

**Residential Mobility after *Hukou* Reform: Housing
Strategies of Rural-urban Migrants in China**

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Residential mobility after *hukou* reform

Housing strategies of rural-urban migrants in China

Residentiële mobiliteit na de *hukou* hervorming

Verhuisstrategieën van ruraal-urbane migranten in China

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Preface

My father has seven brothers. All of them were rural migrants, when I was a child. Every year at the last day of the spring festival, they went to our home and had dinner with my father. Then my father sent them to the train station and say goodbye. After a year, they came back, and my father picked up them at the station. We had dinner together, and they usually gave me some little gifts and told me some new stories. This picture last for years, until I went to university in Nanjing, five hundred miles away from my hometown. However, my uncles returned home one by one, and no longer went out again. So in that year, my father only sent me to the train station and said goodbye.

Maybe this is the reason I would like to migrate – and to talk about migration, also. And during my academic migration in the Netherlands, I would like to particularly give my thanks to Jan van Weesep, Nancy van Weesep, Martin Dijst, and Hongyang Wang. They illuminate my way.

And during my journey, I appreciate my colleagues and friends for their help and support:

Finally, I would like to thank my wife Qianfan Zhang. Having a lovely wife is really good to the research. Trust me.

Xu Huang

November 2015

To my father, to my uncles, and to rural migrants

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1. Introduction

1.1 The challenge of housing labor migrants in emerging economies

In emerging economies undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization, housing for labor migrants is a big issue. Numerous studies treat the housing issues of low-income labor migrants; many concentrate on the role of the public sector (e.g., Gilbert, 2004; Goebel, 2007; Hewitt, 1998; Izeogu, 1993; Rakodi, 1991; Yap and Wandeler, 2010). Basically, governments take initiatives to support migrants' ambitions to make a home for themselves. The main ones are the provision of public-rental housing, the inauguration of sites & services schemes, slum upgrading, housing finance schemes, and enabling legislation (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Public-sector interventions to house labor migrants

	Policy aim	Example
Public-rental housing	To build low-cost housing, often in multi-story buildings with small apartments, to be rented by government agencies to the urban poor, including migrants	Hong Kong and Singapore
Sites & services schemes	To provide basic, upgradeable shelter and to improve the quality of local infrastructure (drinking water, electricity, and/or wastewater disposal)	Thailand
Slum upgrading programs	To improve the existing stock of self-built housing for low-income migrants, as well as to provide local services and infrastructure	Nigeria
Housing finance schemes	To provide subsidies for low-income migrants to build their own housing	Chile and Colombia
Enabling legislation	To facilitate private-sector housing construction using incentives, e.g., by easing building codes, stimulating the use of less-expensive construction materials, etc.	Brazil

(Sources: based on Gilbert, 2004; Goebel, 2007; Hewitt, 1998; Izeogu, 1993; Rakodi, 1991; Yap and Wandeler, 2010)

Some negative outcomes have been observed, such as strains on public funding capacity, crowding in social housing units, and social segregation in the long term. Nonetheless, these interventions have relieved the housing pressure in general (Hewitt, 1998). However, such policy initiatives are not common in China. There, urban land belongs to the national government, which discourages self-built housing (Lin and Ho, 2005). Labor migrants are forbidden to build a shack for themselves in urban areas, as their counterparts have done in Latin America (cf., Turner, 1968). Institutional constraints make the situation worse for rural-to-urban migrants in China. It is very

difficult for them to gain access to any form of public-rental housing in their destination city because they do not have a formal residential registration status (*hukou* in Chinese) (Treiman, 2012). In that case, upon arrival, rural migrants have to rely on their own ingenuity, energy, skills, and resources (Wu, 2002). A common approach is to search for low-cost private-rental housing in run-down neighborhoods, mostly in ‘urban villages’. Although these places offer poor-quality housing conditions, they are where many migrants are able to find shelter (Wu, 2004).

Recently, the ongoing demolition-led redevelopment of urban villages has been forcing rural migrants to relocate within the cities (Wu et al., 2013). And in general, the urban redevelopment will decrease the availability of low-cost rental housing. Some scholars therefore fear that rural migrants’ housing problems might become more serious (e.g., Jeong, 2011). But others argue that a move out of a deprived urban area might improve their housing situation, as the dwellings in urban villages are in very poor condition (e.g., Hui et al., 2014).

Meanwhile, the national government has started to reform the *hukou* system. Most municipal governments now allow migrants to obtain a local *hukou* status if they purchase an apartment (e.g., Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003). But in view of the high prices in urban areas, some scholars doubt that most rural migrants will do so (e.g., Wang, 2012). Less than 5% of the rural migrants own a dwelling in their destination city, whereas more than 80% of the established urban residents are homeowners (National Statistics, 2005). However, examining migrants’ housing ambitions, some scholars point out a positive effect of the *hukou* reform. They expect it to unlock the door to an urban domicile, especially for the new generation of migrants (i.e., those born after 1980) (e.g., Zhu, 2007).

In these debates on the effects of demolition-led redevelopment and the *hukou* reform, the pessimists usually emphasize that government policies remain patchy, while the optimists point to possible improvements through individuals’ own endeavors. That divergence leads some scholars to rethink the approaches taken in other emerging economies (e.g., Gilbert, 2004). There, the public sector does not attempt to tackle all issues. They just provide labor migrants with the necessary public services, materials, and financial assistance. The migrants are expected to show resourcefulness, in conjunction with the public initiatives, to meet their housing needs. In that light, Bailey (2009) has argued that it is better to understand this challenge as relational – as a linkage between the individual mover and the institutions to which s/he is linked.

This research foregrounds that linkage in order to explore the following questions. When governments relax institutional constraints, is it possible for rural migrants to become homeowners and thereby benefit from the *hukou* reform? When governments redevelop run-down urban villages, is it possible for rural migrants to minimize their loss due to demolition or even improve their housing conditions through relocation?

But before we specify our research questions, we briefly describe the context of the recent developments in China in order to tease out the inter-relationships among the following elements: the *hukou* system, rural-urban migration, migrants’ housing strategies, and the role of urban villages in accommodating migrants.

1.2 The context of rural-urban migration

1.2.1 *The hukou system and a rural vs. urban domicile*

In Chinese traditional culture, which is rooted in Confucianism, farming was the cornerstone of the nation (Shek, 2006). The ideal society consisted of rural communities subsisting close to nature. The family was the basic unit by which to organize farm activities. Families from the same clan lived together to enjoy a happy life, as in “The Peach Blossom Spring” written by the poet Tao Yuanming (see Alberts, 2006). Liu (2013) also argues that this Arcadian, rural realm dominates the individual's perception of ‘an ideal home’ – a place where one belongs, and a place carrying the memory of the clan – such that it regulates social relations through family-first values.

But once the Maoist regime was established in 1949, traditional culture was suppressed (Shek, 2006). China opted for Soviet-style growth. The ensuing policy was two-pronged: rapid industrialization centered on heavy industry in the cities, and collective farming in the countryside. This dual approach required mechanisms to prevent the free movement of labor, as the State feared a disorderly rural exodus. Moreover, the cities were ruined after the wars and could not provide public services to a large floating population (Chan, 2009). To keep population movement under control, the State established a new residential registration system (*hukou*) in the 1950s. Every person was registered at a specific place, and newborns inherited their parents’ *hukou* status, no matter where the mother gave birth or where the family was actually living (Chan and Buckingham, 2008).

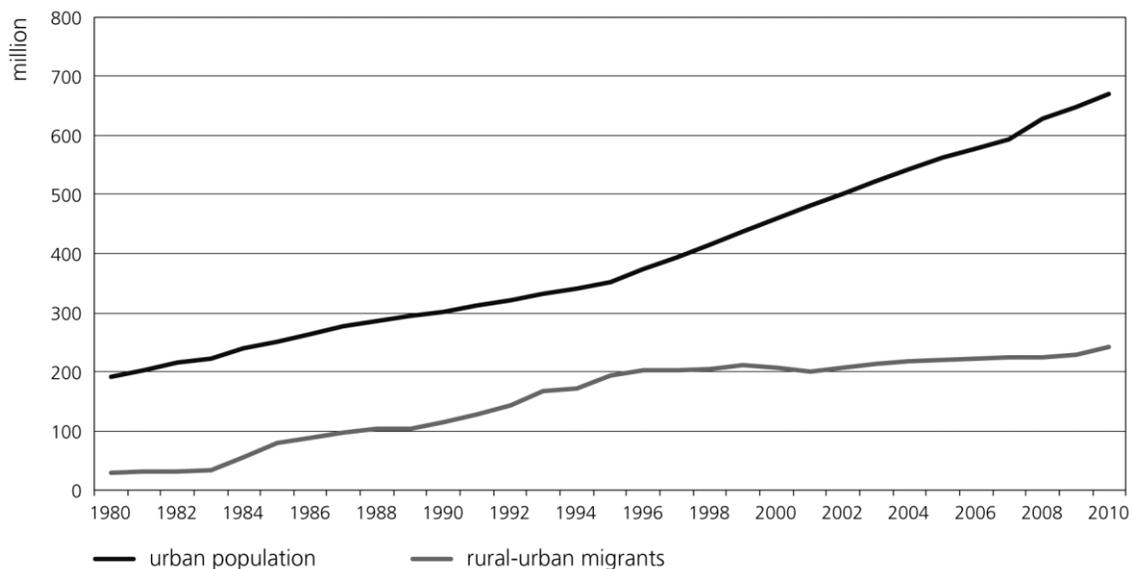
Unlike the former registration system that had operated in imperial China, the new one connected a state-financed welfare system to an individual’s *hukou* status (Selden and You, 1997). However, members of the urban working class were viewed by the Party as pioneers and the leaders of the revolutionary force, while the peasants were viewed as their followers (Huang, 1997). Parallel *hukou* systems were therefore introduced: one for urban and another for rural areas. A person with an urban *hukou* might be working for the government or at a work unit (*danwei*) in a state-owned enterprise (SOE). Each work unit was provided with a piece of state-owned land where it could build offices and public housing for its employees (Huang, 2004). The urban *hukou* entitled people to access nationally funded public amenities and social services like healthcare, pensions, and children’s education (Treiman, 2012). In contrast, rural people working on collective farms in the villages were excluded from the state-financed welfare system (Selden and You, 1997). A rural *hukou* only gave a peasant land-use rights, in line with the ancient tradition of reliance on agriculture (and one’s grown children) for security in old age (Xu et al., 2011).

The result was a marked rural-urban disparity: an urban *hukou*, with its many institutional benefits, is considered much better than a rural *hukou*. The obvious disadvantages of the latter might encourage peasants to leave the countryside and apply for an urban *hukou*. To head off a potential urban influx, the State imposed severe restrictions in its *hukou* access policies (Chan, 2009). Any change in a migrant’s *hukou* had to be approved by the authorities at both the place of origin and the destination. The remaining avenues to urban residency status were to obtain a civil service job after completing higher education or to enlist in military service (Chan and Buckingham 2008). It was difficult for peasants to meet such requirements, however. And if they stayed in a city

for more than three months without having a local *hukou* status, they would be sent back to their village by the police (Hand, 2009). In this way, the State effectively held back rural-urban migration until the economic reforms of 1978.

1.2.2 China's urbanization and rural-urban migration

Since the economic reforms, China has witnessed rapid industrialization. The ensuing economic growth required a large number of laborers in urban areas (Fan, 2002). To guarantee the necessary labor force, the national government opened the possibility of rural-urban migration but still locked the migrants out of *hukou* transfer. In spite of this persistent institutional constraint, hundreds of millions of rural laborers have been willing to work in urban areas: more than 220 million were living in cities in 2010 (National Statistics, 2011). Their influx contributes to China's urbanization, with 670 million people out of a total national population of 1.3 billion living in urban areas in 2010. As Figure 1.1 depicts, the rate increased from 20% in 1980 to 50% in 2011 (National Statistics, 2011).



(Source: National Statistics, 2011)

Figure 1.1 China's urban population and the trend in rural-urban migration

In a spatial sense, there are three types of rural-urban migration (cf., Poncet, 2006). Figure 1.2 distinguishes the following types: intra-municipal (relation 1: laborers from a rural area move to an urban area in the same municipality); inter-municipal (relation 2: rural laborers from less-developed municipalities go to urban areas in more-developed municipalities within the same province); and inter-provincial (relation 3: rural laborers from less-developed provinces go to urban areas in more-developed provinces).

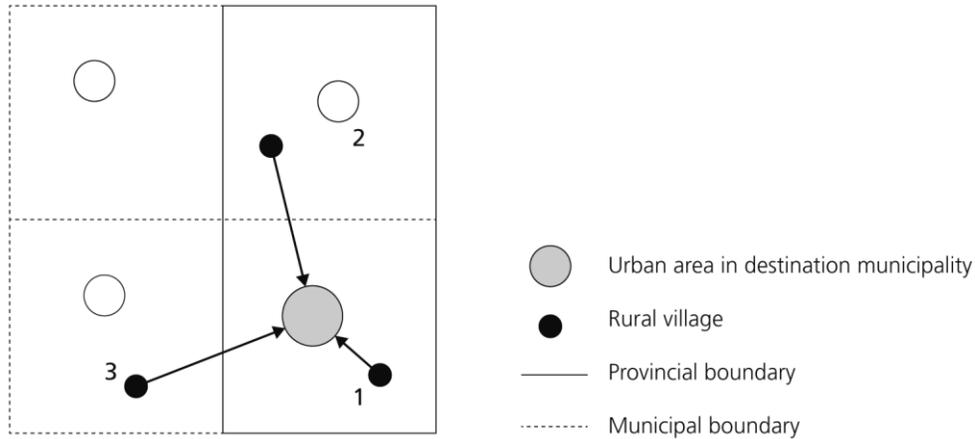


Figure 1.2 Three types of rural- urban migration

The large scale of rural-urban migration is of continual concern to scholars. Why do so many rural laborers decide to migrate, given that they cannot transfer their *hukou* status and have no access to institutional benefits? Basically, two approaches are taken to explain their out-migration: the Neoclassical Economic model (NE) developed by Todaro (1969), and the model of New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) developed by Stark (1982). According to NE, rural laborers migrate to get urban employment with a high income. As the combined effect of the urban-rural wage gap and regional disparities, peasants from poor regions have been moving to cities in the eastern coastal regions (e.g. Poncet, 2006; Lu and Song, 2006). According to NELM, rural-urban migration is motivated by a concern to minimize the risks attached to the variability of agricultural income. Thus, the major triggers of China's rural-urban migration are the heavy taxation on farmland and the inherent risk of agriculture (e.g., Fan and Wang, 2008). Some ways to reconcile these two approaches have been suggested. One is to apply a push-pull model, whereby a higher income in the city is viewed as the pull factor and agricultural risk as the push factor (Hare, 1999).

Although the push-pull model predominates in the debate on out-migration, these two approaches differ widely when explaining return migration. The NE model casts return migrants in the role of losers who are unable to earn more money in the urban areas. In contrast, return migrants are depicted as winners in the NELM approach, because they have escaped from risky agriculture and have come back with remittances (Cassarino, 2004). However, both approaches fall short when used to explain the future migration intentions of China's rural migrants. Even though many rural labor migrants desire to stay in the city and bring their families there, they are unable to participate in the institutions and welfare schemes because of the *hukou* constraints (Fan and Wang, 2008). In that light, the institutional barrier acts a 'repel' factor (cf., Spierings and Van Der Velde, 2008), preventing migrants' permanent stay in the destination city. Furthermore, migrants wishing to comply with traditional culture are expected to carry out the filial responsibility to support their old parents (Shek, 2006). In that sense, the cultural bonds serve as a 'keep' factor, encouraging migrants to return eventually to their hometown.

Thus, in view of these institutional and cultural factors, we add ‘keep/repel’ components to the push-pull model. Upgrading the model in this manner makes it more suitable to explain the rural migrants’ intentions for return migration (Figure 1.3). In fact, these factors have been observed among the returnees. They worked hard for years but lived a poor life and had not invested in housing at the destination. After returning, however, they spent on consumption and invested in rural housing (cf., Démurger and Xu, 2011). We should keep this pattern in mind when examining their lives in the destination cities.

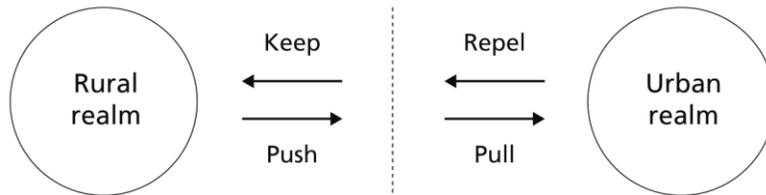


Figure 1.3 The ‘push/pull’ and ‘keep/repel’ factors in an explanation of out-/return-migration

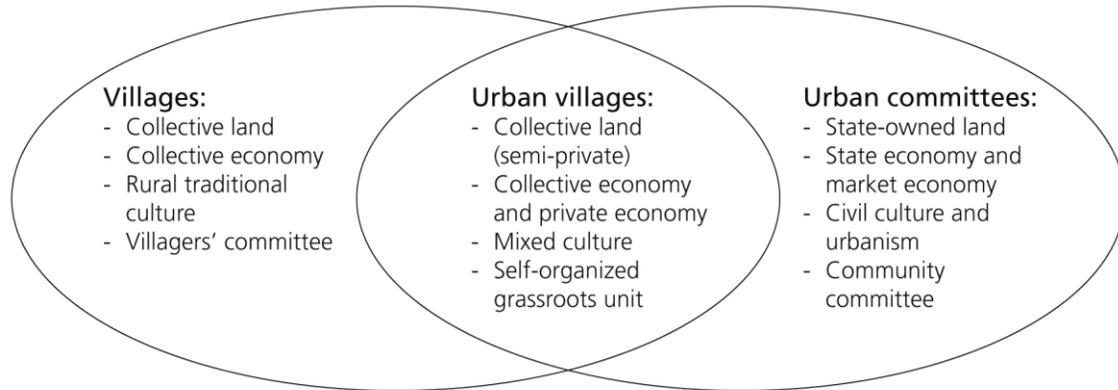
1.2.3 Rural migrants’ housing in urban villages and their residential mobility

Upon arrival, because of their lower level of educational attainment and their external *hukou* status, rural migrants usually do low-paid, so-called ‘3D-jobs’ (dirty, dangerous, and demeaning) in the destination cities (Cheng et al., 2013). They find such jobs in both the secondary and tertiary sector: construction work (at building sites, interior finishing, or decoration); manufacturing work (operative employees); service work (waiters, waitresses, cooks, and cleaners in restaurants or hotels; children’s nurses and domestic cleaners; street cleaners and street repairmen; day laborers); and self-employment (small shopkeepers, truck drivers, and street hawkers) (cf., Roberts, 2001).

Migrants’ housing choices are closely related to their employment sector (Li et al., 2009). Workers in manufacturing industries usually expect their employers to provide the accommodation for free. Another benefit of jobs in that sector is a short commuting distance; factory owners are often willing to build dormitories on-site to attract migrant labor. There are advantages to both sides: with a large workforce, the owners can efficiently manage their employees’ working hours under the dormitory system (Smith, 2003).

However, not every migrant can find a manufacturing job and thus gain access to dormitory space upon arrival (Li et al., 2009). Those in other sectors, mostly service workers in small firms and self-employed vendors, need to search for market-sector low-cost rentals, which they commonly find in the urban villages. These villages are the outgrowth of a rapid urban development that even encompasses former rural collective farms (Hao et al., 2011). How do they come about? To stimulate investment and economic growth, the local government relies on urban development. This is achieved by converting rural land within the municipalities to urban uses. The authorities tend to expropriate only the actual farmland. They leave the settlements alone to avoid costly and time-consuming programs requiring the compensation and relocation of indigenous villagers. As a result, the settlements remain spatially distinct entities in the midst of new urban development,

leading to the formation of urban villages. Accordingly, they have plural characteristics, as displayed in the following figure (cf., Liu et al., 2010) (see Figure 1.4).



(Source: Liu et al., 2010, p.137)

Figure 1.4 The plural characteristics of urban villages

Because they own the land in their settlement, the villagers can build extra housing for rent (Liu et al., 2010). This creates a supply that is not only accessible to the migrants but also affordable and within reach of their workplaces. Upon arrival, rural migrants are inclined to look for accommodation downtown in proximity to their place of employment. This is especially true of service workers. And the public facilities that are important for migrants' daily life are also concentrated there, such as public-transport hubs and open markets (Zheng et al., 2009). In that light, inner-city urban villages with inexpensive rooms for rent are ideal for the migrants, even if such dwellings are in poor condition (Jiang, 2006). That demand also serves the needs of villagers, who seek a profit from their properties. At the same time, the availability of such cheap accommodation relieves the local governments of responsibility to house rural migrants (Liu et al., 2010).

Furthermore, by living in an urban village, migrants can replicate the kind of local support mechanism they were accustomed to in their rural setting. Besides meeting their basic need for shelter, an urban village provides a setting in which migrants can develop neighborly relations -- intensive reciprocal relationships with other migrants and the local urban poor. Such relations enable the migrants to become more integrated in the city (Du and Li, 2010; Li and Wu, 2013). They meet less discrimination in the urban villages, as most of their neighbors are also of a low socio-economic status (cf., Ma and Xiang, 1998; Li et al., 2012). Indeed, the social resources there provide migrants with real benefits. These contacts come in handy when they are seeking jobs, conducting business, exchanging rental information, and acquiring loans with low interest rates in cities (Liu et al., 2013; Yue et al., 2013). That connectivity is particularly important for newly arrived migrants, who struggle to get through the transition period.

But these benefits are not the main reason why they live there. Migrants live in low-cost rental housing in urban villages primarily because of institutional constraints instead of by choice (e.g., Wu, 2004). Without a local *hukou* status, they do not have access to low-cost public-rental housing. But fortunately, urban villages with low-cost private-rental housing 'just happen' to be

there, supplying shelter for the new arrivals. However, after the transitional period, do migrants who have become better-off move on to improve their housing conditions?

This question was taken up in the study of Wu (2006) on rural migrants' residential mobility before the *hukou* reform. She tried to link China's rural migrants' housing patterns to international studies of residential mobility in two ways. First, she applied classic mobility explanations to the migrants' housing relocation. According to those explanations, people move for housing needs related to events in the life course (e.g., Rossi, 1955), or they move to improve their job-housing balance connected to job careers (e.g., Clark and Dieleman, 1996). Secondly, she examined rural migrants' residential mobility in other emerging economies. They first concentrate in the inner city and then move to a suburb for reasons of tenure -- the classic trajectory proposed by Turner (1968) and modified by Conway and Brown (1980). In light of a survey in Beijing and Shanghai in 2000, however, she found that the high rate of mobility is not necessarily driven by the need for tenure or even housing amenity. The outcomes reveal that few migrants make the transition from renting to owning even after years of living in the cities. She then emphasized the idea of *hukou* determinism: it poses that the *hukou* constraints hold back migrants' intention of a permanent stay in the destination city (Wu, 2006) (also see the 'repel' factor in Figure 1.3). Since they need to return eventually, it is meaningless to invest in destination housing. Instead, it is better to live in poor conditions in the city and spend their earnings on their rural home (cf., Démurger and Xu, 2011).

In a sense, this idea of *hukou* determinism undermines the general logic of residential mobility, whereby people are presumed to move for 'betterment' (cf., Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). The argument is that if migrants always move from one low-cost rental unit to another when the contract ends, their residential mobility could only be seen as an effect of *hukou* determinism. However, this logic did not last. Since the 2000s, two changes have occurred in national policy -- the *hukou* reform and the demolition-led redevelopment of urban villages.

1.2.4 The hukou reform and urban redevelopment

In the late 1990s, as foreign investment declined, the national government decided to fuel domestic consumption by building up a private-sector housing market in the hope of sustaining economic growth (Logan et al., 2009). Underlying this policy was the expectation that the new urban population, mostly migrants, would purchase market-sector housing and settle permanently in urban areas. Yet it was not only the anticipated economic impact that led to the *hukou* reform after 2000. The reform was also a response to the rising political tide, including the appeal for freedom of movement within the country (Wu et al., 2010). To achieve that goal, theoretically, there are three major approaches to reforming the *hukou* system. The first way would be to abolish *hukou* status, either completely or at least on one of its three attributes (urban/rural, municipal, provincial). The second way would be to open up more avenues to alter one's *hukou*. The third way would be to separate some of the social welfare provisions from the *hukou* status (Wang, 2010).

Provincial and municipal governments also expected the better-off rural migrants to invest in the local economy. These authorities were in fierce competition for economic growth with other provinces and municipalities (Wu et al., 2010). Thus, they were more interested in the second way

to reform the system: specifically, they sought to provide *hukou* access through a housing qualification. If one were to purchase a dwelling of a certain floor space in the destination area (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003), the new owner could exchange the origin-municipality *hukou* for a destination-municipality *hukou*. And with a municipal-level *hukou*, an inter-province rural migrant automatically gets the corresponding provincial-level *hukou* (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003). In particular, municipal governments expected the new policy to attract the next generation of migrants, namely those who were born in rural areas after 1980 and had migrated to cities in the 2000s (Wu et al., 2013). The authorities reasoned that most of the first-generation migrants had already spent their savings on their old home back in the village (cf., Démurger and Xu, 2011; Zhou, 2010).

In view of this new *hukou* access policy, rural migrants might rethink their housing choices. As a result, they would presumably purchase a dwelling in an urban area and transfer their *hukou* status. And actually, many migrants currently living in deprived urban villages do wish to improve their housing conditions by moving, or at least they consider relocation as a viable option (this applied to more than 90% of them in a case study in Shenzhen) (Hui et al., 2014).

Even though some migrants might be unwilling to move out, the demolition-led redevelopment of urban villages will relocate them by force. Local governments are inclined to redevelop these settlements, partly because the growth of migration has resulted in serious social problems such as crime, fire hazard, public health concerns, and conflicts in urban villages (Zheng et al., 2009). Essentially, redevelopment of urban villages is stimulated by the higher land rents resulting from urban renewal (Logan et al., 2009). In practice, numerous urban villages are being demolished and replaced by market-rate housing. It is customary for the villagers to receive monetary compensation from the government/developer or to be provided with new apartments. The urban poor with a local *hukou* who rent there might be given access to public-rental housing. The rural migrants who live there will also have to move, but without any compensation (e.g., Hin and Xin, 2011).

Thus, because of the *hukou* reform and urban redevelopment, residential relocation seems to be unavoidable, no matter whether migrants move to improve their living conditions or because they have to go. Individual migrants are now enticed to purchase market-sector housing, a step that would enable them to transfer their *hukou* status. Using the trigger of forced relocation to make the step to homeownership in combination with accessing all the benefits of the local *hukou* might compensate for the hardship of the relocation. But does it really work?

Two empirical studies have attempted to answer this question. Despite the *hukou* reform in Hebei province, since 2001 only a small fraction of rural migrants have taken advantage of the opportunity to transfer their *hukou* to the city (Wang, 2003). And in Fujian province, surveys conducted between 2000 and 2002 found that only small proportions of rural migrants would move the whole family to the city even if they were offered an urban *hukou* (Zhu, 2003; Zhu, 2007). How are we to interpret these figures, which appear to contradict the idea of *hukou* determinism? As Zhu (2007) asked, is there something “beyond the *hukou*”?

