workers stay and work. This type of training can be carried out by the community education committee, with financial support from government.

Fourthly, training should concentrate on practical knowledge and skills, and on the positions with big demand. Training should cover laws and regulations, career morals, behavior acts, so that migrant population may be accustomed to urban life as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the community also is duty to collect and deliver job information.

5.4 Reform of compulsory education

Firstly, the local government should take full financial responsibility of migrant children's compulsory education.

Secondly, the local authorities should establish a system to make all migrant children registered (Song, 2005). In doing so, the local governmental education agency is able to know the actual situation.

Thirdly, migrant children should be enrolled in local public school. The tuition can be paid by on flexible base because their parents move frequently and the household earnings fluctuate. For children of households with low income, they should be able to enjoy reduced tuition.

Fourthly, migrant-children school should be replaced by urban public school step by step. Public school can afford the enrollment of migrant children because there is surplus of facility and teaching staff with the reducing enrollment of urban children (Lai, 2005).

5.5 Reform of Social Security System

There is no universal social security policy targeting floating population in current China. Due to the complication of social security and regional difference, it is actually difficult to carry out uniform policy across China. Therefore, local policy instead of national policy is more practical. The following principles should be considered in policy implementation.

Firstly, social insurance of floating population should consider its mergence with that of urban employees in the future. In fact, the universal social insurance is the final aim of China's social insurance.

Secondly, social insurance should cooperate with private insurance. Insurance company has advantage in claim and fund management, which can be used to reduce the risk facing social insurance fund.

Thirdly, financial aid from the government is necessary for migrant population's social insurance so that the premium rate could be reduced and the benefits could be increased.

6 Conclusion

As most researchers and policy-makers agree, labor migration has done great contribution to China's economic growth since the reforms. However, various public policies centered on *hukou* system have not adjusted according to market economy. Migrant persons are excluded from urban life although they are staying there. Many services for floating population in fact are not the government's active step but a kind of compromise under actual situation. In addition, local government, in particular where migrants move in, has to fluctuate between encouraging

and depressing the inflow of migrants. On the one hand, inflow of migrant population is encouraged in the consideration of local economic development. On the other hand, migrant workers are banned from enjoying equal opportunity of employment and welfare so that the interests of local residents could be guaranteed. Therefore, services for floating population has been evolving under the conflicting situation of encouragement and restriction, of relax and control.

The final aim of services for floating population is to let them enjoy equal rights with urban residents. A nation-wide labor market could be established only on the condition that migrant population joins in urban life in true sense. Reforms on the civil registration system, employment, and social insurance system have to be carried out on the condition that the free migration of citizens and fair employment rights could be guaranteed.

Study on policy on migrant population and public service is not only an academic issue but also a policy-making question. Analysis and proposals from the perspective of policy-making should be focused. Starting from the demand and supply side, the significance of policy reform, feasibility and potential effect of alternative policy, cost and proceeds of policy implementation should be paid serious attention in order to serve as a guideline of actual policy.

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Tables

Table 1 - Difference between permanent migration and temporary migration

	Permanent migration	Temporary migration
Types of <i>hukou</i>	Most of them hold non-agricultural registration	Basically agricultural registration
Status of <i>hukou</i>	Acquired <i>hukou</i> in the place of destination	Holding <i>hukou</i> other than the place of destination
Migration decision and channels	Arranged by government or employer	Self decision, help from acquaintance
Migration mode	Cut off links with the place of departure, integrated with the place of destination	Remaining close connection with the place of departure, or floating seasonally
Industry distribution	Governmental agencies, non-profit institutions, state-owned enterprises	Small-medium enterprises, private enterprises
Career distribution	Administrative staff, skilled worker	Labored worker, self-employed
working condition	High income, less fluctuation	Low income, poor working condition
Housing	Provided by the employer	Rental residence or employer-provided facility residence
Social security	Eligible for unemployment, old-age, health insurance	Basically no social security protection
Family	Family union is allowed, easy to be integrated with the place of destination	difficult to realize family union, difficult to integrate with the place of destination