Consider the ‘push/pull’ and ‘keep/repel’ model shown in Figure 1.3. It appears that the path to establishing urban residency is much more complex than one would expect in view of the *hukou* issue alone. Fan and Wang (2008) provided an angle to consider Zhu’s question. Their

suggestion was to take account of migrants' aspirations and coping behavior as well as institutional factors. They outlined two behaviors. One amounts to a 'division of labor' whereby some members of the family stay behind to tend the land while others move to the city. The second is to engage in circular migration in the busy season of farming because migrants need 'security' if they choose to settle in the destination cities (Fan and Wang, 2008). From their studies, we can deduce two ideas with respect to migrants' thoughts about the *hukou* transfer. First, to transfer the *hukou* status of the whole family is not always the best idea. Retaining a rural *hukou* can provide them with the use-right of farmland and the institutional benefits of their hometown. They need to weigh their options and balance their priorities. They might even consider transferring the *hukou* status of some household members to get the benefits available on both sides. Furthermore, by engaging in circular migration, they can wait for the right time to apply for a *hukou* transfer – after the origin-municipality government expropriates the farmland and pays them off, and after the migrants set up an urban home.

In spite of the insight gained from this new angle, Fan and Wang (2008) have not fully addressed the concerns raised in the present paper, which is an inquiry into the migrants' strategy in the destination city. If the migrants were to transfer their *hukou* status and bring other family members to the destination city, their lives in the deprived neighborhoods would be still be difficult under the demolition-led urban redevelopment. Thus, they might be better off if they were to set up a real, decent urban home with valid tenure to provide a safe place for their family. Then, they could bring all of the other family members to the destination city and transfer their *hukou* status by right of homeownership.

In that light, new questions arise. Given the *hukou* reform and urban redevelopment, is it possible for rural migrants to set up an urban home? And how would they do that? In other words, can they move from low-cost renting to homeownership, step-by-step, or at least improve their dwelling/location? These questions have not yet been examined and point to a glaring gap in the literature.

1.3 Research objective: to rethink rural migrants' residential mobility

To bridge that gap, we intend to revisit the motivations behind rural migrants' residential mobility. This is also the scientific relevance of our study – to expand on the work that had been done before the *hukou* reform (e.g., Wu, 2006) but in another direction, moving away from the notion of *hukou* determinism. The latter is based on methodological structuralism, an approach that emphasizes the negative effects of institutional factors on rural migrants' housing choice. Accordingly, studies grounded in *hukou* determinism do not give due attention to migrants' own aspirations and preferences.

Instead, we turned to the principle of methodological individualism developed by Coleman in 1986. That research started from the premise that the individual, as an actor, acts deliberately in order to maximize his own profits, which is the foundation of Coleman's theory of action. It can be diagrammed as shown in Figure 1.5.

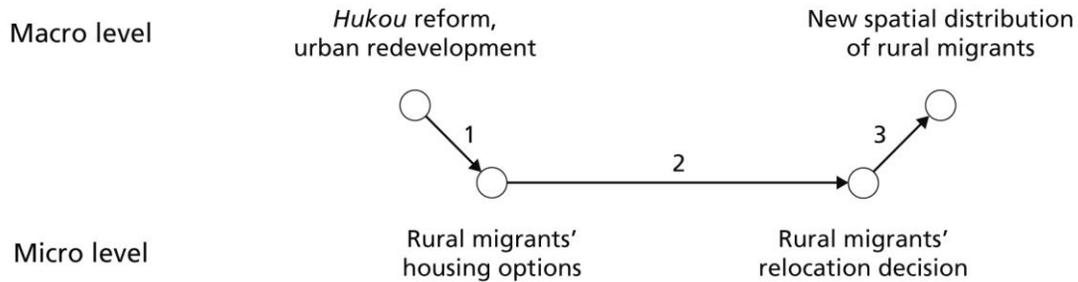


Figure 1.5 The process of macro-micro-macro analysis based on the principle of methodological individualism

The actions taken at the macro level, specifically the redevelopment of urban villages and the adoption of new rules for *hukou* access, will not directly influence the spatial distribution of rural migrants in the city. To find a more apt explanation, we should not remain at the macro level. Rather, we should move down to the level of individual actions and then back up again (cf., Coleman, 1986). It works as follows. Macro-level changes will set up a new context for individual residential mobility at the micro level (relationship of type 1). Individuals choose a strategy to relocate that would maximize their benefits at the micro level (relationship of type 2). In the aggregate, the individuals' reactions impact the urban spatial form at the macro level (relationship of type 3). The present research addresses the relationships falling under types 1 and 2, with an emphasis on the second.

In the discussion of type 2, we use methodological individualism to examine China's rural migrants' residential mobility in light of classic explanations of residential mobility in market economies (e.g., Rossi, 1955; Turner, 1968; Clark and Dieleman, 1996; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). Those classic models tend to connect the outcomes of residential mobility to individuals' preferences related to life-course events. We expect those models to play a role in our explanation of China's rural migrants' residential mobility. Conversely, we expect to unveil a decrease in the effects of institutional factors on migrants' residential mobility.

Before the *hukou* reform, most migrants chose to return their hometown and not invest in urban housing. That pattern suggests that the upward movement in a housing career mentioned by Turner (1968) did not materialize in urban China. After the *hukou* reform, however, it became feasible to establish an urban residency. That observation corresponds to the general logic of residential mobility – the aspiration for 'betterment' regardless of the motivation for the move (voluntary or involuntary) (cf., Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). People expect improvement after relocation. Some even move several times to reach a higher rung on 'the housing ladder' in a process known as a housing career (cf., Kendig, 1986; Morrow-Jones and Wenning, 2005). Along with the *hukou* reform, the Chinese version of the housing career comes into sight for rural migrants, especially for those with the intention of a permanent stay. Low-cost rental housing in a deprived neighborhood forms the bottom rung of the ladder, while homeownership of a new, commercially developed apartment forms the top rung. Of course, it seems too difficult to reach the top in a single move; some moves within the market-rental sector might occur in between.

We assume that it is possible for migrants to use a housing strategy to realize their aspirations. By making a voluntary move, they might be able to take a step upward or even move into homeownership, thereby taking advantage of the benefits offered by the *hukou* reform. In the case of demolition-led redevelopment, they might be able to cushion the negative effects of forced relocation. As ‘housing strategy’ implies general, long-term decisions, it differs from ‘housing choice’ – the latter implies a concrete decision for a specific dwelling/location. Of course, for any given relocation, these two notions will overlap somewhat.

With respect to the social relevance of this research, we expect to elucidate the effects of the *hukou* reform and urban redevelopment on migrants’ housing choices. By providing that empirical foundation, this study could contribute to an understanding of the externalities impinging upon government policies in China. Together, those insights might enable us to explore some directions for further reform of the *hukou* system. Indeed, we will offer some suggestions for housing policies that could benefit low-income migrants. This last point, above all, will demonstrate the social relevance of this research.

1.4 Theoretical framework of rural migrants’ residential mobility

By using the principle of methodological individualism, this research focuses on rural migrants’ strategies in the fields of housing tenure choice, housing facilities, geographic location (job-housing balance and accessibility to public facilities), and social support in the neighborhood. Specifically, this research is based on a conceptual model of rural migrants’ residential mobility, as shown in Figure 1.6.

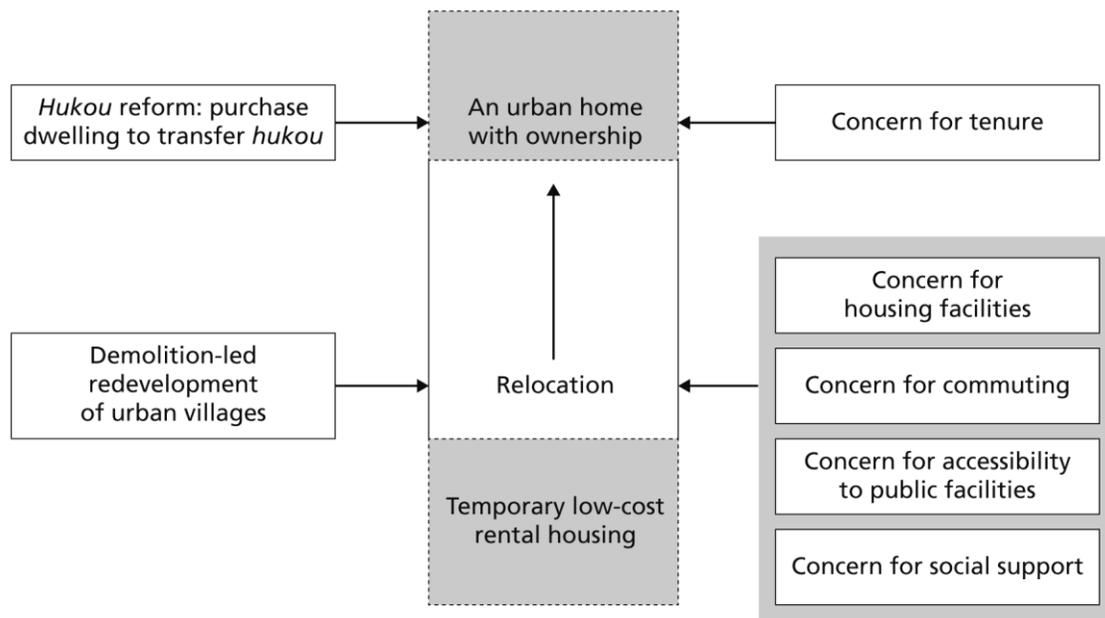


Figure 1.6 Conceptual model of rural migrants’ residential mobility

The *hukou* constraints prevented migrants from gaining access to public housing, while inner-city urban villages provided low-cost rental accommodation. Newly arriving migrants, especially service workers, had no money to purchase commercially developed housing and therefore chose to rent in those deprived areas. After the initial stage of their stay, a number of them had saved some money and considered moving to improve their housing conditions for various reasons. They may even have been enticed by the apparent advantages that come with obtaining a local *hukou*. Thus, they may have planned to purchase an apartment to be able to benefit from the *hukou* reform. This trajectory applies especially to those with the ambition to set up an urban home. Although not everyone is willing to move out of the urban villages, many have to relocate because of the demolition-led redevelopment. Therefore, whether an impending move is voluntary or involuntary, the migrants are looking for new housing. The baseline for setting a strategy is the choice of tenure. Does one prefer the flexibility of being a renter or does one choose the permanence of becoming a homeowner – with the added benefits of a *hukou* transfer? The strategy selected in each case is strongly correlated to characteristics such as dwelling attributes, commuting distance, and the distance to public facilities. Because of financial limitations, the migrants might need to make a trade-off between the benefits of certain dwelling attributes and the benefits of the geographic location attributes. It should be taken into account that the relocation results in a spatial separation between migrants and their former neighbors, who may form an important part of their social ‘safety net’. In that event, they would need to preserve their existing contacts or make contact with new neighbors in the destination neighborhood to update their social support mechanism.

The dynamics of this process and the outcomes depend on a number of factors at different levels. The factors at the individual level are wide-ranging: age, gender, educational level, income, employment type, marriage, household structure, *hukou* status, the connection with other family members in the hometown, remittances, ownership of rural housing, and user-rights of farmland. At the neighborhood level, the factors are less diverse: the socio-economic characteristics of the previous urban village and the destination neighborhood, the location of these two neighborhoods, and the distance between them. At the city level, the factors include the development status of the destination city, its housing policy, housing market, housing price levels, the municipal *hukou* access policy, and the compensation policy for those affected by demolition.

1.5 Research questions and hypotheses

Led by the conceptual model, we formulated our general research question as follows:

How do the *hukou* reform and urban redevelopment policy affect the migration pattern of rural-urban migrants, their housing strategies and the nature of their social networks at their destination?

This general research question was operationalized by posing a series of sub-questions to be addressed in the subsequent chapters of this book. The first reads as follows:

1. What are the effects of institutional factors and migrants' demographic characteristics on their homeownership rates after the *hukou* reform in China? And which differences occur between destination municipalities in the same province in this respect?

This phased question is central to the analysis presented in Chapter 2, which compares the approaches to *hukou* reform in different destination cities. The differences are considerable, especially between their policies on access to the municipal-level *hukou*. Access in each municipality reflects the specific bundle of advantages of having a local *hukou* status in light of the institutional reforms (Wang, 2004). In the more highly developed municipalities, the *hukou* is highly valued because it offers residents access to a wide range of facilities and social programs. Those municipalities still impose strict conditions on access. Less highly developed municipalities, in contrast, offer easier access (Wu et al., 2010). That difference in stringency might explain the different outcomes of the *hukou* reform among municipalities.

The objective of Chapter 2 is thus to analyze the influence of institutional factors on rural migrants' housing tenure. The empirical material allows us to draw a comparison between the more-developed and less-developed destination municipalities. The institutional factors of interest are the province-level *hukou* status and the migrants' participation in social welfare schemes. The analysis is guided by two hypotheses. First, it queries the effect of lowering the institutional impediments. Specifically, homeownership among rural migrants after the reform might be linked to life-cycle factors as well as to their ambition to obtain a local *hukou* but also to the migrants' participation in and possible benefit from social welfare programs. Secondly, in the less-developed municipalities, where obtaining a local *hukou* status is relatively easy, the effects of institutional factors on homeownership rates among rural migrants might be less important than in the more-developed municipalities of the same province.

2. What is the difference between new and first generations of rural migrants in their understanding of the meaning of 'home', and to what extent is this difference reflected in their motives to acquire an urban domicile? Does family support matter in the migrants' aspirations to choose for a domicile at the destination?

These questions are central to the analysis in Chapter 3. That analysis concerns those migrants who have not purchased an urban dwelling since the *hukou* reform. After years of saving, a dilemma looms: where should their home be in the future? On the one hand, the attachment to their hometown and the need to care for elderly family members induce rural migrants to go back to their old home. On the other hand, they are tempted by the better-paying jobs in the city and the advanced public services available to them there. These advantages induce them to stay on permanently in their place of work and establish their domicile at the destination (Hu et al., 2011). There is yet another dimension to the relocation decision. Even when the individual migrant decides to establish a permanent urban home, s/he needs to purchase a dwelling in order to transfer his/her *hukou* status. However, that entails a substantial investment that would exceed the purchasing power of most migrant laborers (Wang, 2012).

Thus, the aim of Chapter 3 is to reveal and explain an expected difference between new and first generations of rural migrants in their meaning of ‘home’ and demonstrate how this difference is reflected in their motives to acquire housing in the city. Furthermore, from a financial angle, it sets out to trace the influence of various forms of family support on this ambition. Thereby, Chapter 3 poses two hypotheses. One is that the new-generation migrants (those born after the 1978 reform) are more likely than the first generation to embrace modern ideas about the meaning of home. Thereby the new-generation migrants would presumably attach less value on the benefits based on the Socialist *hukou* status in their motives for choosing future domicile. The other hypothesis states that rural migrants who can count on support from their family are more likely to aspire to urban residency and thereby purchase a home in their destination city.

3. What are the effects of socio-demographic and migration characteristics on the initial and current housing conditions of rural migrants? Does the initial tenure choice matter in the migrants’ current tenure?

These questions are raised in Chapter 4. In the literature, a connection has been drawn between the migrants’ intention and their tenure choice (e.g. Zhu, 2007; Hu et al., 2011). The explanation runs thus. In order to stay permanently in the city, migrants would purchase market-sector housing and then leverage their homeownership to apply for a local *hukou*. Otherwise, they would choose an unstable tenure and consequently have to return ‘home’ someday (cf., Zhu, 2007). However, this idea usually falls short, as illustrated by the following situations. Some migrants remain undecided about their migration future, or they might change their original intention. In that light, they would probably choose the available forms of unstable tenure, which would allow them to save up for an unknown future. And if this is the case, the migrants’ former tenure choice would have some impacts on their subsequent choices.

To understand such situations, Chapter 4 examines the migrants’ initial tenure, the inter-relation between their initial tenure and the current tenure, and the implications of a *hukou* transfer. It poses two hypotheses. One is that the initial housing tenure of rural migrants might be non-homogeneous. Their tenure choices might be determined by their places of origin, mediated by their *hukou* status and the social contacts associated with it. The other hypothesis is that the current tenure choice of rural migrants might be path-dependent – once they choose an initial tenure, they will be more (or less) likely to choose a subsequent one, which in our analysis is the current tenure.

4. What are the outcomes with respect to dwelling attributes and geographic location attributes in different types of rural migrants’ intra-urban residential relocation? And what are the effects of on-site relocation (partial displacement) and off-site relocation (total displacement), respectively?

Chapter 5 takes up questions with a focus on one stage in the migrants’ housing career – the latest residential relocation. In the process of urban demolition-led redevelopment, rural-urban migrants are forced to move without reasonable compensation, and no alternative housing is provided (Hin and Xin, 2011). Nevertheless, the rural migrants are not necessarily victims. Many

were dissatisfied with the living conditions in urban villages and were already considering a voluntary move (Hui et al., 2014). A forced relocation can encourage them to make the decision. They would then move out of the most disadvantaged inner-city villages. Many could move into housing in a better condition in more peripheral areas (cf., Liu, 2015). A move away from the original site was called off-site relocation by He and Wu (2005) in studies of urban China. The notion of off-site relocation may be introduced as a factor that is roughly the same as ‘total displacement’ in the international literature (cf., Clark and Dieleman, 1996). By adopting the strategy of off-site relocation, migrants can improve their housing conditions after a forced move, even though they do not obtain compensation. But off-site relocation would also have side-effects with respect to geographic location, such as a change in commuting distance and in the distance to public amenities.

To understand such situations, Chapter 5 sheds light on the difference in outcomes between a voluntary move and forced relocation. Therefore, this chapter poses two hypotheses. First, a voluntary move and the intention to move prior to a forced relocation may result in positive outcomes. The migrants are likely to make a trade-off between the improvement of dwelling attributes and the improvement of geographic location attributes. Secondly, compared to an on-site relocation, an off-site relocation may result in housing improvement and a decrease in the distance of a child’s trip to school, whereas the distance to the urban facilities available in the city center is expected to increase.

5. Does the type of intra-urban residential move affect rural migrants’ social network strategies, and how does the type of destination affect their integration, as mediated by these strategies?

These questions are taken up in Chapter 6, which addresses the effects of the latest residential relocation. While living in urban villages, social networks consisting of neighbors play an important role in rural migrants’ integration into their host societies (e.g., Yue et al., 2013). Residential relocation may break their existing network of social contacts. Out-movers suffer a decrease in face-to-face contacts, and their social support mechanism is disrupted by this ‘social displacement’ (Doucet, 2009). To avoid or diminish such negative effects, they might use mobile phones or computers to preserve contacts with their former neighbors (cf., Liu et al., 2012). In addition, if migrants move to one of the prevalent gated neighborhoods, they will be able to link up with the residents’ committee there, which usually organizes activities to promote migrants’ integration. Book clubs, line dancing, and film shows are some popular initiatives (e.g., Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2012). They might participate in these activities to get to know their new neighbors. In the process they may construct a new social support mechanism.

Chapter 6 highlights the two strategies that migrants may adopt to construct social networks in their new setting. To evaluate the outcomes of these strategies, the type of move (voluntary vs. forced) and destination (gated neighborhood vs. urban village) are taken into account. To guide that evaluation, Chapter 6 poses two hypotheses. First, voluntarily relocated migrants and migrants who had the intention to move prior to the demolition are assumed to be more likely than other migrants to contact their former neighbors by means of telecommunication. Use of mobile phones and the

Internet is expected to keep their contact frequency up at the prior level. Secondly, those migrants who voluntarily move to a gated neighborhood are assumed to be more likely than others to participate in public activities organized by the residents' committee and to have more contacts with their new neighbors, and thereby get more help from the residents' committee and the neighbors. Such propensity to take initiative might be particularly noticeable among the migrants who have transferred their rural *hukou* status and now hold an urban status.

1.6 Research methods and the case-study areas

The empirical analyses carried out in accordance with the conceptual model and the research questions and subsequently presented in this thesis are based on three separate fieldwork projects in Jiangsu province: two official surveys and our own (self-conducted) survey (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Purposes and case-study areas of the three surveys

	Purpose	Case-study area	Sample size
2003-2009 JSHRSS survey (Department of Human Resources and Social Security of the Jiangsu Provincial Government)	To investigate the impact of the <i>hukou</i> reform on rural migrants' homeownership from 2003 to 2009 (addressing research questions in Chapter 2).	Eight municipalities in Jiangsu province: Wuxi, Suzhou, Taizhou, Zhenjiang, Changzhou, Nantong, Yangzhou, and Nanjing	3,000
2009 MOHURD survey (Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the national government)	To determine the aspirations for future homeownership among the rural migrants who did not purchase an urban home before 2009 (addressing research questions in Chapter 3).	Suzhou in Jiangsu province was selected because it has the largest population of rural migrants in this province.	1,000
2012 self-conducted survey	To capture the migrants' latest relocation between 2009 and 2012, it examines the outcomes with respect to migrants' housing tenure, housing facilities, job-housing balance, distance to public facilities and social networks in the neighborhood (addressing research questions in Chapters 4, 5, 6).	Yangzhou was selected because it is a rapidly growing medium-sized city with large-scale inner-city demolition-led redevelopment projects.	700

This section emphasizes our self-conducted survey in Yangzhou City. The characteristics of the two official surveys are briefly introduced in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 (for more information on these two surveys, see Zou, 2006; Lu and Jiao, 2010).

1.6.1 Yangzhou City in Jiangsu Province

Jiangsu Province is characterized by a booming coastal economy that attracts tens of millions of migrant workers from impoverished regions in China (Jiangsu Provincial Statistics, 2010). Since the hukou reform began, the national government has used this province to test its policy of relaxing constraints on hukou access. Therefore, it is a highly suitable region to evaluate rural migrants' housing strategies, in particular with respect to the rate of homeownership after the *hukou* reform. The provincial government started the reform in 2003 by setting guidelines (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003). Each municipal government was required to revise its *hukou* access policy based on these guidelines.



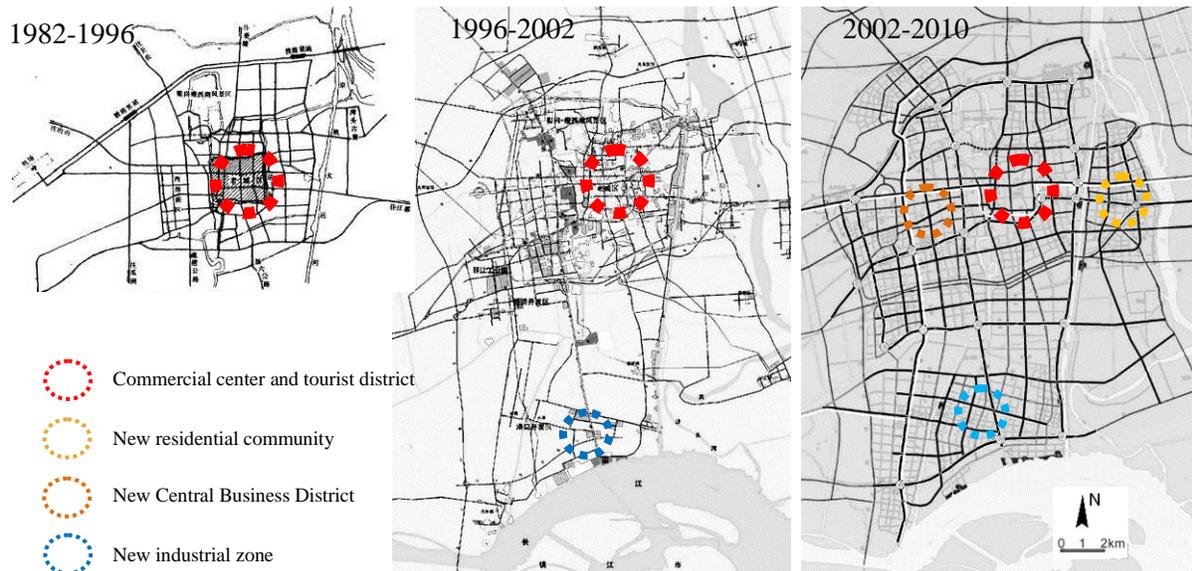
(Source: <http://map.baidu.com>)

Figure 1.7 The location of the case-study areas

Yangzhou City is located at the confluence of the Yangtze River and the Beijing-Hangzhou Great Canal (see Figure 1.7). In the year 2010, Yangzhou City had a built-up area of 82 km² and a population of 1.2 million; of these, 0.2 million are rural migrants (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2011). There were two reasons to choose Yangzhou for our own survey. First, due to its geographic scale and urban population, it can be considered representative of medium-sized cities in urban China. The possibility this offers for generalization is of particular interest because so far most empirical studies of rural migrants have focused on large metropolitan areas like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen. The second reason is that many urban villages in Yangzhou have been demolished or have been undergoing demolition-led redevelopment since the 2000s. That experience provides a good basis on which to contrast a voluntary move with an involuntary move.

Yangzhou City has a history of 2,500 years. It has served as a commercial hub, lying on a canal that for centuries has been a major connection between North and South China. Because of its specific geographic situation, almost every dynasty has understood its importance for national policy and invested in its urban amenities, notably the royal gardens and palaces (Wu, 1986). With

such a legacy, Yangzhou was one of the first 24 places to be proclaimed cities of historic and cultural importance by the State Council in 1982. Since then, the municipal government has implemented three rounds of master planning, resulting in the 1982, 1996, and 2002 master plans. During this period, the size of the built-up urban area increased from 20 km² in 1980 to 80 km² in 2010 (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010) (see Figure 1.8).



(Source: Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010)

Figure 1.8 Map of Yangzhou

(1) Urban development 1982 - 1996

After the economic reform of 1978, the historic and cultural heritage was recognized as an attractive resource for the development of a tourist industry that would benefit the local economy (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010). In addition, its position as a ‘state-level historic cultural city’ also brought in an appreciable amount of national investment. The municipal government viewed that as a crucial input for urban development and adopted the 1982 master plan to respond to that opportunity (Gao, 1992).

In that plan, Yangzhou was characterized as a ‘state-level historic cultural city and an important tourist city with traditional cityscapes’. It predicted that the population would increase from its 1982 level of 243,000 to 350,000 in 2000 (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010). The main priorities of the urbanization policy were to update public facilities, to protect historical districts – almost the whole downtown area --, and to develop the tourism-related service industry. Because large-scale construction is forbidden in the city center, the municipal government had to convert more rural land to accommodate the new *danwei* (work-unit) compounds (government branches and SOEs, State-Owned Enterprises). That approach differed from the previous practice (1949-1978) of large-scale demolition of historic districts to make room for new construction (Gao,

1992). As a result, the expansion of Yangzhou was structured around the large work-unit compounds covering the blocks surrounding the old downtown (see Figure 1.8).

For the sake of expanding the built-up area, the government tended to expropriate farmland. Settlements in the rural villages were generally spared to avoid costly and time-consuming programs requiring the compensation and relocation of indigenous villagers. Gradually, such settlements became spatially encircled or annexed by new urban development, leading to the formation of urban villages (cf., Hao et al., 2011).

(2) Urban development, 1996 - 2002

Urban development during the 1990s reflected the policy effects of Deng's 1992 spring tour of the southern provinces that set the stage for renewed investment (Wong and Zheng, 2001). Moreover, the tax and fiscal reform of 1994 encouraged decentralization from higher-tier administrations to municipal authorities (Wang, 1997). Since then, the national government has rarely provided direct subsidy to municipalities to implement their development plans. Therefore, to keep its local economy growing, the Yangzhou Municipal Government tried to attract foreign investment. One approach commonly adopted by municipalities was to establish new riverfront industrial zones. There, the cost of land was very low (or even free) for new enterprises, giving them an incentive to build factories (Lin and Ho, 2005). Yangzhou Municipal Government also took this approach in an effort to attract foreign-owned manufacturing industries.

That principle was fully reflected by the new master plan adopted in 1996. This time, Yangzhou was characterized as a 'state-level historic cultural city and an important tourist city with traditional scenic views, and an important industrial and commercial city along the Yangtze River' (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010). The emphasis in urban policy had shifted to building a new manufacturing zone near the confluence of the Yangtze River and the Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal (see Figure 1.8). After the completion of these big projects, the southern part of the city would be well developed. Indeed, the urban population increased from 443,000 in 1996 to 556,000 in 2002.

However, while Yangzhou functioned as a cultural and tourist city for a long time, its manufacturing industry could not be competitive in a region where other cities, especially Suzhou and Wuxi, had a long history of manufacturing. This disadvantage made it hard to attract foreign investment in industry. Actually, in terms of GDP, Yangzhou ranked 8th among the province's 13 major municipalities. Clearly, the strategy of developing manufacturing industries as proposed in the 1996 master plan seemed to be an ineffective attempt to win the regional economic competition. In that light, efforts to attract private investment in housing formed an important alternative (cf., Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010).

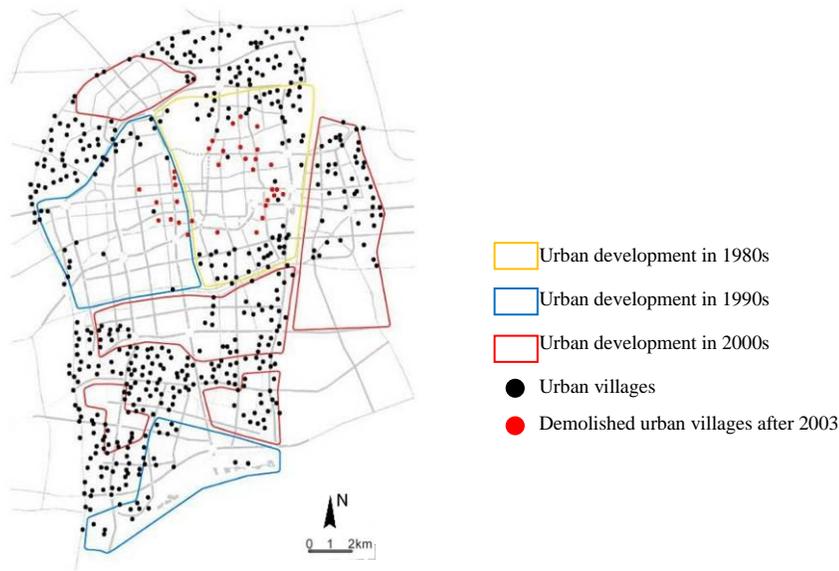
Meanwhile, the national government promoted an urban housing reform in 1998. The objective was to develop a private housing market. The government prohibited new construction of *danwei* housing and started to sell land to developers. Consequently, people had to purchase market-sector dwellings (Logan et al., 2009). That provided an opportunity for the municipality to boost its economy. As a state-level historic cultural city with less manufacturing industry and an attractive environment, Yangzhou had the necessary advantages to develop a real estate industry. Envisioning that, the municipality made a new master plan in 2002.

(3) Urban development and redevelopment, 2002 - 2010

The 2002 master plan predicted that the population would grow to one million by 2020. Yangzhou was now described as a ‘state-level historic cultural city and an important tourist city with traditional scenic views, and an ecological garden city suitable for living’ (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010). The new definition of its urban function expressed the attention given by the municipal government to the people’s living environment. Yet the master plan was more or less a compromise with the emerging market forces; the government needed the citizens to invest.

To improve the living environment, the municipal government started to redevelop the historic districts and urban villages. The intention was to modernize the neighborhoods in the old downtown and the inner suburbs. At that time, hundreds of thousands of migrants occupied private-rental housing in urban villages, which resulted in serious social problems such as crime, fire hazard, threats to public health, and crowding. Therefore, the municipal government embarked on demolition-led redevelopment in 2003 (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2003). Old work-unit compounds and urban villages were demolished to make way for a new tourist district, a new CBD, and new residential communities (see Figure 1.8).

This approach seemed to be very effective. The idea of promoting people’s living environment was encouraged by the national government. In fact, Yangzhou City won the 2004 China Habitat Award initiated by the Ministry of Housing and Urban–Rural Development. And it even won the United Nations Habitat Award in 2006 (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010). However, without an adequate supply of public housing, demolition-led redevelopment could not give due attention to low-income migrants’ needs for housing. These renters did not get any compensation for their forced relocation. They had to move out of the inner-city urban villages that were slated for demolition and search for new accommodations in more peripheral areas on their own (see Figure 1.9).



(Source: Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010)

Figure 1.9 Development and redevelopment of urban villages in Yangzhou

1.6.2 Fieldwork in Yangzhou and the dataset

Our Yangzhou fieldwork was based on a mixed methodology. It combined the quantitative method of a questionnaire survey with the qualitative method of conducting face-to-face interviews.

In view of the close relation between migrants' tenure choices and the type of work they do, it was decided to use an employment-based probability proportional to size sampling strategy as the basis for approaching migrants at their workplaces. Another reason for this choice was that if we only approached people in existing urban villages, we would not obtain information on the migrants who had moved out of the demolished ones. The fieldwork was carried out from June 2012 to January 2013. To coordinate our data with that from the official survey, we adopted the typology and the distribution of employment used by the local administration. Accordingly, the migrants were classified in three categories: workers in service industries, workers in secondary industries, and self-employed migrants (cf., Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2011). We handed out 975 questionnaires and collected 739 completed ones (a response rate of 76%). The sampling size was based on the migrant population in Yangzhou (200,000 in 2010). The required size was determined by applying the equation developed by Watson (2001) (Figure 1.10).

$$n = \frac{\left(\frac{P[1-P]}{\frac{A^2}{Z^2} + \frac{P[1-P]}{N}} \right)}{R}$$

Where:

- n = sample size required
- N = number of people in the population
- P = estimated variance in population, as a decimal: (0.5 for 50-50, 0.3 for 70-30)
- A = Precision desired, expressed as a decimal (i.e., 0.03, 0.05, 0.1 for 3%, 5%, 10%)
- Z = Based on confidence level: 1.96 for 95% confidence, 1.6449 for 90% and 2.5758 for 99%
- R = Estimated Response rate, as a decimal

(Source: Watson, 2001)

Figure 1.10 The equation for determining the sample size

In total, 673 of the respondents had lived in Yangzhou for more than one year and had moved at least once during that time. Females accounted for 35.8% of the respondents, which was consistent with the gender composition of the migrant population in the official survey in Yangzhou. The average age of the respondents was 36, and the migrants had been in Yangzhou for 5.2 years on average. Other characteristics of the respondents' socio-demographic profile are listed in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

	Categories	N	Percent
Gender	Male	432	64.2
	Female	241	35.8
Education	Illiterate or primary school only	123	18.3
	Junior secondary school	285	42.3
	Senior secondary school	136	20.2
	Higher education	129	19.2
Hukou	No Jiangsu <i>hukou</i>	198	29.4
	Jiangsu, but no Yangzhou <i>hukou</i>	403	59.9
	Jiangsu Yangzhou <i>hukou</i>	72	10.7
Future plan of migration	Stay in Yangzhou	305	45.3
	Go back to hometown	104	15.5
	Go to another city	49	7.3
	Remain undecided	215	31.9
Household monthly income	Lower level (less than 3,000 Yuan)	189	28.1
	Medium level (3,000-5,000 Yuan)	317	47.1
	Higher level (more than 5,000 Yuan)	167	24.8
Employment type	Secondary industries: construction workers (at building sites, or doing interior finishing or decoration) and manufacturing workers (operative employees)	289	43.0
	Services: waiters, waitresses, cooks, and cleaners in restaurants or hotels; children's nurses, interior cleaners and nursing assistants in hospitals; street cleaners and street repairmen; and other day laborers	171	25.4
	Self-employed: small shopkeepers and street hawkers; taxi drivers and truck drivers	213	31.6
Total		673	100

Following the survey, every one of the 673 respondents was invited to participate in an in-depth interview about their housing career. Based on their answers in the questionnaires and the distribution of their socio-demographics, we selected 32 respondents (19 males and 13 females) among those who agreed to participate, including both voluntary (15) and involuntary movers (17) (see Table 1.4). The selection covered three main types of housing tenure: private-rental housing, employer-provided dormitory housing, and market-rate owner-occupied dwellings. The industries

represented by these respondents were as follows: four worked in construction, four in manufacturing, 11 in services, and 13 were self-employed. It was decided to over-weight the sample of self-employed peddlers and service workers because these two groups had more subtypes of employment and more diverse housing choices.

Table 1.4 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Surname	Gender	Age	Education	Hukou	Employment	Tenure	Relocation
Wang	Male	32	High education	Jiangsu	Factory worker	Owner	Voluntary
Wang	Male	29	Senior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Builder	Dormitory	Voluntary
Huang	Male	30	High education	Jiangsu	Builder	Owner	Voluntary
Xie	Couple	44	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Builders	Dormitory	Voluntary
Chang	Male	23	High education	Non-Jiangsu	Factory worker	Renter	Voluntary
Tan	Female	32	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Service worker	Owner	Involuntary
Xu	Male	38	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Short-time labor	Renter	Involuntary
Liu	Female	31	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Xia	Female	35	Junior high school	Yangzhou	Self-employed	Owner	Involuntary
Wu	Female	52	Primary school	Jiangsu	Service worker	Renter	Voluntary
Wang	Female	32	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Sun	Female	40	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Peng	Male	50	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Li	Female	36	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Service worker	Owner	Voluntary
Li	Male	42	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Short-time labor	Renter	Involuntary
Huang	Female	45	Primary school	Jiangsu	Short-time labor	Renter	Involuntary
Wang	Male	25	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Builder	Renter	Involuntary
He	Male	24	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Dong	Female	18	Senior high school	Jiangsu	Service worker	Renter	Voluntary
Li	Male	30	Senior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Service worker	Renter	Voluntary
Xie	Female	28	Senior high school	Jiangsu	Factory worker	Dormitory	Voluntary
Chen	Female	35	Junior high school	Yangzhou	Factory worker	Owner	Involuntary
Zhu	Male	38	Junior high school	Jiangsu	Self-employed	Owner	Voluntary
Zhao	Male	62	Primary school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Liang	Male	30	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Hong	Male	42	Senior high school	Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary
Wang	Male	30	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Service worker	Owner	Voluntary
Du	Male	46	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Service worker	Renter	Involuntary
Shao	Male	37	Primary school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Voluntary
Cai	Male	61	Junior high school	Non-Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Voluntary
Zhang	Female	46	Primary school	Non-Jiangsu	Service worker	Dormitory	Voluntary
"X"	Female	37	Senior high school	Jiangsu	Self-employed	Renter	Involuntary

The interviews lasted from 60 to 120 minutes. Twenty conversations were audio-recorded; 12 were recorded by taking notes. Three additional interviews were held (recorded by notes): one with a landlord regarding her experience with leasing an apartment to migrants; one with a

government official about the strategy adopted by the Yangzhou Municipal Government to cope with migrants' housing issues; and one with the manager of an enterprise about the firm's strategy to develop workers' dormitory accommodation. These additional interviews took between 30 and 60 minutes.

1.7 Thesis outline

This thesis brings together a collection of academic papers that have already been published, accepted to be published, or submitted for review in international scientific journals. The contents of Chapters 2 to 6 have been briefly described above. Table 1.5 summarizes the main points of the empirical analysis and the explanatory variables used in the models tested in each of these chapters. Following these five chapters, Chapter 7 then returns to the research questions. The implications of the empirical findings for the *hukou* reform and housing policies benefiting rural migrants are discussed there as well.

Table 1.5 Outline of the empirical analysis in each chapter

Chapter (Dataset)	Phenomena to be explained	Explanatory factors
Chapter 2: 2003-2009 JSHRSS survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Homeownership rates among rural migrants in Jiangsu Province after the <i>hukou</i> reform (2003 - 2009) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Socio-demographics Participation in urban insurance schemes Economic status of the destination city
Chapter 3: 2009 MOHURD survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Motives to (or to not) establish an urban domicile in Suzhou Rates among rural migrants who aspire an urban domicile in Suzhou 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Socio-demographics, especially age cohort Remittance Access to rural housing and farmland
Chapter 4: 2012 self-conducted survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial housing tenure choice upon arrival in Yangzhou Current tenure and the relation between the initial and current one <i>Hukou</i> transfer (application) based on current homeownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initial socio-demographics Current socio-demographics Migration intention /Length of migration
Chapter 5: 2012 self-conducted survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outcomes of dwelling attributes after the latest relocation in Yangzhou, including tenure choice and housing facilities Outcomes of geographic location attributes, including the respondent's commuting distance, the distance to the city center, and the distance to school of the migrant child 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Socio-demographics Type of relocation (voluntary or forced) Moving distance
Chapter 6: 2012 self-conducted survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contacts with former neighbors after the latest relocation in Yangzhou Contacts with new neighbors in the destination neighborhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Socio-demographics Length of duration in the neighborhood Type of relocation Moving distance and type of destination neighborhood

Authors of Chapter 2: Xu Huang, Martin Dijst, Jan van Weesep, Nongjian Zou, published in "Journal of Housing and the Built Environment";

Authors of Chapter 3: Xu Huang, Martin Dijst, Jan van Weesep, Yixue Jiao, Ying Sun, submitted to "Population, Space and Place";

Authors of Chapter 4: Xu Huang, Martin Dijst, Jan van Weesep, submitted to "International Journal of Urban and Regional Research";

Authors of Chapter 5: Xu Huang, Martin Dijst, Jan van Weesep, submitted to "Environment and Planning A";

Authors of Chapter 6: Xu Huang, Martin Dijst, Jan van Weesep, submitted to "Housing Studies".

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2. Residential mobility in China: Home ownership among rural-urban migrants after reform of the *hukou* registration system

Abstract

This paper analyzes the housing tenure of China's rural -- urban migrants in eight destination municipalities in Jiangsu province after the reform of the urban registration system (called *hukou* in Chinese). The objective is to distill links between home ownership and formal residency status. Using binary logistic models, the paper explores the effects of demographics and institutional factors on home ownership. The analysis is based on data from a survey conducted in 2009 in eight municipalities, representing the responses to the institutional reforms carried out from the 2000s on. The prevalence of home ownership proves to be affected by age, gender, educational level, household size, personal income, participation in an urban insurance scheme, and a Jiangsu *hukou* status. However, an inter-municipality comparison reveals divergent effects of a Jiangsu *hukou*. Registration plays a significant role in relatively more developed municipalities, where the entitlements are higher but so is the threshold to obtain them. In contrast, its role is not significant in less-developed municipalities, where access to civil amenities is more readily granted.

Key words: Home ownership; *Hukou* reform; Jiangsu *hukou*; Rural – urban migrants; Urban insurance; Mismatch problem

2.1 Introduction

China's rapid urbanization is mainly due to the migration of millions from the countryside since the economic reforms started in 1978. These rural-to-urban migrants (*Nongmingong* in Chinese) leave to work in urban areas as cheap manual laborers (Du *et al.*, 2005). However, they rarely have access to the destination's household registration system (*hukou* in Chinese) on which the social welfare system is based. With no prospect of social security in old age, they return to their place of origin when they can no longer do heavy labor. The institutional constraints inherent in the *hukou* system prevent rural migrants from staying permanently at their destination, which reduces their enthusiasm to purchase a dwelling there.

Starting in the late 1990s, however, the national government's urbanization ambitions and the increased freedom to migrate within the country constituted a force for change (Wang, 2010). These ambitions prompted efforts to improve China's institutional system. A significant outcome is the relaxation of *hukou* constraints (Chan and Buckingham, 2008). Some provinces no longer distinguish between an urban *hukou* and a rural *hukou*: no matter where people live in a municipality, their municipal-level *hukou* is the same (Chang, 2010). Furthermore, if rural migrants meet stipulated criteria, they can exchange their *hukou* of the place of origin for a *hukou* of the destination place (Wang, 2010). Moreover, eligibility for the social welfare systems is gradually being separated from one's *hukou* status (Yu and Ding, 2010). This trend is particularly evident in the urban social insurance system, which has been open to rural migrants since the early 2000s (Nielsen *et al.*, 2005).

However, there are large differences among the destinations, especially in their policy on access to municipal-level *hukou*. That is because each municipality's access policy reflects its particular stage of development as well as the advantages of a local *hukou* status in relation to the institutional reforms (Wang, 2004). More-developed municipalities, where the *hukou* is highly valued because it offers residents a range of facilities and social programs, still put strict conditions on access, while less-developed municipalities offer easier access (Wu *et al.*, 2010). There are also considerable differences among rural migrants with respect to their home *hukou* status. They may be divided into three types: intra-municipality; inter-municipality; and inter-province. These types of rural migrants are expected to respond differently to various reform policies.

This paper explores how the institutional changes emanating from the nationwide *hukou* reform affect home ownership among rural-to-urban migrants. Primarily, we expect to find that, by lowering the institutional threshold for home ownership among the migrants, this reform will make demographic variables more important in explaining the rate of home ownership. Furthermore, as divergence in the value of the welfare program among provinces and municipalities will presumably reflect differences in the level of local institutional access, we expect to find that the influence of each reform package will differ among the destination places, thereby creating differences in the rural migrants' patterns of home ownership. To our knowledge, these two suppositions have not yet been subjected to empirical investigation after the *hukou* reform. That is precisely what we intend to do in the course of our research. The present study seeks to start bridging that gap in knowledge by posing the following research questions: **What are the effects of institutional factors and migrants' demographic characteristics on their homeownership rates after the *hukou* reform in China? And which differences occur between destination municipalities in the same province in this respect?**

The paper starts with a review of the literature on rural – urban migration, *hukou* status and *hukou* reform, and rural migrants' tenures in destination municipalities. The empirical part presents a regression analysis to model home-ownership rates, using data from a 2009 survey on more than 3,000 rural migrants in Jiangsu province. The subsequent section summarizes the effects of institutions and demographics on home-ownership rates among individual rural migrants and compares the divergence in its prevalence between municipalities with a different extent of *hukou* reform. The paper ends with an exploration of some directions for further *hukou* reform that might gradually eliminate the institutional barriers to rural – urban migration in China.

2.2 Literature review

2.2.1 Rural – urban migration and the hukou system before reform

A sizable body of literature has expressed concerns about China's rural – urban migrants. Their migration is usually ascribed to a surplus of rural labor and an income disparity between the city and the countryside (Du *et al.*, 2005). But China's ongoing economic reforms have also led to serious regional disparities. In a geographic respect, there are three kinds of rural - urban migration (see Figure 2.1): intra-municipal (relation 1: laborers from a rural area go to an urban area in the same municipality); inter-municipal (relation 2: rural laborers from less-developed municipalities go to urban areas in more-developed municipalities in the same province); and inter-provincial

(relation 3: rural laborers from less-developed provinces go to urban areas in more-developed provinces).

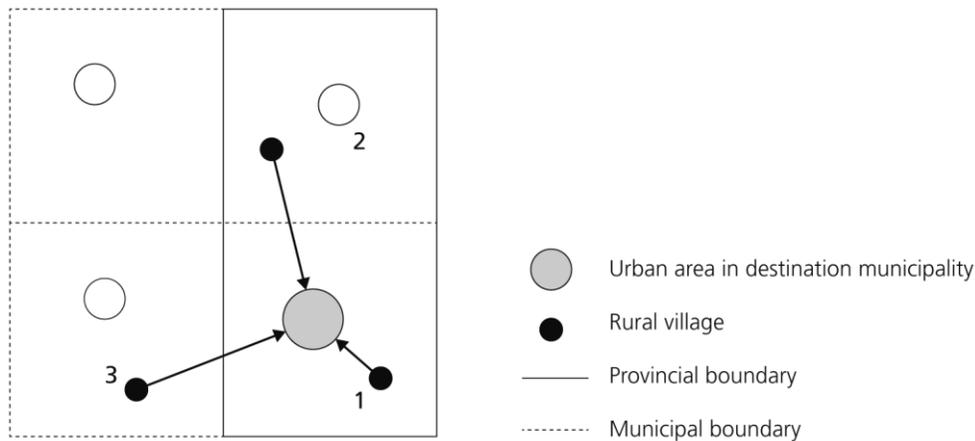


Figure 2.1 Three types of rural- urban migration

However, that population flow has been cushioned by a tight system of migration control. A household residency registration system (*hukou*, the term used for both the system and an individual’s status within it) was reinstated in the 1950s to prevent indigent peasants from flooding into China’s war-torn urban areas (Chan, 2010a). At the very beginning, every person was registered at a specific place, which referred concomitantly to three geographic attributes: urban/rural; municipal; and provincial. Under this system, one’s *hukou* comprised three indicators: urban or rural (attribute one); which municipality s/he belonged to (attribute two); and which province s/he belonged to (attribute three). Newborns inherited their parents’ *hukou* status, no matter where the mother gave birth or where the family was actually living. Consider the example of a baby born legitimately in urban Nanjing to a migrant couple working there. Expressed in those three attributes, the parents had a Jiangsu (province-level) – Yangzhou (municipality-level) rural (rural or urban) *hukou*; the infant would inherit their Jiangsu – Yangzhou rural *hukou* and would not obtain a Jiangsu – Nanjing urban *hukou*.

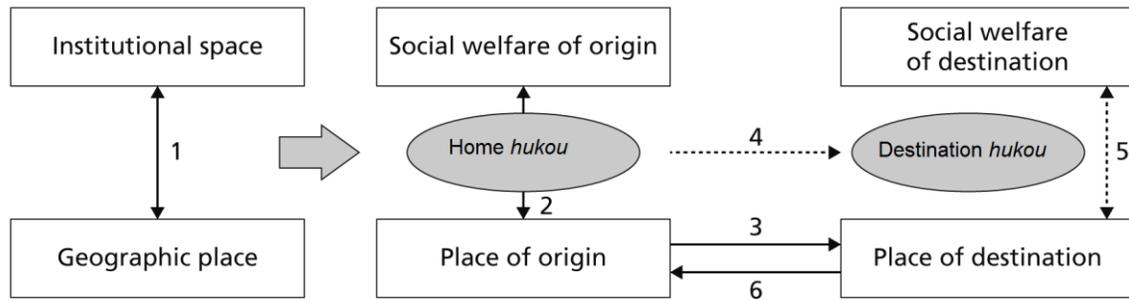
The value of any particular *hukou* lies in the social welfare provisions that come with one’s *hukou* status. Provincial and municipal governments offer public services according to the digits denoting the local *hukou* (Wu et al., 2010). For example, the baby with the Jiangsu – Yangzhou *hukou* enjoys the provisions of Yangzhou’s social welfare system but not Nanjing’s, even though the infant was born and raised in Nanjing. The child has access to Jiangsu’s provincial benefits because a *hukou* for either of these municipalities falls under the Jiangsu *hukou*.

The reason for the inter-area difference in the field of social welfare is complicated. China’s municipal governments get most of their revenue from taxing local enterprises and selling urban land (Zhang, 2009). In any given province, the more-developed municipalities can extract higher tax revenues from local enterprises. They can also get more money from the sale of urban land for the construction of market-sector housing, due to the high price of land, which is closely connected to the high price of housing. Accordingly, the revenues of more-developed municipalities are higher

than those of less-developed municipalities. Therefore, regarding the provision of public goods, the former can spend more on each citizen with a municipal-level *hukou*, can maintain a high standard of social welfare services, and can provide more public infrastructure than the latter (Wu et al., 2010). At the regional level, the provincial government's revenue comes mainly from creaming off the municipal governments' revenue (Zhang, 2009); thus, rich provinces can offer better social welfare programs than poor provinces. Under these conditions, the *hukou* of more-developed places is obviously more valuable than that of less-developed places (Li, 2010).

Regarding the difference between an urban and a rural *hukou*, China's municipal structure has a two-track social welfare system connected to an individual's *hukou* status. Someone with an urban *hukou* is entitled to public amenities and social services like health care, housing, pensions, and education for their children (Treiman, 2012). But in rural areas, the rules are different, especially for social security. A rural *hukou* gives a peasant land-use rights, reflecting a thousand-year-old tradition of relying on agriculture (and grown children) for one's security in old age (Chan, 2010b). Therefore, in terms of the three attributes of a *hukou* status, one's social welfare provisions depend on three differences: between urban and rural areas; between municipalities; and between provinces.

The main thrust of our analysis is to unravel how these welfare differences relate to rural -- urban migration. This mechanism may be visualized as a disconnection between institutional space and the geographic space of an individual. Ideally, people should be able to enjoy the social welfare amenities of where they live; this presupposes a direct relationship between the geographic space and the institutional space (see relation 1 in Figure 2.2). The interjection of *hukou* disrupts the interaction between those spaces (relation 2 in Figure 2.2). Access to a social welfare system is based on one's *hukou* status, and people are entitled to the social welfare amenities available where their *hukou* "lives". After migration (relation 3 in Figure 2.2), if a migrant's attempts at changing the home *hukou* into that of the destination fail, s/he cannot enjoy the social welfare amenities of that destination. Few migrants manage to transfer their *hukou* due to the strict constraints on altering the location of one's *hukou* status (relation 4). In that sense, the *hukou* system creates a disconnection between an individual's geographic place of residence and his/her social welfare provisions (relation 5). This is what we call a mismatch problem. The analysis will place the empirical evidence we have gathered against the backdrop of this conceptual model that we have constructed from the literature. And the mechanism of mismatch set forth above can serve well as that model.