Table 2 – Quantity and Stay Place of Floating Population

	Total (thousand persons)	Stay Place (Total=100)					
		Hotel	Local residents' place	place of the employer	Working spot	Rented place	Others
1997	37274.6	9.4	11.2	30.4	17.2	27.7	4.0
2000	55095.1	5.9	8.7	31.6	14.3	35.5	3.9
2001	59813.1	6.3	8.1	30.3	13.3	38.4	3.7
2002	69934.6	4.3	7.4	30.1	12.6	41.0	4.5
2003	78008.8	4.3	7.4	27.9	11.7	44.1	4.6
Working	50810.3	0.5	4.5	34.6	15.9	41.6	3.0
Agricultural activities	1777.3	0.5	16.7	14.9	12.3	40.0	15.5
Business	8496.7	4.7	8.7	11.4	3.2	66.2	5.8
Services	6276.7	3.1	7.5	23.4	3.7	57.0	5.2
Mammy	366.1	0.9	71.4	3.8	3.1	16.3	4.6
Go and live with relatives or friends	1148.5	2.6	52.3	5.6	2.7	31.1	5.6
Learn and train	1485.0	4.1	11.2	50.9	1.0	23.0	10.0
Others	7648.2	32.1	12.0	8.5	3.9	33.4	10.1

Source: The Ministry of Public Security of China, Collected Data of Floating Population in China (various issues), Mass Publishing House.

Table 3 - Distribution of floating population

	Number of floating population (million persons)			Proportion of floating population to total population (%)		
	1982	1990	2000	1982	1990	2000
Total	6.57	21.61	144.39	0.66	1.91	11.62
Beijing	0.13	0.52	4.64	1.46	4.78	34.18
Tianjin	0.11	0.18	2.18	1.36	2.07	22.15
Hebei	0.31	0.73	4.88	0.58	1.19	7.32
Shanxi	0.27	0.76	3.72	1.07	2.64	11.46
Neimeng	0.25	0.61	3.83	1.27	2.85	16.41
Liaoning	0.28	0.82	6.48	0.79	2.08	15.50
Jilin	0.25	0.51	2.95	1.12	2.07	11.00
Heilongjiang	0.55	1.26	3.77	1.68	3.57	10.40
Shanghai	0.21	0.54	5.38	1.74	4.06	32.82
Jiangsu	0.34	1.30	9.10	0.57	1.94	12.46
Zhejiang	0.21	0.72	8.60	0.54	1.74	18.72
Anhui	0.32	0.77	3.56	0.64	1.37	6.03
Fujian	0.24	0.80	5.91	0.94	2.65	17.34
Jiangxi	0.17	0.59	3.36	0.50	1.56	8.33
Shandong	0.35	0.84	7.47	0.47	0.99	8.30
Henan	0.44	0.92	5.20	0.59	1.07	5.70
Hubei	0.30	0.93	5.70	0.63	1.73	9.59
Hunan	0.21	0.74	4.40	0.38	1.22	6.95
Guangdong	0.34	3.31	25.30	0.58	5.28	29.69
Guangxi	0.15	0.62	3.23	0.40	1.46	7.38
Hainan	0.00	0.22	0.98		3.35	12.94
Chongqin	0.00	0.00	2.63			8.60
Sichuan	0.23	1.21	6.67	0.23	1.13	8.09
Guizhou	0.11	0.46	2.42	0.37	1.41	6.85
Yunnan	0.10	0.54	3.87	0.32	1.46	9.14
Xizang	0.00	0.06	0.21		2.85	8.17
Shaanxi	0.20	0.48	2.37	0.70	1.47	6.69
Gansu	0.13	0.32	1.56	0.69	1.42	6.20
Qianghai	0.07	0.18	0.52	1.68	4.10	10.82
Ningxia	0.03	0.10	0.67	0.83	2.12	12.26
Xinjiang	0.28	0.58	2.83	2.15	3.80	15.33

Note: The data from the Census and Survey by the Ministry of Public Security is not comparable, due to different definition.