Note:
 Solid two-way arrow 1 Match between institutional space and geographic space
 Solid two-way arrow 2 Interjection of *hukou*
 Solid one-way arrow 3 Out migration
 Dotted one-way arrow 4 Institutional change (suppositional *hukou* transfer)
 Dotted two-way arrow 5 Mismatch between institutional space and geographic space
 Solid one-way arrow 6 Return migration

Figure 2.2 The mismatch problem during migration brought about by *hukou*

The dynamics of mismatch play out in the three kinds of rural-urban migration. Intra-municipal rural migrants can enjoy all municipal social welfare amenities at their destination. The mismatch they face is that in many places they still have limited access to urban facilities. Inter-municipal rural migrants can only enjoy provincial social welfare amenities at the destination, so they face two mismatch problems: one between municipalities and one between the urban and the rural area. Inter-provincial rural migrants hardly enjoy any social welfare amenities at the destination, and their mismatch problems are the most serious. As a result of the mismatch, and without the prospect of security in old age, a migrant has to engage in return migration in order to access the social welfare system at the place of origin. As a consequence of the mismatches brought about by the *hukou* system, the incidence of permanent rural -- urban migration has been reduced. Moreover, given the intention to return to their place of origin (see relation 6 in Figure 2.2), rural migrants tend to leave home without giving up their land (Cai, 2003). In that sense, the *hukou* system may be said to have slowed the pace of urbanization in China (Au and Henderson, 2006).

2.2.2 Hukou reform, alteration of hukou status, and urban insurance

The national government intends to stimulate those aspects of urbanization that fuel the domestic market in the hope of sustaining economic growth. Yet it was not only the foreseen economic impact that led to the *hukou* reform. The reform was also a response to the rising political appeal for the freedom to migrate within the country (Wang, 2010). The institutional changes entailed the decentralization of fiscal and administrative powers. These have been moved down the hierarchy from central government to provincial authorities, then on to the municipalities since the late 1990s (Chan, 2010a). Provincial and municipal governments also expect the better-off rural migrants to purchase urban housing, to invest in the local economy, and to settle permanently in the municipalities. The authorities encourage such local bonding for its assumed positive effects that

help in the fierce competition over economic growth with other provinces and municipalities (Zhang, 2009).

According to our conceptual model of the impacts of *hukou* on migration (sketched above in Figure 2.2), eliminating the mismatch problem is the key ambition propelling the *hukou* reform. Theoretically, there are three main approaches to achieve that goal. The optimal way is to abolish *hukou* status, either completely or at least in one of its three attributes (urban/rural, municipal, provincial). The next-best way is to open up more avenues to alter one's *hukou*. The least appealing way would be to separate some of the social welfare provisions from the *hukou* status. In practice, in the course of the *hukou* reform, provincial and municipal governments have taken all three approaches to varying degrees, thereby restraining return migration.

The first approach has been applied in some provinces, including Jiangsu, whereby the distinction between rural and urban *hukou* has been abolished (Chang, 2010). This measure has removed one of the three attributes of a *hukou* status, to the benefit of intra-municipality and inter-municipality migrants. It is no longer necessary for intra-municipality rural migrants to change their *hukou* status in order to take part in the entire social welfare system to the same extent as urban residents do. This measure has also weakened the role that farmland played in providing security for peasants in old age and thereby eased the resistance in the origin municipality to expropriation of farmland for urbanization. The problem of mismatch between urban and rural has been ended for inter-municipality rural migrants, who are now only confronted with a difference in the welfare provisions between municipalities. However, the effects on inter-province rural migrants are ambiguous, since not all provinces of origin have adopted the same policy.

Regarding the second approach, any change in one's *hukou* must be approved by the authorities at both the place of origin and the destination. Before the reform, it was difficult to change one's *hukou*; the main avenues were through obtaining a civil service job after finishing higher education or performing military service (Chan and Buckingham, 2008). These avenues are beyond the reach of most rural migrants. Since the reform, three more channels have been open to inter-municipality and inter-province rural migrants to enter destination *hukou* systems. One is a housing qualification (applicant owns a home of a certain size in the destination area); the second is an insurance qualification (applicant has been enrolled in local urban schemes for a certain period); and the third is a marriage qualification (applicant is married to a resident with a local *hukou*) (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003). Provided that an inter-municipality or inter-province rural migrant meets one of the qualifications, s/he can exchange a home-municipality *hukou* for a destination-municipality *hukou*. And with a municipal-level *hukou* at the destination, an inter-province rural migrant automatically gets the corresponding provincial-level *hukou*.

Compared to the other two qualifications, home ownership offers inter-municipality and inter-province rural migrants the best chance to change their *hukou* status. For instance, an insurance qualification has only been adopted in three of the eight main destination municipalities in Jiangsu province. Nor is the marriage qualification a straight shot: rural migrants do not easily find a marriage partner among local residents due to their low social status in urban China (Davín, 2005). However, municipalities differ in the way they interpret the housing qualification, reflecting the difference in the value of any particular municipal-level *hukou*. It is relatively high in the more-developed municipalities; thus, newcomers are expected to invest more in the local economy in

order to obtain a municipal-level *hukou* (see Li *et al.*, 2010). Conversely, Wu *et al.* (2010) have argued that governments of less-developed municipalities are inclined to enact more lenient *hukou* policies in an effort to absorb cheap labor to benefit local enterprises.

Inter-municipality and inter-province rural migrants who meet the housing qualification then have to decide whether to go ahead and change their *hukou* status. They face trade-offs. Once inter-municipality and inter-province migrants shift their *hukou* from their home municipality to their destination municipality, they give up their farmland use rights. Doing so voluntarily, they do not receive the compensation they would expect if the farmland had been expropriated (Lin and Ho, 2005). Many migrants therefore wait until they can “sell” their home *hukou* at a good price before applying for a *hukou* at their destination. For example, in our 2012 survey in the municipality of Yangzhou, fewer than half of the migrant homeowners had applied for a Yangzhou *hukou*. The reluctance among rural migrants to give up their home *hukou* in turn threatens the success of the receiving municipalities’ efforts to ease *hukou* access.

The amount of money needed to purchase market-sector housing puts home ownership out of reach for most laborers. On average, a market-sector unit costs more than 20 times the average annual income in China’s municipalities (Wang, 2012). Moreover, before the *hukou* reform, rural migrants without a local *hukou* could not get a mortgage (Wu, 2006). If governments intend to sell more urban dwellings at such high prices, the *hukou* reform would have to open up access to mortgages. For instance, in 2007, Jiangsu province made an institutional improvement enshrined in guidelines for “Solving Rural-urban Migrants’ Difficulties” (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2007a). This milestone legislation permits certain inter-municipality rural migrants to participate in the housing provident fund. Although the criteria for eligibility are fairly strict, inter-municipality rural migrants now have access to sources to overcome the financial impediments to home ownership. However, inter-province rural migrants are still barred access to housing loans. The reason may be that a trans-provincial mortgage requires cooperation between provinces and thus lies outside the jurisdiction of the provincial government. Inter-province rural migrants therefore rarely meet the housing qualification.

The third approach is to separate participation in an urban insurance scheme from one's *hukou* status. If covered, a migrant can count on a secure livelihood in old age at the destination (Davies and Ramia, 2008). For example, Jiangsu Provincial Government now allows rural migrants to purchase commercial insurance policies from state-owned insurance companies regardless of their *hukou* status (JSHRSS, 2007). At the municipal level, there seems to be no direct link between the government's budget and the migrants’ insurance; municipal authorities are rarely interested in developing an insurance policy of their own. Instead, they usually operate the scheme of the provincial government.

An additional stipulation addressing the social security concerns of intra-province migrants has been implemented to uphold the value of the provincial-level *hukou*. Since 2007, rural migrants with a Jiangsu *hukou* can transfer their insurance for free among places within the same province (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2007b). In contrast, if inter-province laborers migrate to another destination or go back home, they have to drop their existing coverage and purchase insurance at the other place. That clause deflates the enthusiasm of inter-province rural migrants to participate in an urban insurance scheme at their destination.

Summing up the problem of mismatch between social welfare and *hukou*, we expect to see differential effects of the *hukou* reform (see Table 2.1). The welfare of intra-province rural migrants -- including intra-municipality and inter-municipality laborers with a provincial-level *hukou* at their destination -- has improved. A tangible improvement encourages rural migrants to call that destination home. They are then more likely to purchase a market-sector dwelling or save up for one. For the inter-province rural migrants in contrast, the effects of the reform are not so obvious. Their status prevents a permanent stay at the destination, so they will have to engage in return migration, as before. They are consequently inclined to invest in housing in their hometown, not in their current place of residence.

Table 2.1 Effects of *hukou* reform on mismatch problems for three types of rural migrants

Types of migrants	Mismatch problem	Measures of the <i>hukou</i> reform	Expected effects on mismatch problem	Expected effects on migration future and home ownership
Intra-municipality rural migrants	Mismatch between urban and rural	Abolition of urban/rural distinction Full social welfare provisions for all municipal residents	Solving mismatch between urban and rural	Permanent migration Investment in housing in the place of destination
Inter-municipality rural migrants	Mismatch between urban and rural	Abolition of urban/rural distinction Housing qualification with housing mortgage	Solving mismatch between urban and rural	Permanent migration or return migration Investment in housing in the place of destination or origin
	Mismatch between municipalities	Urban insurance freely transferable within the province	Reducing mismatch between municipalities	
Inter-province rural migrants	Mismatch between urban and rural	Possible abolition of urban/rural distinction depending on originating province	Ambiguous mismatch between urban and rural	Return migration Investment in housing in the place of origin
	Mismatch between municipalities	Housing qualification but without housing mortgage	Slightly reduced mismatch between municipalities	
	Mismatch between provinces	Urban insurance still not freely transferable	Slightly reduced mismatch between provinces	

2.2.3 Determinants of rural migrants' home ownership at destination municipalities

The determinants of rural migrants' housing tenure at destination municipalities have been extensively discussed, mostly in light of empirical work on different municipalities before the

hukou reform. Diverging from the emphasis on demographic or economic factors prevailing in research on western countries (e.g. Deurloo et al., 1987), most research on China has emphasized the effects of institutional constraints.

A local urban *hukou* (see Huang and Clark, 2002; Huang and Jiang, 2009; Jiang, 2006; Logan et al., 2009; Wu, 2004), in addition to a higher-ranked occupation (see Li, 2000), and a public-sector job (see Zhou, 2011) are associated with home ownership. Most residents with a local urban *hukou* could enter into home ownership at a low cost through two channels: they either inherited a property or obtained it at a low price by purchasing collective-owned housing such as *work units* (Logan et al., 2009). The former channel is largely closed to rural migrants, since there are few urban dwellings for them to inherit. For the latter channel, without having a local urban *hukou*, rural migrants could not be official employees of *work units*. As a consequence, the *work units* would not assign collective-owned housing to them (Huang, 2003). Only those already living in collective-owned housing were given the option to purchase *work units* housing, thereby attaining home ownership (Logan et al., 2009). In short, if rural migrants enter into home ownership, they do this mainly by purchasing market-sector housing.

The demographic effects have been elucidated by Huang and Clark (2002). Working with data from a nationwide survey conducted in 1994 among residents with a local urban *hukou* and migrants in 1994, they found that age (older), household size (big family), and a higher household income are associated with becoming a homeowner. Using data from Guangzhou for the period 1992 to 1994, Li (2000) found that only higher income was associated with home ownership; other life-cycle variables were statistically not significant. Later, Huang and Jiang (2009) examined home ownership in Beijing using data from 2000 and found that a big household was positively related to home ownership. Wu (2004) examined migrants' housing tenure in his own survey of 2000 in Beijing and Shanghai. He found that age, education level, marital status, and household income were not statistically significant with respect to owning a dwelling.

In sum, all studies report that home ownership among rural migrants was mainly institution-dependent before the *hukou* reform. The numerous studies on life-cycle variables have led to considerable debate instead of consensus. Yet it is generally accepted that the effects of an individual's life-cycle position are only moderately important, as the role of demographics has been cushioned by institutional constraints. To cope with the mismatch problem, most rural migrants have engaged in return migration and have become homeowners back in their hometown. Socio-demographics can predict when a person will become a homeowner but not where. In this sense, institutional constraints do not explain all the effects of demographics on home ownership, only those at a certain place – the destination municipality.

However, the *hukou* reform is expected to change that and we pursue two main hypotheses that express our expectations of the changes. Firstly, with the decrease of the institutional impediments, we posit that home ownership among rural migrants after the *hukou* reform will be linked to life-cycle factors as well as to attaining a local *hukou* and participation in welfare programs. Furthermore, we expect to find that in the same province, the more developed municipalities have maintained rather strict *hukou* constraints after the reform. This may be formulated as our second hypothesis: in the less developed municipalities, where access to social

programs is relatively easy, the effects of institutional factors on home ownership among rural migrants are less important than in the more developed municipalities of the same province.

2.3 Case study, dataset, and research design

2.3.1 Case study area

Jiangsu province is a highly suitable region for a case study to evaluate rural migrants' home ownership after the *hukou* reform. The region includes a booming coastal economy that attracts large numbers of migrant workers from impoverished regions of China (see Figure 2.3). Moreover, since the *hukou* reform began, the national government has used this province as a model to test its new policy of relaxing constraints on *hukou* access and rural residents' participation in the urban insurance system.



(Source: <http://map.baidu.com>)

Figure 2.3 The location of the case-study areas

In terms of *hukou* access, the provincial government started the reform in January 2003 by setting guidelines for the *hukou* reform (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003). As set forth above, in order to apply for a local *hukou*, a rural migrant has to hold a housing, insurance, or marriage qualification. Each municipal government was required to revise its *hukou* access policy based on these guidelines. In the meantime, eight have done so: Wuxi (April 28, 2003); Suzhou (April 30, 2003); Taizhou (June 30, 2003); Zhenjiang (July 1, 2003); Changzhou (July 1, 2003); Nantong (October 9, 2003); Yangzhou (June 1, 2004); and Nanjing (June 19, 2004). Table 2.2 compares the requirements posed by these eight municipalities in 2009 when our fieldwork was finished.

Table 2.2 *Hukou* reform policies of eight municipalities in Jiangsu: requirements to obtain a local *hukou*

Municipality	Housing qualification: a migrant who purchased market housing of a minimum size in the urban area			Insurance qualification: migrant with specified number of years in an urban pension scheme	Marriage qualification: migrant who is married to local resident
	Minimum dwelling size (sq meters)	2009 average urban housing price (Yuan /m ²)	Average amount of housing investment		
Suzhou	75	6,108	458,100	unavailable	Applicants should have formal housing
Wuxi	100	6,035	603,500	unavailable	(idem)
Nanjing	60	5,719	343,140	unavailable	(idem)
Changzhou	50	4,001	200,050	10 years	(idem)
Yangzhou	75	4,200	315,000	unavailable	(idem)
Zhenjiang	50	4,413	220,650	unavailable	(idem)
Nantong	60	4,362	261,720	5 years	(idem)
Taizhou	No constraint	3,980	No constraint	2 years	No constraint

(Source: Summarized from policies of Suzhou in 2003, Wuxi in 2003, Nanjing in 2004, Changzhou in 2003, Yangzhou in 2004, Zhenjiang in 2003, Nantong in 2003 and Taizhou in 2003)

According to the guidelines of the Jiangsu provincial government, the three pathways are theoretically open to rural migrants. In practice, however, their success depends on how municipal governments apply these rules. It may be easier to obtain a housing qualification than the other two because all of the municipalities look favorably on rural migrants' purchase of market-sector dwellings as it means investment in the local economy. In addition, each destination municipality has its own reasons to emphasize or adapt particular details of these three qualifications. Presumably, the difference in their level of development goes a long way toward explaining the variation in the adjustments municipalities make in the eligibility criteria. To verify this supposition, we have ranked the municipalities' developmental status by their GDP and GDP per capita, two indicators that are commonly used for China. In that respect, the most highly developed urban areas in Jiangsu province are Nanjing, Suzhou, and Wuxi, respectively holding the top three positions (Jiangsu Statistics Bureau, 2010). Concomitantly, their threshold for *hukou* eligibility is relatively high. Besides requiring a higher amount of investment in home ownership, they do not offer the channel of insurance qualification. In contrast, the criteria set by other municipalities are less restrictive (cf. Table 2.2). They apply more lenient criteria to attract cheap labor, and the rural migrants will not have to spend as much on a dwelling to gain *hukou* access.

Rural migrants in Jiangsu province mainly participate in five kinds of urban insurance schemes: work-injury, pension, medical, unemployment, and maternity insurance (Nielsen et al., 2005). In 2007, a comprehensive official supplement to the provincial government's *Guidelines* was

issued (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2007a). That document clarified the conditions under which rural migrants could participate in various insurance schemes.

This supplement divided rural migrants into two groups: those who signed official contracts with employers; and those without official contracts, including the self-employed (JSHRSS, 2007). Regarding the former, the employers were bound to several conditions: they should participate in work-injury insurance on behalf of the rural migrants and pay the entire premium for their employees; they should notify the migrants of their rights to an urban pension and unemployment coverage and pay part of the premium; and in terms of urban medical insurance and maternity benefits, the employers should negotiate with rural migrants on the possibilities for participation. Rural migrants without official contracts participate in these insurance schemes voluntarily, as local workers do, and negotiate directly with the insurance companies on the details. Both the guidelines and its explanatory supplement are intended to regulate employers' behavior such that the rights of rural migrants' participation in social insurance schemes are guaranteed. And it is up to the rural migrants themselves whether or not to purchase urban insurance, with the exception of work-injury insurance, which is paid for by the employer.

2.3.2 Dataset and research design

Our analysis is based on the 2009 survey that was administered by Nanjing Normal University to more than 3,000 rural migrants in eight municipalities in Jiangsu province: Nanjing (438), Suzhou (481), Wuxi (390), Changzhou (402), Zhenjiang (279), Yangzhou (277), Nantong (322), and Taizhou (217). After excluding invalid questionnaires, the sample size was 2,806 (250 individual homeowners and 2,556 non-owners).

The analysis was performed with binary logistic regression models, the dependent variable being home ownership among rural migrants (owning equals 1; not owning equals 0). The predictors include socio-economic and demographic variables (age, gender, education level, household size, and personal monthly income) and institutional factors (urban pension insurance, medical insurance, unemployment insurance, work-injury insurance, and province-level *hukou*). We excluded maternity insurance from the analysis performed on the whole sample. Our survey recorded the province-level *hukou* of the respondents, distinguishing between rural migrants with a Jiangsu *hukou* (intra-municipality rural migrants and inter-municipality rural migrants) from those with a non-Jiangsu *hukou* (inter-province rural migrants).

A descriptive overview of the variables in the dataset is shown in Table 2.3. Less than nine percent of the respondents proved to be homeowners. The average age for the entire sample is about 34 years, and more than 60% of the respondents are males. An educational attainment of nine years of schooling is compulsory in China. After that, students can choose to graduate and enter the labor force or to continue their education. Personal income has two categories: less or more than 1600 Yuan per month. The average monthly income for urban employment in Jiangsu province was around 1,570 Yuan in 2009 (Jiangsu Statistics Bureau, 2010). Household size refers to all family members living together in the destination municipalities, including migrant couples, children, elderly parents, and siblings.

Table 2.3 List of variables

Dependent variable		Categories	n	Percent
Home ownership		Non-owner	2556	91.09%
		Owner	250	8.91%
Independent variables		Categories	n	Percent
Socio-economic and demographic variables	Age	< 30	1160	41.34%
		30-49	1461	52.07%
		50 and older	185	6.59%
	Gender	Female	1072	38.20%
		Male	1734	61.80%
	Education	More than 9 years	838	29.86%
		9 years or less	1968	70.14%
		More than 1600 Yuan	796	28.37%
	Monthly income	1600 Yuan or less	2010	71.63%
	Household size	3 or more	847	30.19%
		2 persons	985	35.10%
		Single person	974	34.71%
Institutional variables	Province-level <i>hukou</i>	Jiangsu	1238	44.12%
		Non-Jiangsu	1568	55.88%
	Urban pension insurance	Participant	717	25.55%
		Non-participant	2089	74.45%
	Medical insurance	Participant	773	27.55%
		Non-participant	2033	72.45%
	Unemployment insurance	Participant	318	11.33%
		Non-participant	2488	88.67%
	Work-injury insurance	Participant	848	30.22%
		Non-participant	1958	69.78%

In the analysis, we first performed binary logistic regression on rural migrants' home ownership for the eight municipalities together to demonstrate the effects of the independent variables, namely demographics and institutional factors. Then we divided the eight municipalities into two groups based on their developmental status and institutional thresholds. Group 1 consists of the more developed municipalities of Nanjing, Suzhou, and Wuxi, all having a high threshold for participation in the institutions. Group 2 consists of the less developed municipalities of Changzhou, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Taizhou, and Nantong. We modeled the rural migrants' home ownership for each group and compared the effects of the institutional factors. Finally, we applied regression models to each municipality separately, using the independent variables of two key institutional factors, namely a province-level *hukou* and urban pension insurance. This analysis showed the inter-municipality differences with respect to these institutional factors.

2.4 Regression analysis

2.4.1 Effects of institutional variables and demographics on rural migrants' home ownership

Model 1 reveals the respective contribution of the institutional factors and socio-demographics for all eight municipalities together, resulting in a Nagelkerke's R square of 0.299 with 11 degrees of freedom (Table 2.4). The results show that age, gender (female), higher educational level, large household size, higher personal income, Jiangsu *hukou*, pension insurance, and unemployment insurance are all significant predictors of home ownership among rural migrants. The effect of medical insurance is statistically insignificant, while work-injury insurance has a negative correlation.

Table 2.4 Binary logistic regression models of rural migrants' home ownership

Own equals 1; not own equals 0	Model 1 for migrants' home ownership in eight municipalities		Model 2 for higher institutional barriers of Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing		Model 3 for lower institutional barriers of Changzhou, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Nantong, and Taizhou	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Age	0.042***	1.043	0.068***	1.071	0.017	1.018
Female	0.587***	1.799	0.420*	1.523	0.807***	2.242
Education (less than 9 years=ref)						
Higher (9 years or above)	0.583***	1.791	0.517**	1.667	0.616***	1.852
Household size (single person=ref)						
3 or more	1.961***	7.104	1.959***	7.090	1.952***	7.046
couple	0.575**	1.777	0.572	1.771	0.614*	1.848
Personal monthly income (less than 1600=ref)						
more than 1600	0.905***	2.472	0.806***	2.240	1.113***	3.043
Hukou (not Jiangsu=ref)						
Jiangsu hukou	0.838***	2.311	1.475***	4.373	0.310	1.363
Urban pension insurance (none=ref)	1.006***	2.735	0.752**	2.121	1.137***	3.118
Urban medical insurance (none=ref)	0.192	1.212	-0.116	0.890	0.439	1.551
Unemployment insurance (none=ref)	0.854***	2.349	1.217***	3.379	0.736**	2.087
Working-injury insurance (none=ref)	-0.950***	0.387	-1.035***	0.355	-0.951***	0.386
Constant	-6.496***		-7.574***		-5.639***	
Sample size	2,806		1,309		1,497	
	(owners: 250; non-owners: 2556; df=11)		(own=113; not own=1,196; df=11)		(own=137; not own=1,360; df=11)	
Nagelkerke R-square	0.299		0.361		0.288	
Significance levels: * <= 0.10; ** <= 0.05; *** <=0.01						

When the institutional effects are viewed in detail, it appears that having a Jiangsu *hukou* increases the likelihood of owning one's home, which is consistent with findings of other studies. This effect is probably a result of two conditions. For one thing, compared to inter-province rural migrants, intra-province migrant workers are more strongly motivated to invest in housing in Jiangsu province, since it is their home province (De Brauw and Rozelle, 2008). In addition, since the reform, a Jiangsu (but non-local) *hukou* allows rural migrants to participate in the housing provident fund or to obtain a mortgage loan. Either option would solve their financial problem of how to pay for home ownership. Under these conditions, rural migrants with a Jiangsu *hukou* are more likely to attain home ownership. In that sense, the *hukou* reform creates disparities between intra-province and inter-province migrants.

Participation in the urban pension insurance scheme is also a positive predictor. The odds of being homeowners are nearly three times as high for rural migrants who have pension insurance than for those who don't (see Table 2.4). It is likely that the guarantee of an old-age pension will clinch a migrant's decision to buy a dwelling and settle down on a permanent basis. And in some municipalities – namely Changzhou, Nantong, and Taizhou – participation in an urban pension scheme for several years allows a rural migrant to apply for a local urban *hukou* (see Table 2.2). Similarly, having unemployment insurance, which serves as a guarantee of steady income, is also a positive predictor of home ownership (see Table 2.4).

In contrast, work-injury insurance has a negative correlation with home ownership, possibly due to the type of employment of the insured migrants. People working in construction and manufacturing should take out injury insurance, mainly because of potential physical harm at the workplace (Nielsen *et al.*, 2005). However, rather than buying a dwelling in the market sector, those workers usually live in sheds at the construction sites or in factory dormitories (Li *et al.*, 2009). Medical insurance is statistically not a significant factor, probably because Jiangsu's policy would usually only cover serious illness (not common ailments) (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2008). Therefore, it is not very attractive to rural migrants; the prospect of eligibility for medical coverage would not induce them to settle down and pursue a local *hukou*.

Regarding demographics, age and higher income have a positive correlation to home ownership. These variables are reflected in the savings accumulated over the course of one's labor migration. Another variable with a clearly positive correlation is a higher level of education, which usually leads to a higher-ranking occupation and higher income. The number of family members living together has a very strong positive effect on home ownership, probably because market-sector housing is usually more spacious than factory dormitories and low-rent accommodation. This finding is consistent with that in the review by Clark *et al.* regarding the life-cycle effects on tenures. They found that an increase in the number of family members would trigger residential mobility (see Clark *et al.*, 1994).

It is interesting to note the gender difference in the propensity of rural migrants to enter into home ownership. We found that being female has a positive correlation with home ownership. Given China's strong tradition of the patri-family and marriage roles, husbands usually have a higher socio-economic position than their wives (Davin, 2005). Due to gender imbalances, female migrants are likely marriage partners for local males – and those males who own a house are more

likely to be successful in their pursuit of matrimony. Conversely, male migrants are not likely marriage partners for local female residents.

It is instructive to compare our findings with those of other studies on home ownership, including some dealing with China's rural migrants before the *hukou* reform. In terms of age, educational level, income, and household size, our findings resemble those drawn from research in market economies. We too found that individuals who are older, more highly educated, with a higher income and a big family are more inclined to own private housing (cf. Deurloo *et al.*, 1987). One exception concerns the effect of gender, which reflects China's marriage culture. Thus, in view of the analysis of Model 1, our first hypothesis appears plausible: After the *hukou* reform, rural migrants' home ownership is determined by both life-cycle factors and participation in institutions.

2.4.2 Logistic model for inter-municipality difference in rural migrants' home ownership rate

Our second hypothesis is focused on the disparate influences of the reform package on the less- and more-developed municipalities. That relation is analyzed in this section as Model 2 and Model 3. Model 2 concerns the more developed municipalities of Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing, where the institutional barriers are higher. The sample size for this model is 1,309 and its Nagelkerke's R square is 0.361 (see Table 2.4). The sample size for Model 3 (concerning Changzhou, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Taizhou, and Nantong) is 1,497, with a Nagelkerke's R square of 0.288 (see Table 2.4). The institutional variables associated with a Jiangsu *hukou* turn out to have different effects in these two models. But the demographic indicators, with the exception of age are more or less equally strong predictors of home ownership among rural migrants. Only in Model 2 does age have a significantly positive correlation. That is probably because rural migrants need time to accumulate more capital in Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing, where house prices are much higher than in the other municipalities (cf. Table 2.2).

Regarding the institutional factors, a Jiangsu *hukou* has a very positive effect on home ownership in those urban areas that have a high threshold for *hukou* access, namely Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing. In contrast, a Jiangsu *hukou* is statistically not significant in the less-developed municipalities (see Table 2.4). Two possible explanations may be offered. The first concerns the cost of home ownership. In addition to the higher average price per sq meter for market-sector housing in the more-developed municipalities, rural migrants would have to purchase a larger apartment to gain *hukou* access there (cf. Table 2.2). Given this affordability issue, access to one of the housing provident funds and to mortgage loans is a crucial precondition for home ownership. Compared to rural migrants with a non-Jiangsu *hukou*, workers with a Jiangsu *hukou* – and thus with institutional advantages and more human capital – have a greater chance to meet these preconditions. In the less-developed municipalities, where housing prices are lower, better-off rural migrants can more easily afford the house payments through capital accumulation (see Table 2.4).

The other explanation lies in the participation in insurance schemes. Since 2007, rural migrants with a Jiangsu *hukou* can transfer their pension insurance for free to other places within the same province (Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2007b). It is fairly easy for an intra-province migrant to transfer participation in the social welfare scheme of his/her hometown to an urban destination within Jiangsu province. However, the situation of inter-province migrants is not that

simple, and they face institutional hurdles. In that case, a better strategy for an inter-province migrant could be to first settle down in a less-developed municipality and participate in its institutions, taking advantage of its lower threshold for access. Then, after obtaining a Jiangsu *hukou* and a municipal *hukou*, it will be easier for the migrants or their children to gain access to institutions in the more-developed municipalities of the province due to the clause of free transfer. In a sense, participation in the institutions is a form of stepwise social mobility for rural migrants from a poor province. Currently, they remain at the first stage of such a strategy. The institutional barriers make it unlikely for an inter-province migrant to pursue home ownership in more-developed municipalities. In contrast, in the less-developed municipalities, where it is relatively easy for rural migrants to settle permanently, there is no obvious difference in home ownership between migrants with a non-Jiangsu *hukou* and those with a Jiangsu *hukou*.

The analysis of each municipality separately reveals more details about the inter-municipality difference in the effects of a province-level *hukou* and having urban pension insurance (see Table 2.5). For the analysis, these two were the only institutional variables we examined, due to the small size of the sample for each municipality. In Changzhou, Zhenjiang, Yangzhou, Nantong, and Taizhou, a province-level *hukou* did not prove to be statistically significant (or its correlation with home ownership was very weak, as in Nantong), whereas the effect of urban pension insurance was relatively strong. In contrast, both a Jiangsu *hukou* and pension insurance showed a positive correlation with rural migrants' home ownership in Nanjing, Suzhou, and Wuxi. In that light, our second hypothesis appears to hold: in the less-developed municipalities, where the threshold for access to institutions is lower, the effects of institutional factors are less significant than in the more-developed municipalities, where the *hukou* comes with more valuable entitlements and access to it remains consequently more restrictive.

Table 2.5 Binary logistic regression models of rural migrants' home ownership for each city

Own equals 1; not own equals 0	Nanjing		Suzhou		Wuxi		Changzhou	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Hukou (not Jiangsu=ref)								
Jiangsu hukou	1.146***	3.146	1.256***	3.513	2.011***	7.471	0.311	1.364
Urban pension insurance (none=ref)	1.401***	4.059	0.830*	2.294	1.084***	2.956	1.288***	3.625
Sample size	438 (33 owners)		481 (23 owners)		390 (57 owners)		402 (33 owners)	
Nagelkerke R-square	0.133		0.073		0.277		0.070	
Own equals 1; not own equals 0	Zhenjiang		Yangzhou		Nantong		Taizhou	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Hukou (not Jiangsu=ref)								
Jiangsu hukou	-0.579	0.560	0.434	1.544	0.914*	2.494	0.460	1.583
Pension insurance (none=ref)	1.179**	3.251	1.083***	2.954	2.319***	10.163	1.865***	6.457
Sample size	279 (18 owners)		277 (31 owners)		322 (23 owners)		217 (32 owners)	
R-square	0.057		0.067		0.251		0.194	
Significance levels: * <= 0.10; ** <= 0.05; *** <=0.01								

2.5 Conclusion

This paper has explored the constraints on attainment of home ownership by rural migrants in Jiangsu province. We have raised two research questions: What are the effects of institutions and demographic characteristics on rural migrants' home ownership rates after the *hukou* reform in China? And which differences occur between destination municipalities in the same province in this respect?

We have found that after the *hukou* reform, the older, more highly educated, higher-income migrants with a large family are more likely than others to own private housing. Institutional factors, notably having a Jiangsu *hukou* and urban pension insurance, have been shown to be positive predictors of rural migrants' home ownership, although an inter-municipality difference has been observed. In the more-developed municipalities of Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing, a Jiangsu *hukou* has been a prominent factor in predicting rural migrants' path to home ownership. A Jiangsu *hukou*, in contrast, has turned out to be irrelevant in the less-developed municipalities of Changzhou, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Nantong, and Taizhou.

With respect to the theoretical implications, the analysis presented in this paper has led to deeper understanding of the *hukou* reform. In essence, the national government intends to promote free migration within the country to accelerate urbanization. Meanwhile, provincial and municipal governments encourage rural migrants' contribution to local economic growth. Consequently, the institutional constraints on rural migrants' access to home ownership at their destination are gradually being relaxed. It is interesting to note the effect of this: studies referring to the situation before the reforms emphasized the institutional constraints as a dominant factor in the explanation of homeownership rates; now demographic and socio-economic characteristics contribute much more. This means that the explanation models for tenure differentiation in China are starting to become more consistent with findings from research in market economies.

Furthermore, this paper has documented a divergence of these effects between municipalities with a different extent of *hukou* reform. Rural migrants' access to home ownership is evidently still fettered by the institutional constraints in more-developed municipalities with higher standards for *hukou* access.

Of course, given the limitations of our empirical material, this quantitative analysis has not broached the topic of *how* rural migrants respond to the *hukou* reform, nor how they make a trade-off between investing in housing in their hometown and purchasing a market-sector dwelling at their destination. Questions such as these will be addressed in our future publications that will be based on our extensive 2012 survey in Yangzhou.

With respect to policy implications, this paper has evaluated the practical utility of the *hukou* reform and explored some directions for further reform. Thus far, it has relaxed the constraints on rural migrants who seek access to the local *hukou* system. In particular, it has released the social welfare system from *hukou* constraints. These institutional changes have strengthened the rural migrants' resolve to settle down in one of the destination municipalities permanently. At the same time, they do not have to give up their home *hukou*. A better-off rural migrant is more inclined to invest in market accommodation, choosing ownership tenure instead of temporary housing. This propensity is especially noticeable in the less-developed destination

municipalities, where housing prices are lower and participation in institutions is relatively easy. It seems that the *hukou* reform has contributed considerably to rural migrants' propensity to settle down permanently in the less-developed destination municipalities. However, it is still difficult for them to settle in the large municipalities, where the social welfare systems are more extensive. These municipalities therefore need to take further steps to relax their rules for *hukou* status if they wish to bind the rural migrants and thereby stimulate their economy.

Despite these institutional improvements, the *hukou* reform has also aggravated the disparities between rural migrants, due to China's ingrained favoritism for the local population at the expense of migrants from far, who remain "second rate" citizens. The *hukou* reform implemented by local governments first benefits rural migrants from the same municipality; the next beneficiaries are migrants from the same province; last to benefit are those from other provinces. Thus, the mismatch has been effectively reduced for intra-province rural migrants but inter-province rural migrants still experience serious mismatch problems. In order to improve their situation, provincial governments could cooperate more closely to implement cross-regional policies on housing mortgages and insurance schemes, thereby limiting the scope for discrimination against inter-province rural migrants.

The emphasis on the housing qualification suggests that the recent *hukou* reform has been driven by the municipal governments' intention to boost local real estate development and economic growth. It obviously benefits the better-off rural migrants who are capable of purchasing market-sector housing after years of capital accumulation. They can choose to apply for a destination *hukou* or instead maintain their *hukou* at their place of origin for the sake of retaining access to their farmland. In our view, the ideal strategy for a rural migrant would be to purchase urban housing in the destination municipality, take part in some local public amenities like urban insurance, but still maintain a *hukou* in their home village. That would give rural migrants the flexibility to adjust to changes in their life cycle. For instance, if a migrant needs the *hukou* of the destination for the education of children, s/he can apply for a local *hukou* by virtue of home ownership.

In the real world, however, for most poor rural migrants the *hukou* system is still out of reach. In order to improve their situation, more eligibility criteria could be subjected to reform; for instance, changing the rules for the insurance qualification could give them the opportunity to attain a local *hukou* after participating in an urban pension scheme for a certain number of years.

In the vision the national government has set forth for China's urbanization, more migrating farmers without a local *hukou* would need to settle permanently at their destination. Once there, these newcomers would surely seek to obtain the same access to public amenities as their urban counterparts. In that case, the trajectory of admitting all rural migrants to the social welfare system, independent of their *hukou* status, would impinge on more than the insurance schemes. The way forward is through reform, and not only in the realm of insurance. Change is also needed in public housing, education, and social assistance (guaranteeing a minimum livelihood) to provide for the rural migrants or their children who will be living in the destination municipalities in the future.

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3. Migrants' settlement intention after the *hukou* reform: evidence from Suzhou, China

Abstract

This paper analyzes the settlement intention of China's rural–urban migrants for an urban domicile after the reform of the Socialist residential registration system (*hukou* in Chinese). Based on data from a survey conducted in Suzhou city of Jiangsu province in 2009, the analysis shows that, compared to first generation migrants born in Socialist China, migrants born after 1980s (the notion of new generation) attach less value on the benefits based on the *hukou* status in their motives for choosing future domicile, especially when the institutional reform gradually separates the social welfare provisions from *hukou* system. Furthermore, the aspiration to establish a new home also reflects the family's financial resources. Other family members might migrate to Suzhou, thereby alleviating the need to send remittances; the family might even sell rural housing to purchase urban housing. Such strategies illustrate the significance of family support for migrants' aspirations for an urban domicile.

Keywords: Rural–urban migration, Settlement intention, *Hukou* reform, New-generation migrants, Family support, Suzhou

3.1 Introduction

China's ongoing economic reforms have produced far-reaching regional and urban-rural disparities, thereby enticing millions of rural people to migrate to urban areas where they find work as low-paid manual laborers (Shen, 2002). After years of saving up, a dilemma looms for some: where should their home be in the future? On the one hand, the need to care for elderly family members induces rural migrants to go back to their old home. On the other hand, they are tempted by the better pay for a labor job and the advanced public services in the city than in the rural area to stay on permanently in their place of work and establish their domicile at the destination (e.g., Zhu and Chen, 2010).

Universally, the decision 'to set up a new home' is recognized as a commitment to stay in a place (Mallett, 2004). The meaning of 'home' is culturally charged and is thus susceptible to change in the course of any social transition. In traditional Chinese culture, home ('家') is analogous to 'family', more specifically to a place of habitation where a family's universe lies (Liu, 2013). Starting in the mid-twentieth century, however, that family-first value has been severely challenged by the Chinese Socialist regime which emphasizes the benefits to the State (Shek, 2006). And since the late 1970s, with the adoption of an open-door policy, people have come under the influence of Chinese modern thought (Faure and Fang, 2008). This transition has diversified the meaning of 'home' to migrants. Now, (1) individual migration may be subject to the will of the family in accordance with Chinese tradition, and the migrant therefore eventually returns to the old rural home (Zhou, 2010). At the same time, (2) the Socialist regime makes it only proper for migration to be arranged in accordance with the will of the State (Bonnin, 2009). Meanwhile, (3) modern thought puts more emphasis on self-actualization via migration, so a move usually entails a

migrant's permanent departure from the old home and a search for a new domicile (Ahmed, 1999). Given these conflicting meanings, it is expected that a migrant's choice of where to make a future home will largely depend on the individual's values and opportunities.

There is another dimension to the relocation decision. Even when the individual migrant decides to establish a permanent home at the destination, s/he will face the institutional barrier – the household residency registration system (*hukou* in Chinese) (Zhu, 2007). China's rural migrants rarely have access to the *hukou* system on which social welfare and political participation is based (Treiman, 2012). Without these institutional benefits, migrated laborers are reluctant to set up domicile in the city. Starting in the late 1990s, however, to accelerate the development of the real estate industry, municipal governments at the destination instated a new *hukou* access policy: an applicant who owns an urban dwelling of a certain size can obtain the local *hukou* status (e.g., Suzhou Municipal Government, 2003). Yet, the purchase entails a substantial investment, exceeding the purchasing power of most migrated laborers (Wang, 2012). Thus, access to a mortgage loan is a crucial precondition for home ownership. But an urban *hukou* is required to unlock access to mortgage loans (Wu, 2004). Migrants therefore have to rely on family support or on loans from relatives to purchase an urban dwelling (Taormina and Gao, 2010).

In this paper, we first trace the evolving meaning of 'home' in China. The diverging meaning of 'home' across generations might correspond to differences between first-generation and new-generation migrants in their aspiration for their future domicile. Furthermore, we explore how family support may influence rural migrants' aspirations. To our knowledge, the effects of the differences in the affective and financial components among the migrants on their housing ambitions have not yet been subjected to empirical investigation. So in an effort to bridge that gap, we pose the following research questions: (1) what is the difference between first- and new generations of rural migrants in their understanding of the meaning of 'home', and to what extent is this difference reflected in their motives to acquire an urban domicile? (2) Does family support matter in the migrant's aspirations to choose for a domicile at the destination?

The paper starts with a review of the literature on migrant's settlement intention and the links with the term of 'home', then it scans the meaning of 'home' in three periods of Chinese history: imperial China, Socialist China before 1978, and contemporary China. Using data from a 2009 survey on more than 900 rural migrants carried out at Suzhou city in Jiangsu province, the empirical part of this paper first summarizes the rural migrants' motives that were brought to bear on their consideration of their future domicile. The paper then applies a series of binary regression models to explore the determinants of each motive by demographic characteristics, with an emphasis on cross-generational differences among the migrants. Thirdly, to explore the role of family, we present a multinomial regression analysis that models the explanation of variations in the migrants' aspiration.

3.2 Theoretical perspectives

3.2.1 Migrants' settlement intention and the relevance of 'home'

From the angle of Neoclassical Economic (NE), Todaro (1969) proposed a model explaining rural-urban migration whereby rural laborers migrate for urban employment with high income – migrants

were viewed as risk-loving venturers. However, the neoclassical approach has been criticized by the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM). It developed an approach of risk-aversion, implying that decisions to migrate could occur in the absence of a significant wage gap between rural and urban sectors and were motivated by a concern to minimize the risks attached to agricultural income variability (e.g., Stark, 1982). Because of this divergence, a debate occurs over migrants' settlement intention. NE model considers return migrants as losers who are unable to earn more money in urban areas. Conversely, they are viewed as gainers according to NELM's approach, as they escape from the risk of agriculture and come back with remittances (Cassarino, 2004).

However, both of these two economic explanations fall short in explaining migrants' intention when institutional and cultural factors are involved. In China, for instance, even if rural migrants desire to stay permanently in the city and bring their families there, they are unable to do so because of the institutional barriers (Fan and Wang, 2008). In another case in Egypt, the old custom persuades female rural migrants to return to their rural home eventually for marriage (Hessler, 2015). In that light, migrants' settlement intention is much more complex more than the economic issue alone, and more attention need to be given to the relation between migrants and the institutional/cultural contexts which they link to (cf., Bailey, 2009; Findlay et al., 2015).

Some scholars therefore introduced a more compound concept 'home' to frame migrants' settlement intention – it is a rich and powerful term for understanding how people experience their migratory journey and conceive of their possible future movements (e.g., Liu, 2013; Mallett, 2004). Essentially, migration involves a departure from the old home and the attempt to establish a new one (Ahmed, 1999). This 'home-making practice' usually involves two components: affectively, a new home is to meet migrants' needs for belonging to a new place; and financially, it can provide them sustenance (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). The pathway to establishing a new home is forged by personal attempts to achieve self-actualization through migration, and to embody their understanding of the meaning of home (Mallett, 2004).

In this process, migration usually sets distinctive meanings of home to different places and related territories (Ahmed, 1999). This makes 'home' a product of contestation for space – what is someone's home may at the same time become non-home to others (Feng et al., 2014). Such difference may be based on a variety of categorizations, such as gender, race, ethnicity, wealth, or class (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). In contemporary China, key differences with respect to the meaning of home lie in the rural realm vs. the urban realm (Feng et al., 2014); that raises a paradigm of the rural/urban division (Fan and Wang, 2008).

The next section scans the transformation in the meaning of 'home' to an individual in China, in order to elucidate how it is constructed by the cultural and institutional context.

3.2.2 Conceptualizing 'home' in China: rural home vs. urban home

Chinese traditional culture, rooted in Confucianism, regarded farming as the cornerstone of the country. Family was regarded as the basic unit to organize farming activity, and families from the same clan lived together to share the risk of agriculture and provide welfare to individuals. In that light, the family comes first when the Chinese construct the idea of 'home' in a traditional way (Shek, 2006). Its primacy explains the strong emphasis on the individual's loyalty to family,

especially to the parents (the head of the family) (Fei, 1983). But migration forces people to leave their parents behind, so they can no longer fulfill the expectations of filial piety. In order to live up to their filial responsibilities in migration, a person's intention to migrate had to be approved by the parents, and migrants were required to return home in time to support their elderly family members (Yang, 2012). In addition, traditional Chinese culture places great value on the hometown where the family clan ties carry on (Oakes, 2000). This local identity and attached belonging also encourage a migrant to eventually return to the hometown, as in the old saying *Yeluo Guigen* [Fallen leaves return to the roots].

In tying social allegiance to place of origin, Chinese traditional culture frames an individual's idea of 'home' – a place where one belongs, and it regulates social relations through family-first values. People were encouraged to take family benefits, family future, filial piety and one's hometown identity into account in their deliberations on their domicile. In that light, compared to an urban home in a new place, the old, Arcadian home is more closely related to the meaning of "home".

Ever since the establishment of the Maoist regime in 1949, the traditional culture has been widely challenged. Chinese Socialists emphasized the overriding importance of collectivism, and the interests of the State always took precedence over those of the family (Shek, 2006); the family had to drop to second place, and its role in organizing agriculture had been replaced by the collective farm. This new mode of organizing agriculture required strong mechanisms to prevent a rural exodus, and the State therefore established a new residential registration system (*hukou*) in the 1950s. Every person was registered at a specific place, and newborns inherited their parents' *hukou* status, no matter where the mother gave birth or where the family was actually living (Chan, 2009).

Furthermore, the State opted for the Soviet growth strategy of rapid industrialization centered on heavy industry in cities. To stimulate urban industrial development, that regime provided nationally financed social welfare benefits to people with an urban *hukou* status (Selden and You, 1997). A person with an urban *hukou* might be working for the government or a state-owned enterprise (work unit). Each work unit was provided with a piece of state-owned land where it could build free housing for employees (Huang, 2004). Meanwhile, the urban *hukou* entitled them to access nationally funded social services like health care, pensions, and children's education (Treiman, 2012). However, rural people working on collective farms in the villages were excluded from the welfare system (Selden and You, 1997). A rural *hukou* only gave a peasant land-use rights, in line with the ancient tradition of reliance on agriculture (and grown children) for security in old age; peasants built their own housing on the collectively owned land of the village (Chan, 2009).

The result was a marked rural-urban disparity of wellbeing, which might encourage peasants to leave the countryside and apply for an urban *hukou*. To head off an impending rural exodus for the city, the State imposed severe restrictions in its *hukou* access policies. Any change in a migrant's *hukou* had to be approved by the authorities at both the place of origin and the destination. The main avenues to urban residency status were to obtain a civil service job after completing higher education or to enlist in military service (Chan, 2009). It was difficult for peasants to meet the requirements, however. And if they stayed in a city for more than three months without having an urban *hukou* status, they would be sent back to their village by the police (Hand, 2009). In this way, the State effectively held back rural-to-urban migration.

By establishing this *hukou* system and its related welfare provisions, the first generation of Chinese socialists pursued a new meaning of ‘home’ – ‘the State-sponsored urban home’ in place of ‘the Arcadian family-first home’. Their endeavors convinced the peasants that with a new home in an urban area, they might enjoy advanced social welfare and a higher social status. Thus, besides the affective and financial components of home (cf., Liu, 2013), the Socialist institution added another component to the meaning of ‘home’ – the *hukou* status and related institutional benefits.

3.2.3 Understanding cross-generational differences among migrant

After the Cultural Revolution, the economic crisis made the Party to rethink its policies, resulting in the 1978 reform. The next policy was to open up and build a semi-market economy by welcoming foreign investment (Wong and Zheng, 2001). To limit the risk, at first this new reform was only implemented in certain areas. The result was uneven regional development, with more-developed municipalities in coastal regions and less-developed municipalities in inland China (Fan, 2002).

To guarantee the necessary labor force for new-built factories, the national government opened the possibility of rural-urban migration, but still locked the migrants out of *hukou* transfer. The regional imbalance had set off migration flows – both inter- and intra-provincial rural-to-urban migration – away from inland regions toward coastal regions (Fan, 2002). First-generation rural migrants went to the cities alone and took menial jobs. Other family members stayed back home to take care of young children and elderly relatives (Fan and Wang, 2008). The leavers were required to send money home to cover these costs (Cai, 2003). The remittances, which served as a contract between the family and the migrant, typically absorbed around 40% of a migrant's income (e.g., Li et al., 2008). Although family migration could reduce the amount of remittance, few migrants managed to take all the members of the core family along because of the barriers to *hukou* access. Therefore, the better-off migrants usually returned in due time to invest in consumption goods, notably in new cottages, to improve the family's living conditions (De Brauw and Rozelle, 2008).

In the late-1990s, as foreign investment declined, the national government decided to fuel domestic consumption by building up a private housing market in the hope of sustaining economic growth (Logan et al., 2009). People were encouraged to purchase the public housing assigned to them, and the work units no longer built public housing for new employees with an urban *hukou* status. Furthermore, a more aggressive policy brought the *hukou* reform after 2000 – the national government expected that the new urban population, mostly migrants, would purchase market-sector housing (Wang, 2010). In practice, provincial and municipal governments sought to provide *hukou* access through a housing qualification. If one were to purchase a dwelling in the destination area, the new owner could exchange the origin-municipality *hukou* for a destination-municipality *hukou* (e.g., Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2003).

Initially, only a small fraction of first generation migrants would transfer their *hukou* to the destination city, because they were afraid of the loss of the use right of farmland – and its implied loss of security in old age (Fan and Wang, 2008). In view of that, some municipal governments allowed the purchase of commercial insurance policies from insurance companies regardless of their *hukou* status (e.g., Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2007). If covered, a migrant can count on a secure livelihood at the destination. That actually separates urban insurance provisions from the

hukou status (Wang, 2010). In these ways, governments gradually transferred responsibility for housing provisions and social welfare provisions to the private sector. That decreases the institutional benefits attached to an urban *hukou*, and the idea of ‘the State-sponsored home’ were therefore no longer dominant. Instead, rural migrants have to rely on their own ingenuity, energy, skills, and resources to set up a new home.

In particular, governments expected the new policy to attract the next generation of migrants – rural laborers born after 1980 who came to cities after 2000 (Chinese Communist Youth League, 2001). Their parents had not settled down in the destination cities, so they had to migrate again (Pun & Lu, 2010). This distinguishes them from that of ‘second generation migrants’ in the Western literature which refers to migrants who were born in the destination or moved to the destination at a young age (Chen and Wang, 2015). Since the *hukou* reform, new-generation migrants have become a focus of policy concern in China. The governments took into consideration that new-generation migrants had received the benefits of the newly established educational system after the Cultural Revolution. Presumably, they would be apt to embrace modern thought after the opening-up of China, and they might tend to pursue self-actualization through migration (Zhou, 2010).

However, establishing an urban residency status is not only an issue of values, but also a practical affair (Liu, 2013). Migrants need the assistance from the family and other relatives; an urban market-sector unit costs more than 20 times their average annual income (Wang, 2012); and access to mortgage loans remains limited (Wu, 2004). To overcome this financial stalemate, the family might become more easy-going about whether migrants choose to remit and how much they want to send, for instance, if migrants have self-sufficient parents, and no school-age children (Zhou, 2010). The family might even concede to sell cottages to subsidize the purchase of an urban dwelling. Or more likely, they could use the compensation received for the loss of the rural cottage if their village was demolished in the process of urbanization (Wang et al., 2012). Such supports derive from the Chinese traditional culture – family is taking care of individual member. Because of the diminution of ‘the State-sponsored home’, individuals might participate in welfare provisions of the market, but they also might return to the tradition – embrace ‘family’ again.

The above discussion of these affective and financial aspects draws out remarkable cross-generational differences brought about by social change in China. The meaning of ‘home’ has changed from ‘the family-first home’ to ‘the State-sponsored home’ and now becomes a more individualistic concept, ‘the self-actualization home’. In that light, the key to understand the contrast between these two generations lies in the links between the life course and the institutional transformations (cf., Findlay et al., 2015): the first-generation migrants were born and educated in Socialist China, whereas the new-generation were born and educated after the opening-up; and the former migrated to cities before the *hukou* reform, whereas the latter went to cities after that. These institutional transitions forms the context of values in which rural migrants consider their options for their future domicile. We therefore propose a conceptual model that links life course with the transition, and frames the aspiration of choosing a domicile, including the two key components of the acquisition of a home: affective and financial. And then there are the institutional considerations, the access to the welfare entitlements that comes with the transfer of the *hukou* (see Figure 3.1).

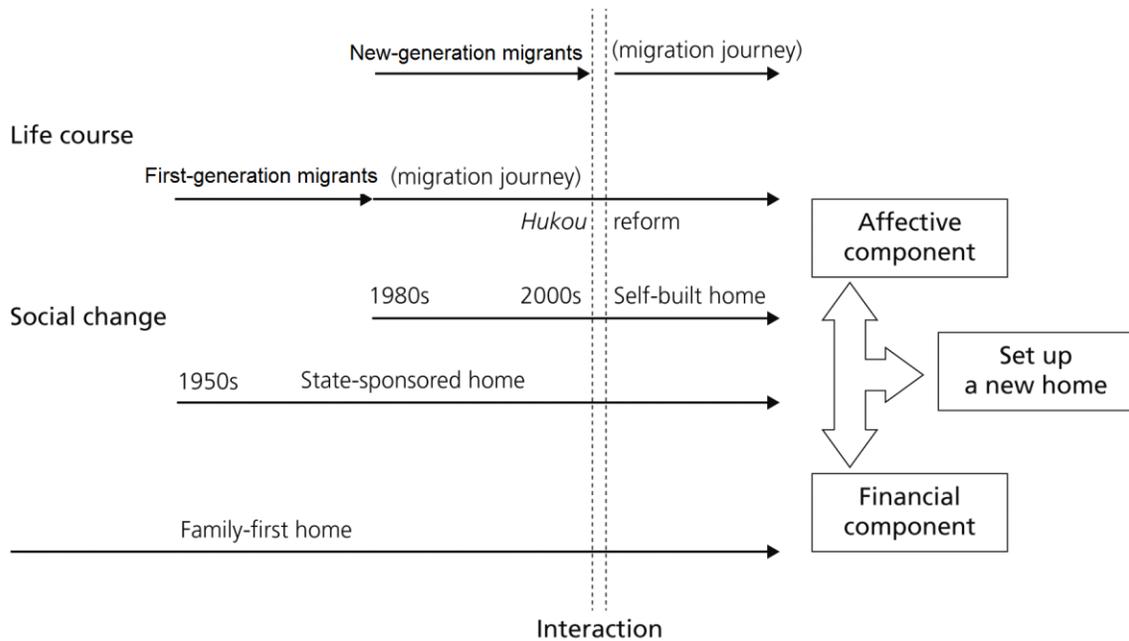


Figure 3.1 Rural migrants' aspiration for an urban domicile

Affectively, the migrant assesses the merits and drawbacks of setting up an urban home at the destination, based on his/her understanding of the meaning of home. In view of the link between life course and institutional transformations, we advance our first hypothesis: compared to first generation migrants, new generation migrants are more likely to subscribe to modern thought on the meaning of home, which makes them attach less value on the benefits based on the *hukou* status in their motives for choosing future domicile, especially when the institutional reform gradually separates the social welfare provisions from *hukou* system.