Source: Population Census Office under the State Council, 1985; 1991; National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2002.

Table 4 – Geographic Distribution of Various Types of Migrant Population in 2004

	Total (thousand persons)	Total = 100							
		Working	Agricultural activities	Business	Services	Nurse	Go and live with relatives or friends	Learn and train	Others
China	78008.8	65.1	2.3	10.9	8.0	0.5	1.5	1.9	9.8
Beijing	3348.8	59.9	2.0	20.9	8.0	0.5	0.5	3.7	4.4
Tianjin	587.5	84.0	0.7	5.7	2.1	0.0	2.5	1.1	3.8
Hebei	1255.3	56.4	0.9	19.7	12.0	0.3	0.5	2.4	7.7
Shanxi	781.8	56.9	1.6	14.6	12.1	0.5	3.8	2.2	8.4
Neimeng	1156.2	51.9	4.3	14.9	8.0	0.5	2.8	5.2	12.5
Liaoning	1133.9	54.4	4.8	14.3	12.5	0.2	2.1	1.5	10.1
Jilin	522.5	46.8	9.9	17.5	12.5	0.6	3.7	2.2	6.8
Heilongjiang	746.9	48.5	11.7	13.8	10.9	0.5	3.8	0.8	10.1
Shanghai	4560.5	72.9	2.2	11.1	4.3	0.4	2.4	0.5	6.1
Jiangsu	9273.6	57.3	1.8	10.4	8.0	0.3	3.2	3.2	15.7
Zhejiang	11018.6	71.3	1.0	3.8	5.7	0.1	0.5	1.6	16.0
Anhui	587.4	51.0	1.7	22.8	11.9	1.0	3.1	3.0	5.5
Fujian	2455.8	84.6	1.6	4.5	5.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	3.1
Jiangxi	297.3	56.9	4.2	18.2	10.0	1.2	0.9	3.7	4.9
Shandong	2671.6	68.4	1.3	13.1	10.6	0.1	0.8	2.3	3.4
Henan	1376.2	52.4	0.8	21.6	14.6	0.9	1.4	4.3	4.1
Hubei	1045.7	47.6	3.5	23.7	12.5	1.3	2.7	2.2	6.5
Hunan	1175.6	38.1	2.4	26.9	13.2	1.2	1.6	6.8	9.6
Guangdong	24508.9	73.6	2.1	8.3	8.2	0.6	1.1	0.7	5.4
Guangxi	927.1	50.5	2.3	13.6	9.9	0.6	2.7	3.9	16.5
Hainan	225.2	42.4	4.9	12.6	13.7	1.6	2.7	1.1	21.0
Chongqing	638.8	56.4	0.8	18.0	12.0	0.9	1.5	1.3	9.1
Sichuan	1756.7	44.7	1.1	14.7	8.5	1.3	1.8	4.7	23.3
Guizhou	884.5	52.6	2.4	21.8	6.3	1.1	1.6	2.1	12.1
Yunnan	1945.9	55.3	2.3	11.4	3.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	26.5
Xizang	261.0	59.9	2.6	17.7	6.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	12.6
Shaanxi	1220.2	44.7	1.9	18.3	13.9	1.2	1.4	7.9	10.8
Gansu	310.8	51.0	3.1	19.3	12.3	0.6	0.8	6.2	6.8
Qianghai	268.8	51.8	3.2	20.6	7.3	0.1	0.8	0.2	15.9
Ningxia	124.7	52.7	4.6	18.7	15.1	0.4	2.3	1.5	4.6
Xinjiang	941.2	46.1	19.4	9.2	5.7	0.6	1.7	1.4	15.9

Source: The Ministry of Public Security of China, Collected Data of Floating Population in China (various issues), Mass Publishing House.