Furthermore, we have outlined the financial contours of the aspiration to set up domicile in the city. The migrant seeks the family's support to prepare for the purchase of urban housing. The family might decide to send more members to accompany the migrant and work at the destination. They might decide to reduce the amount expected from the remittance of the migrant. Or they might even sell the rural cottage to contribute to the investment in urban housing. In that light, we pose our second hypothesis: rural migrants who can count on support from their family are more likely to aspire to urban residency, and therefore purchase a home in the city.

3.3 Case study, dataset, and research design

3.3.1 The Suzhou case study

Our dataset comes from a 2009 survey in the city of Suzhou in Jiangsu province, China. This survey aims to explore rural migrants' expectations for their future, and it is part of a national survey commissioned by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of China (MOHURD). The MOHURD selects Beijing (Direct-controlled municipality), Guangdong province (Guangzhou,

Shenzhen, and Dongguan as case cities), Jiangsu province (Suzhou) and Chongqing (Direct-controlled municipality) as case areas.

Among these, Jiangsu province has been the model selected by the national government to test its new policy of relaxing constraints on *hukou* access since the *hukou* reform began in 2000 (Zou, 2006). Other model areas include Fujian province and Hebei province, but the effects were far below the expectations there (Zhu, 2007): too many migrants were afraid of the loss of their use right of farmland – there would be no security in old age (Fang and Wang, 2008). However, the situation in Jiangsu province was more positive, probably because Jiangsu province adopted a further reform of urban insurance policies that rural migrants have been allowed to purchase commercial insurance policies from insurance companies regardless of their *hukou* status (e.g., Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2007). Nearly 9% of rural migrants had become home owners in Jiangsu province by 2009 (Huang et al., 2014), much higher than the average level national wide – 1% in 2009 (National Statistics, 2010). Thus, the MOHURD particularly used Jiangsu province for a case study to evaluate the housing aspirations of rural migrants who have not purchased an urban dwelling after the *hukou* reform, and Suzhou was selected as the representative city, as it has the largest population of rural migrants in Jiangsu province.

Suzhou is located at the southeast of the province (see Figure 3.2). The region includes a booming economy that attracts large numbers of migrant workers from impoverished regions. In 2008, 4.2 million people lived in Suzhou city, and about three seventh of them were migrants (1.8 million), including intra-municipality, intra-province and inter-province ones (Lu and Jiao, 2010).

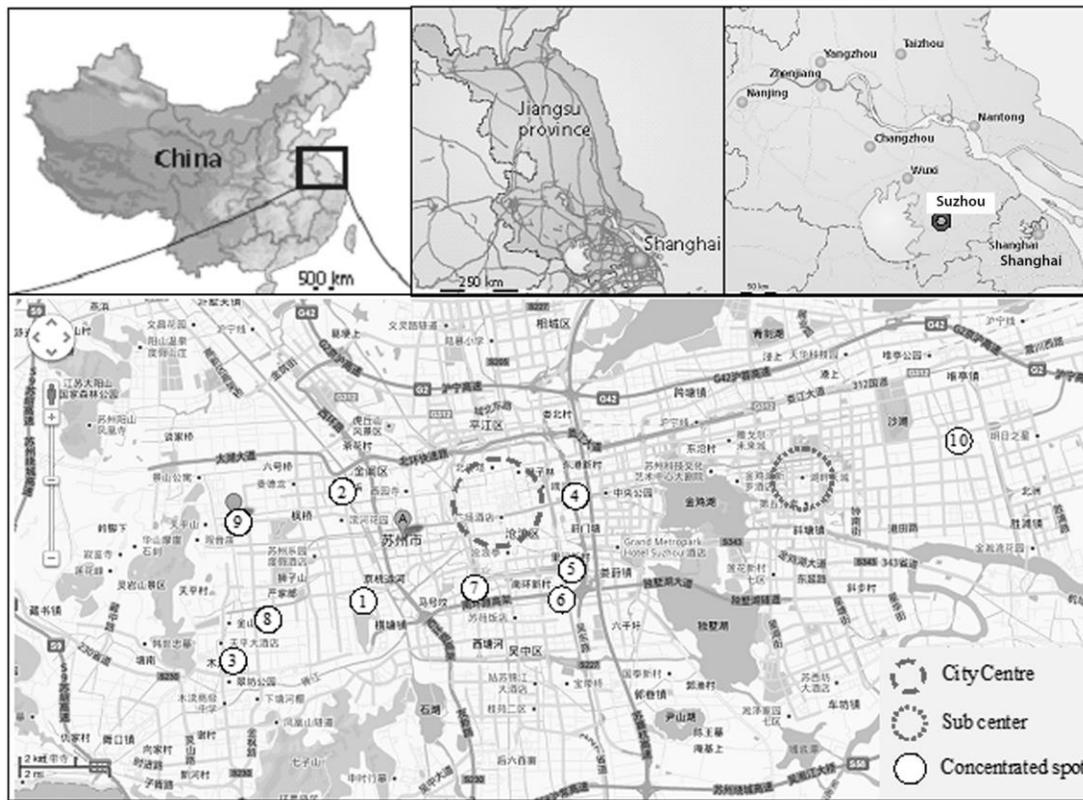


Figure 3.2 The location of ten survey sites in the fieldwork in Suzhou

The MOHURD commissioned the Institute of Urban Planning and Housing in the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design (CAUPD) to conduct the survey in Suzhou; it also invited the Suzhou municipal government to co-operate the CAUPD. Using the census of the urban population, CAUPD selected ten typical migrants' neighborhoods under the guidance of the Suzhou municipal government (see Figure 3.2). The potential respondents were approached on the basis of the place where they lived; an efficient way to create a sampling frame given that rural migrants are concentrated in certain areas of the city (Lu and Jiao, 2010). At each site, the PPS sampling method (probability proportionate to size) was employed to approach a certain number of rural migrants; that number being based on the estimated population of rural migrants in each neighborhood.

3.3.2 Dataset and research design

In total, 917 questionnaires were collected for this survey, and 694 respondents gave complete information for all estimated variables, including their motives. Table 3.1 lists all relevant variables. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked, "do you want to stay permanently in Suzhou in the future". If the answer was affirmative, they were subsequently asked, "What are your housing aspirations in Suzhou". All respondents were asked "what are the major motives for your choice". Those who were willing to stay permanently and planned to purchase urban housing were identified as the target group which intended to set up an urban home in Suzhou. More than one-third of the respondents (267) in the sample aspired to do so, while 32% (223) did not. The rest (30%, 204) remained undecided at that moment; respondents in each group provided their motives to either set up home in Suzhou or not to do that.

Table 3.1 List of estimated variables in the empirical study

	Estimated variables in empirical model	Categories of variables	n	Percent or mean
	Aspiration for an urban domicile in Suzhou	Urban domicile	267	38.5%
		No urban domicile	223	32.1%
		Remain undecided	204	29.4%
Demographics	Generation	New generation (30 years old or less)	392	56.5%
		First generation (31 years old or more)	302	43.5%
	Gender	Male	375	54.0%
		Female	319	46.0%
	Education	12 years and less	611	88.0%
		More than 12 years (higher education)	83	12.0%
	Annual income		694	34,000 Yuan
	<i>hukou</i> status	Jiangsu <i>hukou</i>	273	39.3%
		Non-Jiangsu <i>hukou</i>	421	60.7%
Migration experience	How long the respondent has stayed at Suzhou city	Residency duration at Suzhou	694	4.0 years
Family characteristics	Family migration, no family left behind at hometown	Respondent lives with family members at Suzhou, and no family members live at hometown	144	20.7%
		Respondent migrate to Suzhou, and other family members migrate to other city	70	10.1%
	Incomplete family migration, other family left behind at hometown	Respondent lives with some family members in Suzhou, and other family members live at hometown	190	27.4%
		No family members live with respondent in Suzhou, and other family members live at hometown	290	41.8%
	Whether the family sells the rural housing	Respondent has not sold rural housing (No sale of rural housing)	662	95.4%
		Respondent has sold rural housing (Sale of rural housing)	32	4.6%
		Whether the respondent remits home	No remittance	260
	Remittance		434	62.5%

Regarding the demographic variables, the average age for the entire sample was about 30 years, and 55% of the respondents were males. Only 12% of the respondents completed higher education. On average, the respondents' annual income was 33,000 Yuan, and they had lived in

Suzhou for around four years. Nearly 40% were intra-provincial migrants, while the rest came from another province and therefore were living in Suzhou without a Jiangsu *hukou*.

In view of their migration phases, each respondent represented one type of household in the context of the characteristic three-generation family: a single person migrated out and the other family members stayed at home (42%); several family members migrated out, and the rest stayed at home (27%); the entire family migrated to Suzhou (21%); or a single person migrated to Suzhou and other family members migrated elsewhere (10%). Five percent of all respondents had sold rural housing and 38% no longer sent remittances home.

In our analysis of the backgrounds for the ambition to establish an urban domicile, we first searched for cross-generational differences in the rural migrants' motives in their consideration of a future domicile. Secondly, we analyzed the role of family support in rural migrants' aspiration to acquire a home in the city.

3.4 Regression analysis

3.4.1 Determinants of rural migrants' motives and values

A total of 694 respondents provided 1,431 answers about their motives for their choices of their future domicile (multiple options) (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Rural migrants' motives in the consideration of a future domicile

	Motives selected	Number of respondents	Percent of respondents
To set up an urban domicile	'Higher income' : Salary of urban job at Suzhou is higher than the one at hometown.	178	25.6%
	'Family future' : Children education at Suzhou is better than the one at home city or rural area, so that an urban domicile is good for the future of family.	131	18.9%
	'Advanced public service' : Citizens with Suzhou <i>hukou</i> can enjoy more advanced public service than peasants with <i>hukou</i> of hometown.	156	22.5%
	'Higher social status' : Citizens with Suzhou <i>hukou</i> can enjoy more social and political rights than peasants with <i>hukou</i> of hometown.	30	4.3%
	'Adaptation to life in Suzhou' : Respondents get used to life in Suzhou, and do not want to change.	126	18.2%
	'Opportunities and professional training' : Suzhou city can provide migrants with more professional training and opportunities, which benefit their future careers.	78	11.2%
	'Other personal reasons' : Respondents are motivated by personal psychological motives.	6	0.9%
To not set up an urban domicile	'Yeluo Guigen' (Fallen leaves return to the roots): Chinese traditional culture encourages people to return to hometown at old age.	147	21.2%
	'Creating entrepreneurship at hometown' : Respondents intend to create entrepreneurship at hometown, given their success.	143	20.6%
	'Care of family elderly' : In Chinese traditional culture, filial piety ranks the top in all benefactions.	134	19.3%
	'Rural housing and farmland' : Rural housing and farmland are viewed as basic living guarantees to peasants.	94	13.5%
	'Discrimination from urban citizens' : Respondents suffer from the discrimination from native people.	44	6.3%
	'Low expense at hometown' : The consumption level of home city or rural area is much lower than the level at Suzhou city.	74	10.7%
	'Bad renting experience' : Informal renting contracts are easily unilaterally terminated by landlords, so that migrants usually suffer from their renting experience.	78	11.2%
	'Other personal reasons' : Respondents are motivated by personal psychological motives.	12	1.7%
Total	694 respondents provide 1,431 distinct motives		

Roughly half of those answers fall under seven headings of reasons to choose for domicile in Suzhou. In light of the context presented above in the second section, we connect these reasons to three realms of the meaning of home: “family-first”, “State-sponsored” or “self-actualization”. Some motives are connected to more than one realm, as the meaning of an ideal home is somewhat universal (Mallet, 2004). For instance, ‘family future’ can be interpreted as reflecting Chinese

traditional culture, and it might be also applied to those migrants under the influence of modern thoughts, when they consider primarily for their nuclear families. However, we should bear in mind that a *hukou* status is the precondition to realize this aspiration – migrant children need a local *hukou* to attend good public primary schools at the destination (Chen and Feng, 2012). Such qualification is also needed with respect to the motives of ‘advanced public service’ and ‘higher social status’ (Treiman, 2012). Other motives of ‘adaptation to urban life’, ‘advanced professional training’, and ‘other psychological reasons’ are independent of the *hukou* status, viewed as generally representing Chinese modern thought. The motive of ‘higher income’ reflects migrants’ financial concerns, so we do not connect it to people’s value directly.

Of the motives in that list, ‘higher income’, ‘advanced public service’, ‘family future’, and ‘adaptation to urban life’ are identified as the four major reasons to want an urban home. Each of these four motives was alluded to by around 20% of respondents. In contrast, about 10% of respondents were motivated by ‘advanced professional training’, while less than 5% were motivated by ‘higher social status’ or ‘other personal reasons’.

The rest (726 answers) falls into eight groups of reasons to not choose for domicile in Suzhou. The motives summarized as ‘*Yeluo Guigen*’ and ‘care of family elderly’ are closely related to Chinese traditional culture. The motive of ‘rural housing and farmland’ also reflect a thousand-year-old tradition of relying on agriculture for one’s security in old age, but rural migrants have to maintain their rural *hukou* status to keep the use right of farmland (Chan, 2009). The motive of ‘discrimination from urban citizens’ derives from the Socialist rural/urban *hukou* division, as peasants are excluded from nationally funded public amenities and social services – their educational level and socio-economic status are much lower than those of their urban counterparts (Treiman, 2012). Rural migrants can only do lowly labor in the destination cities, and they therefore are often perceived as unhygienic and uneducated and are likely to be poor (Chen and Prycee, 2013). In contrast, there are no direct relation between the *hukou* situation and the motives of ‘creating entrepreneurship at hometown’, ‘bad renting experience in Suzhou’, and ‘other personal reasons’. They can be placed in the realm of ‘Chinese modern thought’. ‘Creating entrepreneurship at hometown’ also reflects migrants’ contribution for the development of the hometown, which is encouraged by the traditional culture (Murphy, 2002). The motive of ‘low daily expense in hometown’ reflects migrants’ financial concerns, so we do not connect it to people’s value directly.

Among these eight categories, ‘*Yeluo Guigen*’ (21%), ‘creating entrepreneurship at hometown’ (21%), ‘care of family elderly’ (19%), and ‘rural housing and farmland’ (14%) rank as the top four in the list. About 10% of the respondents are motivated by ‘low daily expense in hometown’ or ‘bad renting experience’. Less than 7% mentioned ‘discrimination from native citizens’ or ‘other personal reasons’.

We subsequently addressed the divergence in the values that might be attributed to cross-generational differences. We applied binary logistic regression to model each motive (see Table 3.3). The dependent variable refers to whether a certain motive is selected: ‘selected’ equals 1; ‘not selected’ equals 0. Independent variables include annual income, generation, gender, education level, and provincial-level *hukou* status, with five degrees of freedom. Yet the categories of ‘higher social status’, ‘other personal reasons to choose for Suzhou domicile’, ‘discrimination from native citizens’ and ‘other personal reasons to not choose for Suzhou domicile’ have less than 50 effective

cases ('selected'). To guarantee that there are at least 10 effective cases assigned to each degree of freedom in the model, we excluded those last four categories from the regression analysis. Based on the same reason, we also excluded 'employment type' from the set of independent variables, as it has significant co-variation with 'annual income'. Besides, to avoid possible impacts of the dimension of continuous variables on these models, we transformed continuous variables into standardized variables through the function 'Z score' in the logistic regression analysis.

Table 3.3 Binary logistic regression model on rural migrants' motives in the consideration of a future domicile

Motives to set up an urban domicile: 'Selected' equals 1; 'non-selected' equals 0	'higher income' (178 selected)		'family future' (131)		'advanced public service' (156)		'adaptation to life in Suzhou' (126)		'advanced professional training' (78)			
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)		
Annual income (Z-score)	0.024	1.024	0.223***	1.250	0.237***	1.268	0.104	1.110	-0.245	0.782		
New generation (30-years-old and less) (dummy) ('31-years-old and more'=ref)	-0.841***	0.431	-1.089***	0.337	-0.708***	0.493	-0.281	0.755	1.388***	4.007		
Female (male=ref) (dummy)	-0.108	0.897	0.134	1.144	-0.298	0.742	0.126	1.135	-0.219	0.804		
Higher education (more than 12 years) ('12 years and less'=ref) (dummy)	-0.394	0.674	-0.229	0.796	0.296	1.345	0.441	1.555	0.438	1.549		
Jiangsu hukou (dummy) (non-Jiangsu hukou=ref)	0.133	1.142	-0.105	0.901	0.316	1.372	0.074	1.077	-0.267	0.765		
Nagelkerke's R square	0.061		0.100		0.084		0.017		0.102			
Significance levels: * <= 0.10; ** <= 0.05; *** <=0.01.												
Motives to not set up an urban domicile: 'Selected' equals 1; 'non-selected' equals 0	'nostalgia' (147)		'entrepreneurship at hometown' (143)		'care of family elderly' (134)		'rural housing and farmland' (94)		'low daily expense at hometown' (74)		'bad renting experience' (78)	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Annual income (Z-score)	-0.027	0.973	-0.099	0.905	-0.098	0.907	-0.025	0.976	0.060	1.062	-0.203	0.816
New generation (dummy)	0.037	1.037	0.831***	2.295	0.172	1.188	-0.611**	0.543	0.381	1.463	0.362	1.437
Female (dummy)	0.050	1.051	-0.346	0.707	-0.146	0.864	-0.185	0.831	-0.187	0.830	0.127	1.135
Higher education (dummy)	-0.999**	0.368	0.182	1.199	-0.371	0.690	-0.650	0.522	-0.215	0.807	-0.768	0.464
Jiangsu hukou (dummy)	-0.169	0.844	-0.012	0.988	-0.578***	0.561	-0.388	0.678	-0.003	0.997	-0.007	0.993
Nagelkerke's R square	0.022		0.054		0.031		0.032		0.008		0.025	
Significance levels: * <= 0.10; ** <= 0.05; *** <=0.01.												

In most of the estimated models, the value of Nagelkerke R square is no more than 0.100. That is probably because people's motives are so complex that demographic characteristics can only explain them partly. In spite of that, the variable 'generation' has strongly significant effects in more than half of these models. First-generation migrants assign more importance to 'higher income', 'advanced public service', 'family future', and 'rural housing and farmland', while new-generation migrants emphasize 'professional training' and 'creating entrepreneurship at hometown'.

This result clearly shows that first-generation migrants give more value to the motives attached to urban *hukou* benefits, particularly the public provisions, but they also have more concerns about the benefits of retaining their farmland by a rural *hukou*. This contradiction explains migrants' hesitation with respect to the *hukou* transfer (cf., Zhu, 2007).

In contrast, new-generation migrants are more attracted by the social insurance system operated by the market, in which they would rather participate instead of relying on traditional sources of financial security (Nielsen et al., 2005). Besides, to promote their future careers, new-generation migrants place more value than first-generation migrants on opportunities to improve one's professional skills at the destination. And after receiving such training, new-generation migrants are interested in setting up their own business. They then make productive investments and become entrepreneurs in their hometown when they return (Démurger and Xu, 2011). That can also explain their difference in the motive of 'higher income' – after return, first-generation migrants continue to carry on farming, with a lower income than an urban labor work; conversely, new-generation migrants tend to create businesses instead of participating in farming.

It is also important to notice that there is no significant cross-generational difference with respect to '*Yeluo Guigen*' and 'care of family elderly' which are most close to the Chinese traditional culture. It seems that these traditional forms of benevolence are shared across generations. As the *hukou* reform undermines the meaning of 'the State-sponsored urban home' and the institutional benefits gradually diminish, migrants might participate in the welfare provisions of the market, or they might return to the tradition – to welcome the care of 'family' again. In this sense, the institutional reform not only gives way to modern thought, but it is also an opportunity to the renaissance of family-first value. Some scholars even consider that Chinese modern thought is essentially a mediation of western modern thought and Chinese traditional culture (cf., Faure and Fang, 2008).

With respect to other demographic characteristics, having a higher income is significantly positive in the models of 'advanced public service' and 'family future'. Compared to the hometown, the destination city can provide advanced public services and better schools. However, to enjoy these amenities, rural migrants without a local *hukou* status are usually required to pay extra fees (Chen and Feng, 2012). To a great degree, the expense tempers the enthusiasm of lower-income migrants to make use of these services, but higher-income people are less influenced by the cost. Thus, the latter are more likely to pay for advanced services and tend to view them as merits of living in the city. Highly educated migrants were less likely to endorse the traditional stereotype '*Yeluo Guigen*' than their counterparts who have not completed higher education. That is consistent with existing findings (cf., Zhou, 2010).

As for the difference between inter-provincial migrants (with a non-Jiangsu *hukou*) and intra-provincial migrants (with a Jiangsu *hukou*), the former are more motivated to ‘take care of family elderly’. If the inter-provincial migrants set up a home at the destination, it would be inconvenient and expensive to regularly visit their elderly family members at the old home (Poncet, 2006). Conversely, intra-provincial migrants suffer few hardships in this respect. As a result, inter-provincial migrants take their filial duties more into account in their deliberations of the place for their future home.

Based on the results of these models, our first hypothesis appears plausible: compared to first generation migrants, new generation migrants are more likely to subscribe to modern thought on the meaning of home, which makes them attach less value on the benefits based on the *hukou* status in their motives for choosing future domicile, especially when the institutional reform gradually separates the social welfare provisions from *hukou* system. That derives from the link between the life course and the institutional transformation.

3.4.2 Relation between family support and rural migrants’ aspiration for an urban home

Our second hypothesis concerns the impact of family support on a migrant’s aspiration for an urban domicile. That relation is analyzed by way of multinomial logistic regression (see Table 3.4). The dependent variable refers to respondents’ residential aspirations, with three categories: ‘set up an urban home’, ‘not set up an urban home’ (reference category), and ‘remain undecided’. The independent variables include demographic characteristics (annual income, generation, gender, education level, and *hukou* status), the migration experience (duration at Suzhou), and family support (family accompanying the migrant at the destination, not having to send remittances, and the sale of rural housing). Two models are compared to highlight the effects of family support: the set of independent variables in the left model does not include the factors with respect to the family support, while the right model inputs these variables. The outcome of the regression shows the Nagelkerke R square to equal 0.169 in the left model, with 12 degrees of freedom; the Nagelkerke R square equals 0.198 in the right one, with 22 degrees of freedom.

Table 3.4 Multinomial logistic regression model on rural migrants' aspiration for an urban domicile

'No urban domicile' as reference	Model without inputting family characteristics				Model inputting family characteristics			
	Aspiration for an urban domicile		Remain undecided		Aspiration for an urban domicile		Remain undecided	
Independent variables	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Annual income (Z-score)	0.349***	1.417	0.204	1.227	0.354***	1.425	0.248	1.282
Duration at Suzhou (Z-score)	0.425**	1.529	-0.235	0.791	0.312**	1.366	-0.254	0.775
New generation (30 years old or less) (‘31 years old or more’=ref) (dummy)	-0.115	0.891	0.445*	1.560	0.015	1.015	0.407	1.502
Female (male=ref) (dummy)	0.088	1.092	-0.299	0.742	-0.016	0.984	-0.307	0.735
Higher education (more than 12 years) (‘12 years and less’=ref) (dummy)	0.681**	1.977	-0.295	0.745	0.672**	1.958	-0.307	0.721
Jiangsu hukou (dummy) (non-Jiangsu hukou=ref)	0.151	1.163	-0.259	0.772	0.060	1.062	-0.219	0.803
Family type (single migration, no family left behind at hometown=ref)								
Family migration, no family left behind at hometown (dummy)					0.971**	2.640	0.664	1.943
Incomplete family migration, other family left behind at hometown (dummy)					0.928**	2.528	0.108	1.114
Single migration, other family left behind at hometown (dummy)					0.529	1.697	0.472	1.603
Sale of rural housing (dummy) (No sale=ref)					1.427**	4.168	-0.345	0.708
Remit (dummy) (non-remit=ref)					-0.376*	0.687	-0.255	0.775
Constant	-0.029		-0.155		-0.510		-0.332	
df	12				22			
Nagelkerke R square	0.169				0.198			
Significance levels: * <= 0.10; ** <= 0.05; *** <=0.01.								

It is important to notice that, if ‘family support’ is not taken into account, compared to first-generation migrants, new-generation migrants are more likely to remain undecided about their settlement intention (see Table 3.4). The previous section has shown that first-generation migrants are facing the trade-off between an urban home and a rural home, because both sides are attached to *hukou* benefits (see Table 3.3). However, they have to make a decision, because the settlement intention is also an issue of timing (cf., Elder et al., 2003). First-generation migrants usually are married and raising school-aged children and their parents are/will be not self-sufficient. These responsibilities related to the life course induce them to settle down, for instance, to return to their rural home and take the filial responsibility to their parents, or to set up an urban domicile that can benefit their children’s future. But for new-generation migrants, most of them are not married and their parents are generally self-sufficient. They shoulder fewer responsibilities, and they expect more opportunities and more changes in their migratory journey (cf., Zhou, 2010). Thus, they are not in a hurry to make a decision.

Indeed, if more family factors are taken into account, the effect of age cohort is dispersed – being new generation becomes not statistically significant to predict “remain undecided” (see Table 3.4). That finding provides the empirical evidence to the argument of Fan and Wang (2008) that an individual’s settlement intention would be mediated by the family arrangement. Table 3.4 further demonstrates an evident correlation between family support and the migrant’s aspiration to settle down in Suzhou. Compared to ‘single migration, no family left behind at hometown’, respondents in the other three types of family-migration are more likely to want to acquire a home at Suzhou (see Table 3.4). The values of the odds ratio for the other three groups (‘single migration, other family left behind at hometown’: 1.697; ‘incomplete family migration, other family left behind at hometown’: 2.528; and ‘family migration, no family left behind at hometown’: 2.640) show that as more family members accompany the respondent at the destination, s/he more strongly aspires to establish an urban domicile. The household type of ‘single migration, no family left behind at hometown’ has migrants at various cities, so it has multiple options for a future home. However, the choice for the other three groups is usually just between Suzhou and the hometown. That is the reason to take this last group as the reference category.

Financially, the variable ‘sale of rural housing’ plays a significantly positive role, while the effect of remittance is negative (see Table 3.4). If the family decides to support the migrant’s aspiration to establish an urban home, it will become more lenient about the migrant’s remittances – the amount is less than those ones who tend to return, for instance, 6,040 Yuan per year vs. 8,990 Yuan per year in our survey. In that case, rural migrants can accumulate more capital by which to attain urban home ownership. If their savings are still not enough, the family might go so far as to sell the rural cottage to subsidize the purchase of urban housing. Thus, in view of this analysis, our second hypothesis seems plausible: rural migrants who gain family support (family members accompanying the migrant at the destination; not having to send remittances; selling rural housing) are more likely to aspire to an urban domicile.

In addition, our model confirms previous findings that higher education and higher income play significantly positive roles in predicting migrants’ aspiration to acquire a home in the city (see Table 3.4). Due to the low-tech agriculture in China, highly educated people are inclined

to choose their domicile in urban areas, where they can find jobs that conform to their educational attainment level. Regarding the effect of income, higher-income migrants are more capable of purchasing urban housing than lower-income migrants. Given their greater buying power, they are more motivated to establish an urban domicile (Hu et al., 2011).

Regarding the variable of migration experience, a long duration of physical presence at Suzhou is a positive predictor (see Table 3.4). Given a long-time stay at Suzhou, rural migrants seem to gradually adapt themselves to urban life (Zhu and Chen, 2010). This adaptation might consolidate the migrants' intent to establish an urban domicile.

It is interesting to find that being female and having a Jiangsu *hukou* do not play significantly positive roles in predicting the migrant's aspiration (see Table 3.4), particularly because these factors were shown to have a positive influence in determining actual home ownership in previous studies (Huang et al., 2014). That weak influence is probably a result of two sets of relationships. First of all, there might be a mismatch between rural migrants' aspiration and their actual rates of home ownership to be attained through marrying a homeowner, a possibility that has been raised in other research (Zhu and Chen, 2010). For instance, even if male and female migrants are willing to marry urban residents in order to acquire an urban home, it is the females who have better chances to realize that aspiration (Davin, 2005). Secondly, the *hukou* reform suppresses the effect of *hukou* status, while other paths of participation in institutions, like the urban insurance schemes, become more important in determining migrants' home ownership (Huang et al., 2014).

3.5 Conclusion and discussion

This paper has explored rural migrants' aspiration to establish an urban domicile and their related motives at Suzhou in Jiangsu province. Our aim was to reveal and explain an expected difference between first- and new-generations of rural migrants in their meaning of 'home', and how this difference is reflected in their motives to acquire a home in the city. We also wanted to trace the influence of various forms of family support on this ambition.

Our analysis of the empirical material revealed that new-generation migrants' motives more strongly reflect Chinese modern thought, while first-generation migrants' motives are more driven by the *hukou* benefits related to Socialist institutions. We also observed a positive correlation between family support (family accompanying the migrant at the destination, not having to send remittances, and selling rural housing) and the migrant's aspiration for an urban home.

With respect to the theoretical implications of this paper, when applying this concept 'home' to contemporary China, we drew upon the grand narratives to trace changes in the meaning of 'home' – from 'the Arcadian family-first home' in Chinese tradition to 'the State-sponsored urban home' in the Socialist regime and to 'the self-actualization home' in Chinese modern thought. This sequence is closely related to a series of profound social changes and institutional transformations brought about by the Party's reforms. Traditional culture, as enshrined in Confucianism, was rooted in conventional farming and required a big family that lived together. The Socialist regime, in contrast, emphasized the industrialization of urban areas.

To stimulate urban industrial development, that regime provided nationally financed social welfare benefits to people with an urban *hukou* status. These benefits were intended to replace the role of the family in taking care of an individual. Thereby the state policy gave the notion of ‘home’ a new meaning: ‘the State-sponsored urban home’. Thus, the dominant position that ‘an Arcadian family-first home’ occupied in people’s mind was undermined. However, the Party introduced a series of new reforms after the Cultural Revolution to set up a market economy. The government no longer built free housing for people with an urban *hukou* status, and further transferred responsibility for some social welfare provisions to the market by separating the *hukou* status and welfare provisions. The idea of ‘the State-sponsored urban home’ was therefore no longer predominant, going the same way as the concept of ‘the Arcadian family-first home’.

Along with the emergence of market forces and modern Western ideas, the meaning of ‘home’ shifted toward an individualistic perspective – ‘a self-actualization home’. Migrants might choose to stay in a city and make use of its rich educational resources to further their professional training with an eye to their future career. Or they might return to their hometown and use their acquired human capital to start their own business instead of going back to farming. Or they may be in no hurry to make a decision and take a wait-and-see attitude toward an uncertain future. No matter what they choose and where they stay, they are trying to find their own way to set up a new home.

This individualistic tendency is particularly significant among the new generation of migrants, who were born after 1980. After the opening-up of China, this new wave of migrants received better education than their parents had and were apt to embrace modern thought. Along with China’s modernization, this individualistic tendency might become more dominant in the future, unless institutional barriers remain. For instance, except urban insurance schemes, social welfare provisions are still based on a *hukou* status, and migrants continue to take these institutional benefits into account. And existing *hukou* reform policies do not address the remaining need for the migrant to obtain family support in order to purchase an urban market-sector dwelling. As a result, the migrant can hardly shake off the will of the family along the path to a new home, even if s/he attaches great value to individualism.

This paper has explored some directions for further improvements that could consolidate the rural migrants’ will to set up an urban home. Thus far, the emphasis on the housing qualification as a condition to attain a local *hukou* status suggests that the recent *hukou* reform has been driven by the municipal governments’ intention to boost local real estate development. In reality, it is obviously advantageous to the better-off rural migrants who are capable of purchasing market-sector housing after years of capital accumulation. However, for most poor rural migrants, an urban home under ownership remains out of reach. In that light, more eligibility criteria of the *hukou* access could be subjected to reform. For instance, the applicant might qualify for a local *hukou* after participating in an urban pension scheme for a certain number of years. In that case, rural migrants would be more likely to shift their home to the destination of their migration.

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4. Rural migrants' housing tenure change and *hukou* transfer in China's medium-size city: A case study of Yangzhou

Abstract

This paper explores housing tenure among China's rural-urban migrants in medium-size city. The objective is to distill the effects of socio-demographic and migration characteristics, based on a survey conducted in 2012-2013 in Yangzhou, Jiangsu province. Intra-municipality migrants with a Yangzhou residential registration (*hukou* in Chinese) and intra-province migrants with a Jiangsu no-Yangzhou *hukou* are likely to start in an acquaintance's home or employer-provided housing instead of market rental housing. In contrast, inter-province migrants usually start in market rental housing. Migrants' initial tenure is found to impact their current tenure, as their choices are path-dependent. Migrants who begin in employer-provided housing or an acquaintance's home are more likely to purchase a dwelling eventually, but migrants who start in market rental housing are less likely to become homeowners. In the former case, intra-province female migrants are more likely to transform their Jiangsu no-Yangzhou *hukou* into a Yangzhou *hukou* by homeownership.

Key words: China's rural migrants, *hukou*, housing tenure, housing career, Yangzhou

4.1 Introduction

China's rural laborers have migrated to urban areas for higher-paid jobs since the 1980s due to the regional and urban-rural disparities produced by China's economic reforms (Fan, 2003). But upon arrival, most cannot get into public rental housing because they have no access to the residential registration system (*hukou* in Chinese) through which it is allocated (Treiman, 2012; Zhang *et al.*, 2014). To get through the adaptive phase, they turn to the private sector. For instance, they may lodge with an acquaintance before getting a job or start out in a crowded factory dormitory. Those not in manufacturing, the service workers, may look for market rental housing in inner-city urban villages (Wu, 2004; Tian, 2008).

After some time, migrants may seek a more stable tenure, having learned from their initial housing experience that transient accommodation does not provide the necessary security for a long-term stay. Factory workers, for instance, would lose their dormitory space by changing jobs (Smith, 2003). Some migrants therefore aspire to homeownership (Zhu and Chen, 2010). Under the *hukou* reform, migrants are allowed to transfer their registration on the basis of homeownership and thereby, under certain conditions, gain access to local public amenities (e.g. Jiangsu provincial government, 2002). Other migrants, though aware of this policy, choose to remain in an unstable tenure in the course of their intra-urban relocations (Wu, 2006).

How are these differences in tenure choice explained? Previous studies, largely focused on current tenure, connect tenure choice to migration intention and the *hukou* system. One explanation runs thus: in order to stay permanently at the destination, migrants would purchase market-sector housing and then leverage their homeownership to apply for a local *hukou*; otherwise, they would choose an unstable tenure and consequently have to return home someday

(cf., Zhu and Chen, 2010). A second explanation runs thus: compared to inter-province migrants with a no-Jiangsu *hukou*, intra-province migrants with a Jiangsu *hukou* are more likely to purchase a dwelling in order to remain in the city permanently (cf., Huang *et al.*, 2014). It remains difficult to transfer accumulated social benefits between provinces, and therefore inter-province migrants have a strong incentive to return ‘home’ eventually (cf., Zhu, 2007). Within the province, a change of Jiangsu no-Yangzhou *hukou* to Yangzhou *hukou* would not thus penalize the migrant and allow access to various local benefits (cf. Jiangsu Provincial Government, 2002; Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2004).

However, these explanations fall short in the following situations. First, some migrants remain undecided about their migration future, or they might change their original plan. They want their current tenure to allow them to respond to uncertainty, because the available forms of unstable tenure allow them to save up for an unknown future. Another situation is that the migrant’s *hukou* might change for another reason. When a female migrant marries a local resident homeowner, she can transfer her registration on the basis of her husband’s homeownership (Davin, 2005). In that case, the current *hukou* is the result of a change of housing tenure, not the cause.

To understand such situations, this paper examines the migrants’ initial tenure, the inter-relation between their initial tenure and the current tenure, and their *hukou* transfer. To address these points, this paper poses two questions: **What are the effects of socio-demographic and migration characteristics on the initial and current housing conditions of rural migrants? Does the initial tenure choice matter in the migrants’ current tenure?**

First, the paper reviews the literature on migrants’ initial housing tenure and subsequent tenure choices. Then, using data from a 2012-2013 survey of nearly 700 migrants in Yangzhou City in Jiangsu province, it describes and compares two stages of their housing career at the destination: initial accommodation and current housing. The analysis relates the initial experience to the current tenure choice.

4.2 Understanding Migrants' Housing Tenure

4.2.1 Rural-urban Migrants' Initial Housing Tenure

Since the 1960s, researchers have studied housing tenure of labor migrants at the destination in emerging economies: e.g., Turner (1968) in Latin America; Ozo (1986) in Nigeria; Gilbert & Crankshaw (1999) in South Africa; and Ahmad (1992) in Pakistan. From such studies, we have extracted two characteristics of the initial housing choice. One is that, to achieve their financial goals, most labor migrants assign highest priority to relative location – i.e., proximity to employment – when selecting their first dwelling at their destination; tenure is of lesser concern (Turner, 1968). The other is that labor migrants have limited resources with which to realize their housing aspirations, so they rely heavily on social contacts to seek out temporary accommodation. Accordingly, migrants from the same rural area tend to settle in the same neighborhood or live in a relative’s home (Ozo, 1986; van Lindert, 1991).

The limitation of housing resources is also a problem to China’s rural-urban migrants (e.g., Wu, 2004; Li *et al.*, 2009; Logan *et al.*, 2009). After arrival, they are trapped by their institutional

disadvantages: without a local *hukou*, they can rarely access the public social housing distribution system in the inner-city or obtain a mortgage to buy a market-sector dwelling (Liu *et al.*, 2008; Treiman, 2012). Moreover, migrants are forbidden to build themselves a shack in urban areas, as labor migrants have done in Latin American countries (cf., Turner, 1968). Facing these constraints, Chinese migrants have to rely on three other channels for temporary accommodation: acquaintances, employers, and the rental market (Wu, 2004).

With respect to the first channel, some migrants turn to their relatives or countrymen. New arrivals usually enjoy low rent or free lodging and stay there until they find a satisfactory job and related accommodation (Zhang, 2009). Relatives are inclined to comply with the migrants' request because China's traditional culture emphasizes family relationships; it is customary to take in relatives from one's hometown (Oakes, 2000; Taormina and Gao, 2010). Migrants without local relatives expect their employers to provide free accommodation. Indeed, in Socialist China, a work unit did so for its workers (Huang, 2004). Nowadays, factories build dormitories to attract migrant labor. Companies have a large workforce, and they can efficiently manage their employees' working hours under the dormitory system. In that light, employer-provided housing is a typical initial tenure among migrants training for a manufacturing job (Smith, 2003).

Employer-provided housing is an effective means to help newcomers get through the initial phase of migration. But not every migrant can find a manufacturing job and thus gain access to dormitory space upon arrival (Li *et al.*, 2009). The others, mostly service workers in small firms and self-employed vendors, need to search for market rental housing in the urban villages of inner-city areas. Such dwellings are usually in poor condition (Jiang, 2006; Hao *et al.*, 2013).

Employer-provided housing, an acquaintance's home, and market rental housing are not stable tenures, and the migrants are vulnerable to involuntary relocation. If they lose their job, manufacturing and construction workers will also lose their accommodation (Smith, 2003). Most market rental housing in the urban villages has been or will be demolished for the sake of government redevelopment projects (He and Wu, 2005; Ren, 2014). In that case, a migrant's rental contract is automatically terminated. While an acquaintance's home may offer temporary shelter, it is not a solution for a long-term stay (Xiong, 2006). The prospect of involuntary relocation makes it clear that an unstable initial tenure does not provide the migrant with the necessary security to stay at the destination. So after the initial adaptive phase, migrants might place more value on a stable tenure when considering subsequent moves.

4.2.2 Rural Migrants' Tenure Change

A stable housing tenure usually forms the foundation for an urban home, a life that is fully integrated in the city for which the acquisition of an urban *hukou* is a necessity; this is particularly important to migrants who intend to stay permanently (Zhu and Chen, 2010). To establish an urban home, China's migrants aspire to a stable tenure, for instance, homeownership or public rental housing, where they can live under the protection of property law.

Access to public rental housing is gradually opening up to migrants as the *hukou* system is reformed (cf., Hui *et al.*, 2014; Smith, 2014). Theoretically, migrants are eligible for a local urban

hukou after a certain period of participation in the urban insurance system. Once they have that status, they can apply for public rental housing (Jiangsu provincial government, 2002). If successful, a tenant can reside there indefinitely, and few will move out (Wu, 2006). A tenant also has the right to purchase that unit at a discount. In practice, however, the municipal government usually gives priority to applications from the local poor, bypassing the migrants, and demand for public rental housing always exceeds supply (Yangzhou municipal government, 2005). As a result, this is not a practical way for migrants to achieve a stable tenure; in fact, less than 5% move into low-cost public rentals (Lu and Jiao, 2010).

In that light, migrants generally expect to upgrade their tenure by purchasing market-sector housing. Besides stability, homeownership can provide institutional benefits at the destination – through a local *hukou* (Huang *et al.*, 2014). Since the *hukou* reform began in the 2000s, more channels have been opened for inter-municipality and inter-province migrants to enter the *hukou* systems at their destination. One is a housing qualification – an applicant owns market-sector housing of a certain size in the destination area. In fact, this qualification also allows him/her to transfer the *hukou* of children and a spouse to the destination (Jiangsu provincial government, 2002). After the *hukou* transfer, a migrant family can enjoy public goods and facilities as fully as the locals do (Zhang and Treiman, 2013).

However, a market-sector unit tends to cost more than 20 times the average annual income of a migrant worker in China's cities. The migrants' homeownership aspirations are thus constrained by affordability issues (Chan, 2010; Wang, 2012). In that light, access to one of the housing provident funds and to mortgage loans is a crucial precondition for homeownership, but such financing is not available without a local *hukou* (Wu, 2004). As a result, it takes years of saving to purchase urban market-sector housing, and even then the migrant will still need additional financial support from the family (Hu *et al.*, 2011). Before purchasing a dwelling, migrants have to persevere in the initial unstable tenure in order to save money. Otherwise, they have to move around among different kinds of unstable tenure, particularly if they are forced to relocate (Yang, 2009). For instance, Xiong (2006) proposed the following sequence: migrants first move from a relative's home to a factory dormitory; then they move to market rental housing after marriage; and when a child is born, they purchase a dwelling. Of course, this process will vary among individual migrants with distinct housing strategies.

4.2.3 Framing Tenure Change

To understand migrants' housing careers, we need to rethink what tenure choice means to migrants. The literature has confirmed the value of homeownership – assurance of an urban *hukou* with all its associated benefits in exchange for substantial investment (Huang and Clark, 2002; Li and Li, 2006). However, living under unstable tenures also has a price, and not only monetary; it calls for investment in one's social network. Migrants are expected to do part-time jobs for their relatives in exchange for live-in accommodation. Or they must work overtime, as the 'free' provision of dormitory housing is part of the one's wages. In market rental housing, one pays the landlord.

Taking these expenditures into account, migrants will not readily switch tenure. Common exceptions include an involuntary move and an adjustment move – the latter from an unstable tenure into homeownership. When considering relocation, migrants would keep previous tenure choices in mind as well as the investment these entailed. They might develop a housing strategy to realize their tenure choice. For instance, one could spend less by remaining in unstable housing while saving up to purchase a dwelling.

Many migrants make frequent moves at the destination. In Beijing, for instance, 20% made multiple moves (up to 10) within about four years (Wu, 2006). This makes it impractical to trace every move in an individual housing career. Therefore, this paper condenses housing career to two stages, framed in terms of the migrant's tenure choice: initial accommodation and current dwelling (see Figure 4.1). The objective is to discern the inter-relation between these two stages. The literature has already described the effects of socio-demographic and migration characteristics on current tenure (e.g., Hu *et al.*, 2011; Huang *et al.*, 2014). It may be assumed that socio-demographic characteristics determined the initial tenure choice and that the initial choice constrained subsequent tenure choices. The factors impinging on migrants' tenure change are shown in Figure 4.1.

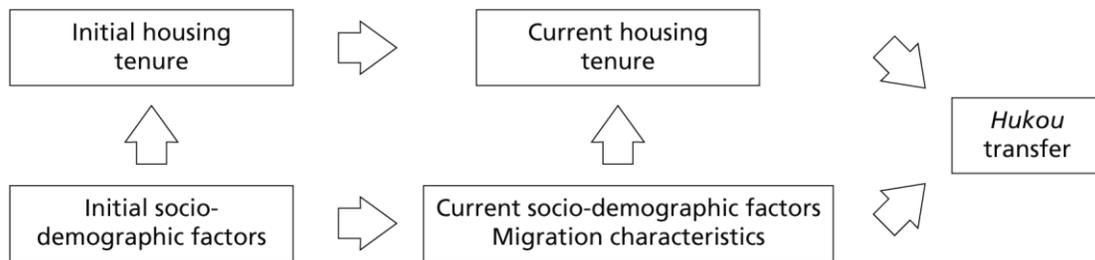


Figure 4.1 The framework of migrants' tenure change

To address the research questions, this paper poses two hypotheses. One is that the initial housing tenures of rural migrants are non-homogeneous; the tenure choices are determined by the migrants' places of origin, mediated by the *hukou* and social contacts associated with it. The other hypothesis is that the current tenure choice of rural migrants is path-dependent – once they choose the initial tenure, they will be more (or less) likely to choose a subsequent one – the current tenure.

4.3 Case-study Area and Research Design

4.3.1 Fieldwork in Yangzhou and the Dataset

Our dataset comes from a 2012-2013 survey in the city of Yangzhou in Jiangsu province, China. Yangzhou is located at the confluence of the Yangtze River and the Beijing-Hangzhou Great Canal (see Figure 4.2). Since 2004, it has implemented new *hukou* transfer policy for migrants: an applicant who owns an urban dwelling can transfer his or her *hukou* status into the local *hukou*

status (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2004). The survey investigates rural migrants who arrived after the implementation of that new *hukou* policy. Yangzhou is a suitable case to represent medium-sized Chinese cities, with a built-up urban area of 82 km². Its booming economy attracts hundreds of thousands migrants from less-developed regions. In 2011, 1.3 million people lived in the urban area of Yangzhou, and about one-fifth of them were rural migrants, including those who had moved within the municipality (intra-municipality), within the province (intra-province), and between provinces (inter-province) (Yangzhou municipal government, 2011).



(Source: <http://map.baidu.com>)

Figure 4.2 The location of Yangzhou city

In view of the close relation between migrants' tenure choices and the type of work they do, it was decided to use an employment-based probability proportional to size sampling strategy as a basis for approaching migrants at their workplaces. That was done from June 2012 to January 2013. Given the typology and the distribution of employment in the official survey on migrants in Yangzhou conducted by the local administration, their jobs were classified in three types: workers in service industries, workers in secondary industries and self-employed migrants (cf., Yangzhou municipal government, 2011). The researchers handed out 973 questionnaires and collected 739 answers (a response rate of 76%). In total, 638 respondents lived in Yangzhou for more than one year, and they took at least one time of housing move. Females accounted for 35.8%, which is consistent with the gender composition of the migrant population in the official survey in Yangzhou. The average age of the respondents was 36, and the migrants had been in Yangzhou for 5.2 years on average. Other characteristics of the respondents' socio-demographic profile are listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

	Categories	Initial		Current	
		N	Percent	N	Percent
Gender	Male	413	64.7	(keep the same)	
	Female	225	35.3		
Education	Less than 12 years of education	517	81.1	(keep the same)	
	12 or more years of education	121	18.9		
Hukou	No Jiangsu <i>hukou</i>	182	28.6	182	28.6
	Jiangsu, but no Yangzhou <i>hukou</i>	413	64.7	391	61.2
	Jiangsu Yangzhou <i>hukou</i>	43	6.7	65	10.2
Future plan of migration	Stay in Yangzhou	--	--	291	45.6
	Go back to hometown	--	--	145	22.7
	Remain undecided	--	--	202	31.7
Household monthly income	Lower level (less than 3,000 Yuan)	534	83.7	169	26.5
	Medium level (3,000-5,000 Yuan)	80	12.5	309	48.4
	Higher level (more than 5,000 Yuan)	24	3.8	160	25.1
Employment type	Secondary industries: construction workers (workers at building sites, interior finishing or decoration) and manufacturing workers (Operative employees)	227	35.6	265	41.5
	Service workers (Waiters, waitresses, cooks, and cleaners in restaurants or hotels; Children's nurses, interior cleaners and nursing assistants in hospitals; Street cleaners and street repairmen; day laborers)	326	48.9	169	26.5
	Self-employed (Small shopkeepers, taxi drivers, truck drivers and street sellers)	99	15.5	204	32.0
Total		638	100	638	100

Then 32 of 638 respondents were selected (19 males, and 13 females). They were interviewed about their housing career: four in construction, four in manufacturing, 11 in services, and 13 self-employed sellers. It was decided to over-weight the sample of self-employed sellers and service workers because these two groups had more subtypes of employment and more diverse housing choices. The interviews lasted from 60 to 120 minutes. Twenty were audio-recorded; 12 were recorded by taking notes. Three additional interviews were held (recorded by notes): with one landlord regarding her experience with leasing an apartment to migrants; with one government official about the strategy adopted by the Yangzhou municipal government to cope with migrants' housing issues; and with one enterprise manager about the firm's strategy to

develop workers' dormitory accommodation. These additional interviews took between 30 and 60 minutes. (The names used below when discussing the responses are aliases.)

4.3.2 Research Design

The techniques used to gather the empirical data for this study are both quantitative (the survey) and qualitative (the interviews). The initial and current tenures are modeled by multinomial logistic regression. Building upon previous empirical studies, our survey investigates four basic categories of migrants' tenure choice: homeownership; market rental; employer-provided housing (factory dormitory and builder's work shed); and acquaintance's home.

In the model for initial tenure, the dependent variable contains only three categories (acquaintance's home, market rental, and employer-provided housing); homeownership is excluded because none of respondents started out owning their home. The model emphasizes the effects of initial socio-demographic characteristics. In the model for current tenure, the dependent variable contains three categories (market rental, employer-provided housing, and homeownership); acquaintance's home is excluded because migrants moved out. Its emphasis is on the effects of migration characteristics and initial housing tenure. Some socio-demographic variables have changed in the migration, such as age, income level, employment type, and *hukou*. The analysis of the current tenure therefore models the current characteristics instead of the initial ones. The migration characteristics in our analysis include the residential duration in Yangzhou and the future migration intention. To avoid possible impacts of the dimension of continuous variables on these regression models, the continuous variables were transformed into standardized variables through the function 'Z score' in the regression analysis.

When presenting both of these models, quotations are extracted from the transcripts to explain the effect of the independent variables. These illustrate how the respondents' socio-demographic and migration characteristics are woven into their deliberations on tenure choice. Furthermore, to explore the inter-relation between the initial choice and current tenure, the quotations are used to describe the transitions. The emphasis is on what migrants thought about the role of their initial tenure choice and how they evaluate the impacts of the initial tenure on the current situation.

4.4 Development of Rural Migrants' Housing Tenure

4.4.1 Initial Housing Tenure

The independent variables in the model for initial tenure include a respondent's age upon arrival, gender, educational level, initial income level, initial employment type and initial *hukou*. Market rental housing is set as the reference category of the dependent variable, as it covers most respondents (65 in an acquaintance's home, 465 in market rental housing, and 108 in employer-provided housing). The Nagelkerke R square equals 0.142, with 18 degrees of freedom (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Multinomial logistic regression on the initial housing tenure of rural migrants

Market rental housing as reference	Acquaintance's home		Employer-provided housing	
	B	Odds ratio	B	Odds ratio
Initial age (Z-score)	0.035	1.035	0.870	2.386
Initial age square (Z-score)	-0.616	0.540	-0.925	0.396
Initial household income (Z-score)	-0.053	0.949	0.071	1.073
Female (male=ref) (dummy)	0.553*	1.739	0.332	1.394
12 or more years of education (less than 12 years of education=ref) (dummy)	0.300	1.350	0.379	1.461
Initial hukou status (no Jiangsu hukou=ref)				
Jiangsu, but no Yangzhou hukou (dummy)	0.753**	2.124	0.592**	1.808
Yangzhou hukou (dummy)	1.141**	3.131	1.760***	5.814
Initial employment type (service worker=ref)				
Construction and manufacturing workers	0.357	1.430	0.647***	1.909
Self-employed	0.205	1.228	-0.327	0.721
Constant	-3.215***			
Nagelkerke R square	0.142			

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Being female is significantly positive in predicting initial tenure in an acquaintance's home, compared to market rental housing (see Table 4.2). It suggests that women are more likely to live in an acquaintance's home. The reason lies in the high crime rate in urban villages, where the rural migrants tend to live. Although migrants only comprise one-sixth of the urban population, about one-third of the sentenced criminals were young migrants in 2008 and 2009 (Yangzhou Municipal Court, 2010). In view of safety concerns, females are more inclined to live in an acquaintance's home than to rent dwellings with other migrants in an unfamiliar environment after arrival. Consider the story of 32-year-old Wangjie.

My big brother first migrated here in 1999, and he sold snacks in the night open market...he rented a room in Jiazhuang [urban village] ...when I first arrived, he told me it was unsafe to live outside. The Yangzhou Evening Post [local daily newspaper] usually reported some cases of theft and robbery in urban villages...except for my brother, I did not know anyone else, and I did not dare to live with strangers. I felt safe when living with him, although his room is small.

(Wangjie, Female, 32 years old, self-employed street seller)

Of course, reciprocity usually plays a role under such conditions. Specifically, migrants do some chores for their acquaintances in gratitude for supplying them with accommodation, as Wangjie took care of her nephew in return.

Although the gated factory dormitory would also provide female migrants with secure housing, not everyone could find a job there upon arrival (Li *et al.*, 2009). They would therefore stay in an acquaintance's home while looking for a position in the factory, as in the case of 35-year-old Xiaochen.

I came here with my friends...they got a job in Wande Industry and invited me to go together. But I did not pass the test...I was worried about that, but my uncle said it was OK. I could live at his home, and look for a job during my stay. So I lived with my uncle's family...They rented a bungalow near the Bai Tower along the canal, and operated a small retail shop. I helped my uncle to keep the shop... After two months, I finally found a job in the Wande Industry as an operator.

(Xiaochen, Female, 35 years old, factory operator)

In these two cases, the interviewees had relatives living in Yangzhou, which was crucial to their housing search. Similarly, a Jiangsu *hukou* (both Yangzhou and no-Yangzhou *hukou*) is significantly positive in predicting the initial tenure of employer-provided housing and an acquaintance's home (see Table 4.2). For instance, the odds ratio of 3.131 for a Yangzhou *hukou* indicates that intra-municipality migrants are three times more likely to live in an acquaintance's home than inter-province migrants. The underlying reason is that intra-municipality and intra-province migrants have more social contacts in Yangzhou than inter-province migrants. Their network could give them an advantage when searching for temporary accommodation after arrival. In most cases, the inter-province migrants have few acquaintances at the destination. Some may even migrate alone and therefore have to find a job quickly, as in the case of 38-year-old Xuge.

I came from Anhui province [next to Jiangsu province]. My parents did not like me. They like my little brother...they thought I was useless...after a family quarrel, I went to Yangzhou alone in 2006, without much money...it is not far away from my hometown, and the train does not cost much. But I did not know anybody here. Nobody took me in. I did not have any place to live...I had to find a job as soon as possible. The Hangjie toothbrush factory needed a laborer, but they did not offer me a dormitory room. Because they first took account of Jiangsu'ers and their dormitory was full. I did not have another choice. Otherwise, I would have become homeless, so I worked there and lived in the storage.

(Xuge, Male, 38 years old, short-term laborer)

Xuge did not get any support from his family and migrated without adequate preparation. That is a negative starting position for the adaptive phase. He had to find a job in a hurry but could not get into an employer-provided dormitory, as he is from another province (not a Jiangsu'er).

Indeed, having a Jiangsu *hukou* (either a Yangzhou or no-Yangzhou *hukou*) is significantly positive in predicting the choice to live in employer-provided dormitory housing

(see Table 4.2). Notably, an odds ratio of 5.814 for a Yangzhou *hukou* indicates that intra-municipality migrants are nearly six times more likely to obtain employer-provided dormitory housing than inter-province migrants. There are two possible reasons. One is that intra-municipality and intra-province migrants could have social contacts already working in the factory, and these acquaintances might introduce them so they could come to work and live in the same factory (cf., Chen and Pryce, 2013). The other possible reason is that the manufacturing enterprises and construction companies usually give priority to the job applications of intra-municipality and intra-province migrants. Forty-year-old Jizong, an enterprise manager, told about the firm's strategy for developing workers' dormitory accommodation.

That loyalty is particularly clear among Yangzhou laborers [compared to workers from another province]. Yangzhou laborers will rarely leave the factory without a notice... The factory [Tianwei New Industry] can fire labor migrants without a hitch, but migrants can also readily escape. That would produce a temporary shortage of labor to the factory... So we are inclined to employ local laborers.
(Jizong, Female, 40 years old, enterprise manager)

In the same interview, the manager touched upon government intervention in human resources policy at the factory, which further aggravated the bias against inter-province migrants.

When we first set up our factory here, the Yangzhou government suggested hiring more Jiangsu laborers to cope with their unemployment problems, especially Yangzhou laborers.
(Jizong, Female, 40 years old, enterprise manager)

The Yangzhou municipal government is always struggling to reduce unemployment – a low rate is a positive factor in an evaluation of government performance. To that end, the authorities train workers, especially local laborers with a Yangzhou *hukou*, and then recommend them to factories (Yangzhou municipal government, 2014). However, that practice would create an institutional bias against inter-province migrants with a no-Jiangsu *hukou*. It would thus make them less competitive when applying for jobs and the associated dormitory housing.

In view of the evidence presented in Table 4.2, our first hypothesis appears plausible. The initial housing tenure of rural migrants is non-homogeneous, and the determinants are connected to their places of origin, their *hukou*, and the related social contacts. Compared to inter-province migrants, the intra-province and intra-municipality migrants have more social contacts at the destination, and they can benefit from the local government strategy of promoting employment. These advantages help them to start out in an acquaintance's home or employer-provided housing instead of in market rental housing.

4.4.2 Current Housing Tenure

With respect to current housing tenure, 437 respondents rent market housing; 109 respondents are lodged in employer-provided housing, and 92 respondents move into homeownership. Table 4.3 shows the change of housing tenure.

Table 4.3 The change of housing tenure

		Current housing tenure			
		Rental housing	Employer-provided housing	Home ownership	Total
Initial housing tenure (n, %)	Acquaintance's home	32(49.2%)	10(15.4%)	23(35.4%)	65(100%)
	Rental housing	359(77.2%)	59(12.7%)	47(10.1%)	465(100%)
	Employer-provided housing	46(42.6%)	40(37.0%)	22(20.4%)	108(100%)
Total		432	77	92	638

The majority of respondents beginning with market rental housing keep their tenure choice (359 cases, 77%), and only 10 % of them have moved into homeownership. It suggests that this group is less likely to change tenure. The multinomial logistic regression for current housing tenure will test whether this inter-group difference is statistically significant.

In the model, *hukou* is not one of the independent variables; it is excluded because the current *hukou*, if changed, mostly reflects a change in housing tenure and cannot be considered as an independent variable to predict the current housing tenure. In the sample, 92 respondents have moved into homeownership, and 22 of them (all intra-province migrants, no inter-province migrants) have transferred their initial *hukou* into a Yangzhou *hukou* by their homeownership (cf., Yangzhou municipal government, 2004).

Thirteen of these 22 are females. In the bivariate correlation test between the variable of *hukou* transfer and the variable of being female, the Pearson correlation statistic equals 0.098, being significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed). This statistic indicates that the *hukou* transfer has a significantly positive correlation with women. The gender difference derives from the Chinese traditional culture in rural areas. Females rarely inherit farmland and housing in their home villages (Fan, 2004), as illustrated by the story of 35-year-old Tanjie.

My old parents and my little brother are still living in the village in Jiangdu County [near Yangzhou city]. They have about 1,300 square meters of farmland... After my marriage, the village collective took the use right of the farmland which was assigned to me. So now I do not have any farmland in my hometown...My old parents built a new cottage for my brother's marriage in the village, and he will also take the old cottage after my parents' pass away... They will not leave much for me, so I transferred my hukou from Jiangdu County to Yangzhou.

(Tanjie, Female, 35 years old, service worker)

It is customary to deprive married women of use rights for farmland, except if they marry a man in the same village. But Tanjie's husband is from Yangzhou, and she had to give up any rights to social benefits in her former rural home. That pushes her to transfer her *hukou* status to the destination and establish an urban home.

After excluding *hukou*, the list of independent variables includes current age of the respondent, gender, education level, current household income, current employment type, residential duration in Yangzhou, current migration intention, and initial housing tenure. Market rental housing is set as the reference category of the dependent variable, as it covers most respondents. The Nagelkerke R square equals 0.443, with 24 degrees of freedom (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Multinomial logistic regression on the current housing tenure of rural migrants

Market rental housing as reference	Employer-provided housing		Homeownership	
	B	Odds ratio	B	Odds ratio
Current age (Z-score)	-1.181	0.307	1.559	4.756
Current age square (Z-score)	1.016	2.763	-1.708	0.181
Duration in Yangzhou (Z-score)	0.098	1.104	1.091***	2.978
Current household income (Z-score)	-0.190	0.827	0.769***	2.158
Female (male=ref) (dummy)	0.181	1.198	0.426	1.532
12 or more years of education (less than 12 years of education=ref) (dummy)	-0.252	0.777	0.756**	2.130
Current employment type (service worker=ref)				
Construction and manufacturing workers	0.859***	2.360	0.251	1.285
Self-employed	-0.291	0.747	0.626	1.871
Current migration intention ('Go back to hometown' as reference)				
Stay permanently in Yangzhou (dummy)	0.426	1.532	1.524***	4.589
Remain undecided (dummy)	1.027***	2.793	0.689	1.991
Initial housing tenure (Market rental housing as reference)				
Initial acquaintance's home (dummy)	0.375	1.455	2.035***	7.652
Initial employer-provided housing (dummy)	1.530***	4.616	0.756**	2.129
Constant	-2.687		-4.675	
Nagelkerke R square	0.443			

Significance levels: * $p <= 0.10$; ** $p <= 0.05$; *** $p <= 0.01$.

A long residential duration, a higher level of education, and higher household income are significantly positive in predicting the current tenure of homeownership (see Table 4.4). These results are consistent with previous findings (cf., Huang *et al.*, 2014; Zhu and Chen, 2010).

With respect to the effects of migration characteristics, the intention to stay permanently in Yangzhou is positive in predicting homeownership. But migrants tend to choose employer-provided housing, if they remain undecided about their future plan (see Table 4.4). Our interviews with two construction workers in the same dormitory offer more insight into whether intending to stay permanently in Yangzhou results in a clear preference in their housing aspirations.

I usually take a walk alone at midnight after work. I am looking at the shadow of myself, and I am looking at the building I build. I am thinking of a wonderful life – if I can purchase a small apartment, and if I can live there with my lovely wife and my lovely child. I will be very, very satisfied... I have saved 70,000 Yuan. My future plan is very simple. I want to purchase a small apartment of 50 square meters... I am also good at cooking. When I am too old to do heavy labor work as a construction worker, I want to operate a small restaurant with my future wife.

(Xiaowang, Male, 29 years old, construction worker)

Xiaowang plans to move out of the dormitory and establish an urban home someday. However, his roommates, Laoxie and his wife, intend to keep living in the dormitory until their son gets married.

We do not want to purchase of an apartment in Yangzhou, because we have to save money for my son – for his marriage... he reaches the age of marriage, and he has a girlfriend in Changzhou city [another city in Jiangsu province]. According to our custom, we need to build a cottage for my son in Lianshui county [their hometown]; we need to give the girl's family 60,000 Yuan [betrothal money]; we need to hold a big banquet. Our future depends on my son's plan... Living in the work shed is almost free. It can save money, good enough for us.

(Laoxie, 44 years old, construction workers)

As the project finishes, Laoxie and his wife will move to a new construction site. They always live in employer-provided housing. That is common for construction workers and manufacturing workers, if they remain undecided about their migration future. It is also reflected by the model. An uncertain migration intention and the initial tenure of employer-provided housing are statistically positive in predicting the current tenure of employer-provided housing (see Table 4.4).

The model also suggests that migrants who start in an acquaintance's home or employer-provided housing are more likely to move to homeownership (see Table 4.4). This is easy to understand from a financial angle. Because they do not spend much on accommodation, they can save more to purchase a dwelling, as in the case of 28-year-old Xiaoxie. She has worked for five

years in *Tianwei* New Industry, and she purchased an apartment of 60 square meters in the *Jingang huayuan* neighborhood in a southern suburb.

Living in the dormitory of our company saves us a lot of money. If I rent an apartment with my husband in the Jingang huayuan neighborhood [2km away from Tianwei New Industry], it costs us at least 1,000 Yuan per month. It will be 60,000 Yuan for five years. It is one fifth of the total price of the apartment which we purchase [5,000 Yuan per square meters].

(Xiaoxie, Female, 28 years old, factory operator)

Living in the dormitory helps one through the adaptive phase. Xiaoxie enjoys the life there, and the experience consolidated her intention to stay permanently. It also laid a financial foundation for homeownership in the future. A similar experience is related by 32-year-old Wangjie and 35-year-old Xiaochen who were living in a relative's home almost for free. Furthermore, the relatives welcomed them warmly and were concerned about their marriage prospects – a crucial element in their migration future. That is evident in the story of 32-year-old Wangjie. As cited above, she initially lived in her brother's home due to concerns about safety.

I lived with my big brother after arrival... there I met my husband for the first time. It was my brother who introduced him to me. My husband sold Chinese-style pancake along the street in Niansi neighborhood... They both did business there, and knew each other. My brother considered my husband a reliable man, so my brother introduced him to me...after my marriage, I moved out of my brother's home to live with my husband. He can protect me.

(Wangjie, Female, 32 years old, self-employed street seller)

Besides alleviating her safety concerns, living in her brother's home provided an opportunity to make new social contacts; for instance, she met her husband. It is common for females to leave home young and get married to another migrant or a local resident in the destination city (Davin, 2005). After marriage, female migrants who initially lived in an acquaintance's home go to live with their husband. They are no longer so concerned about safety. Wangjie was planning to purchase a dwelling, and Xiaochen has owned an apartment since 2009 in the *Jinshan huayuan* neighborhood in a southern suburb. So her initial tenure choice affected her subsequent life-course and housing tenure choices.

In light of the stories cited above, our second hypothesis seems plausible: the development of housing tenure of rural migrants is path-dependent. Once they choose a certain initial tenure, they will be more (or less) likely to end up in a certain current tenure. Specifically, migrants who begin in market rental housing are less likely to move on to a different tenure, but migrants who start in employer-provided housing or an acquaintance's home are more likely to move on to homeownership.

4.5 Conclusion and Discussion

This study has explored the factors influencing tenure choice in housing career among rural migrants in Yangzhou in Jiangsu province. It first traced the impacts of socio-demographic and migration characteristics on their initial tenure. Then, it explained the inter-relation between initial and current tenure. The empirical material highlighted two related characteristics of migrants' tenure: the choices are non-homogeneous and they are path-dependent. Being better connected at the destination, intra-province and intra-municipality migrants were more likely to live in an acquaintance's home. They also benefited from the government strategy to promote employment and could therefore start in employer-provided housing, making it relatively easy for them to adapt to a new urban life. And this initial choice saved money, which facilitated their current homeownership status. In contrast, getting little help from acquaintances or the government, inter-province migrants encountered more difficulties in the adaptive phase. They had to search for market rental housing upon arrival. They consequently spent more on rent and ran into more financial problems, which reduced their aspiration to homeownership.

These findings promote an understanding of the institutional constraints on migrants' housing career. First, compared to intra-province migrants (intra-municipality included), inter-province migrants with a no-Jiangsu *hukou* encountered more institutional barriers in job hunting and housing search from their arrival onwards. Secondly, the effect of these institutional barriers is persistent. Having started in less desirable housing conditions, inter-province migrants could hardly improve upon it, as institutional barriers limit their access to resources to upgrade their tenure. Thirdly, marriage is an effective way to transfer a *hukou* and thereby overcome these institutional barriers, but it creates a significant gender bias. The marriage strategy suggests that the household structure and a change in it would have far-reaching impacts on an individual's housing choice and related *hukou*, especially in a household with members originating from different places.

This study also clarified the meaning of an unstable tenure, especially employer-provided dormitory housing. Previous studies recognized that a stable tenure such as homeownership is crucial to migrants' capacity to establish an urban home (cf., Huang *et al.*, 2014). But the empirical evidence presented here shows that an unstable tenure, by requiring less investment, is a more practical channel for migrants who intend to stay temporarily (or remain undecided). That is particularly important to inter-province migrants. When constrained by those institutional barriers, living in employer-provided dormitory housing is not a bad choice.

In terms of its social relevance, this study has explored some directions for further improvement that could benefit newly arriving rural migrants. The provision of temporary accommodation should get more attention, especially regarding inter-province male migrants. One possible solution is to provide public rental housing for short-term stay, such as the dormitory built by the Suzhou municipal government. Newly arriving migrants could live there until they find employment and related accommodation. Furthermore, the government could encourage urban employers to build more dormitories in the new industrial zone; for instance, the authorities could provide land at a discount. The policy of the Kunshan municipal government is a case in point – if the factory agrees to build dormitory housing, it will be charged less for the

land-use rights at the factory site (cf., Lu and Jiao, 2010). Such measures might help newly arriving migrants get through the initial adaptive period in their migration.

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5. Rural migrants' residential mobility: outcomes of forced moves in China's medium-sized cities

Abstract

This paper analyzes the residential mobility of China's rural–urban migrants in medium-sized cities in light of evidence from Yangzhou in Jiangsu province. Voluntary vs. forced moves (driven by inner-city demolition-led redevelopment) are compared with respect to migrants' outcomes, specifically attributes of the dwelling and the geographic location. Dwelling attributes consist of tenure and housing facilities, while commuting distance, distance to the city center, and the distance of a child's trip to school comprise the location attributes. Logistic regression of data from a 2012-2013 survey shows that a move for housing improvement is predictive of homeownership, but it is likely to increase the distance to the city center and the commuting distance. But if the move is made to achieve a better job-housing balance decreases the commuting distance but does not significantly improve dwelling attributes. This suggests that migrants make a trade-off between dwelling quality and geographic location — they move into peripheral areas for housing improvement, here called their 'off-site relocation strategy'. However, the outcomes of the trade-off can be modified by migrants' concerns for their children's education — they purchase an apartment in a certain school district or at least move closer to it. For the sake of their children, they relegate other motives to second place.

Keywords: Rural–urban migrant, forced move, off-site relocation, trade-off between housing and location, migrant children's education, Yangzhou

5.1 Introduction

The decision to make an intra-urban move and the choice of a new dwelling are usually voluntary. People move in order to meet their housing needs (Rossi, 1955) or to ease their journey to work (Clark and Dieleman, 1996). However, the move may also be forced. During recent decades, the United States and many European countries have witnessed substantial housing and neighborhood restructuring, notably urban clearance (Heller, 1982) and gentrification (van Weesep, 1994). These programs involved the demolition of both rental (public or private) and owner-occupied housing. Most studies have pointed to a negative impact of such 'involuntary' relocation on low-income residents' living conditions (for a review, see Atkinson, 2002).

Yet, more recent studies have also shown positive outcomes, especially when low-income residents are provided with reasonable compensation and granted priority in the choice of destination housing. Notable examples are evaluations of recent programs such as 'Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere' in the US (Goetz, 2013), urban renewal in France (Lelévrier, 2013), the 'Housing Market Renewal' in England (Kearns and Mason, 2013) and 'Urban Restructuring' in the Netherlands (Posthumus et al., 2013). In their review of diverse outcomes of forced relocation, Kleinhans and Kearns (2013) suggest that the context of a specific restructuring program and related compensation policy should be taken into account to understand the impacts.

Indeed, in the context of urban China, the compensation policy for forced relocation is quite limited, especially for renters. The neighborhood restructuring program refers to the demolition and redevelopment of inner-city villages. Since the housing reform of 1998, an emerging real estate market has led to housing clearance in central city areas to make way for commercial, industrial and residential redevelopment (Wu et al., 2013). In practice, municipal governments transform the collective-owned land of inner-city villages into state-owned construction sites and then sell these to developers. Subsequently, the developers demolish village housing to build modern neighborhoods. The owners of demolished housing can obtain monetary compensation or new apartments in the new neighborhood, which may improve their living conditions (He and Wu, 2005). However, the renters, mainly rural-urban migrants, are forced to move without reasonable compensation, and no alternative housing is provided (Li et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, the rural migrants are not necessarily victims. Many were dissatisfied with the living conditions in urban villages and were already considering a voluntary move (cf. Wu, 2006; Hui et al., 2014). A rough classification of ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ is too ambiguous to comprehend the meaning of relocation for those migrants. The forced relocation can encourage them to make the decision. They move out of the most disadvantaged inner villages, and many can move into housing in better condition in more peripheral areas (cf. Liu, 2015). By adopting this off-site relocation, migrants can improve their housing conditions after a forced move, even though they do not obtain compensation. But off-site relocation would also have side effects with respect to geographic location, such as a change in commuting distance and in the distance to public amenities. However, no empirical research has been done on the effects of migrants’ intention to move prior to demolition, their strategy regarding off-site relocation, or related location changes.

This paper seeks to fill a number of gaps in the discussion of migrants’ relocation. To that end, relocation is first classified into two types. Without urban redevelopment, some residents move to improve, while others move because their rental contract is terminated. And under redevelopment, some residents have a prior intention to improve their situation, while others are forced against their will. A distinction is also made between migrants who stay in the same neighborhood and those who move to another neighborhood or to another district. These points are couched in the following research questions: **What are the outcomes with respect to dwelling attributes and geographic location attributes in different types of rural migrants’ intra-urban residential relocation? And what are the effects of on-site relocation (partial displacement) and off-site relocation (total displacement), respectively?**

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature on the effects of forced relocation. Section 3 introduces our 2012-2013 survey of nearly 700 migrants in Yangzhou City in Jiangsu province. It also presents the methodology used for the experience in Yangzhou, which is presumed to be indicative of migrants’ residential mobility in China’s other medium-sized cities. Presenting quantitative models and qualitative interviews, Section 4 describes and compares the empirical outcomes. The final section relates the outcome of this study to existing knowledge on migrants’ residential mobility.

5.2 Theoretical perspectives

5.2.1 'Forced' relocation and residential outcomes

Rossi's (1955) original insight that residential mobility is the primary means of resolving housing dissatisfaction has been the starting point of much subsequent research. Housing adjustment has been related to stages in the household life cycle, such as marriage and the birth of a child (Rossi, 1955; Clark and Onaka, 1983). Residential mobility is also connected to job careers. Specifically, the location of the dwelling with respect to workplaces and public services is considered critical, and a job change may trigger the decision to relocate, or vice versa. These studies have contributed to an understanding of the complexity of residential relocation over the life course (Clark and Dieleman, 1996).

However, not all moves are preference-driven. An urban renewal project or gentrification will induce or force many to move. Such changes are initiated by government and investors rather than by the individuals themselves. Some studies have documented the impacts of involuntary relocation on low-income residents in various contexts. Most authors pointed to its negative impacts, such as decreased affordability, and eroding social networks (Atkinson, 2002). But a number of more recent studies reveal positive outcomes of forced relocation for low-income residents' living conditions (for a review, see Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). These authors also outline the conditions for positive outcomes, including household resources (Goetz, 2013), their bargaining power in the negotiation with agents (Lelévrier, 2013), the prior intention to move (Kearns and Mason, 2013), and granted priority rights in the public housing market (Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014).

Research on forced relocation in China is usually related to the demolition and redevelopment of inner-city urban villages. Before redevelopment, many rural migrants without local *hukou* status have no choice but to settle for substandard housing in an urban village, given the shortage of affordable public rental housing (Wu, W.P., 2004). This gives the city a bad reputation and leads to serious social problems such as crime, fire hazards, poor public health, and crowding (Wu et al., 2013). To prevent such effects, municipal governments employ demolition to redevelop inner-city villages. Having studied programs in Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen and Guangzhou, many authors report negative impacts of demolition-led redevelopment on rural migrants' housing conditions. Problems arise mainly because rural migrants are excluded from the negotiation between the government, developers and landlords (Hao et al., 2011). They obtain little if any compensation and are not offered a choice of alternative housing – casting them as 'losers' in the redevelopment. Conversely, local officials and real estate developers are outright winners, and those urban villagers who are landlords may also reap remarkable benefits (He et al., 2010).

Consider the Chinese situation in light of Western cases. In the West, the key component, namely 'forced relocation', is not clear-cut. It is too simple to call one type of move 'forced or 'involuntary' and others 'voluntary'. The perception that a move is 'forced' depends on the context, compensation policy and an individual's prior intention to move. Renters in Western countries can participate in the negotiations. They are usually offered a choice of alternative

housing and reasonable compensation. Given these resources, they can move out of a disadvantaged neighborhood and make an improvement in their housing career. Therefore, the move would not be perceived as being so involuntary (Kearns and Mason, 2013). But renters in China's urban villages are out of the game. Rural migrants are usually branded as victims in the literature, because of the absence of compensation. In that sense, the perception of the 'forced' nature of their moves might be apt.

However, this perception might be cushioned by an intention to move prior to demolition. Many migrants living in urban villages wish to improve their housing conditions by moving, or at least consider relocation a viable option (more than 90% in a case study in Shenzhen) (Hui et al., 2014). Those people may in fact see relocation as an opportunity. In this sense, forced relocation may not be perceived as 'forced', as the residents anticipate a degree of 'betterment' (Kearns and Mason, 2013). Hence, to understand the 'forced' nature of relocation as perceived by the migrants, it is important to take their prior intention into account. Moreover, a more accurate distinction should be made between types of relocation: without urban redevelopment, some residents move to improve, others move because of the termination of rental contract; under redevelopment, some residents have a prior intention to improve, and others are forced to move against their will.

5.2.2 'Displacement' and off-site relocation

Whether people remain in situ also matters in residential outcomes. Early on, Roseman (1971) used 'displacement' to indicate the separation of ties between the old house and the new one. If the destination housing is far away from the original housing site, few if any ties will remain; this may be termed total displacement (Clark and Dieleman, 1996). Displacement is often related to forced relocation, for example due to gentrification, when most residents have to move out of their neighborhoods (cf. Atkinson, 2002). Because of this physical separation, displacement has multiple dimensions. Functional displacement refers to the decrease of access to public services, social displacement to the loss of social network, and psychological displacement to the loss of a sense of home (cf. Davidson 2011; Doucet, 2009).

However, 'displacement' and 'forced relocation' are not synonymous. In view of possible positive outcomes from a forced relocation in Western countries, some scholars question the negative tone in the notion of 'displacement' (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). Furthermore, a voluntary move may result in total displacement if residents move far away from the original site. Even when forced to move, some residents are able to relocate over a short distance because they are provided with granted priority rights in the public housing market (Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). And they prefer to take that option in order to satisfy their preferences such as to preserve social networks and to facilitate existing daily routines (Posthumus et al., 2013).

Studies on China also treat the differences in residential outcomes between out-movers from restructured areas and those remaining in situ. These studies use the terms 'on-site' and 'off-site' relocation (cf. Wu, F.L., 2004). Here, the notion of off-site relocation may be introduced as a factor, being more or less equal to 'total displacement'. And in demolition-led redevelopment, displaced local residents usually receive more monetary compensation than movers making an on-site relocation (He and Wu, 2005). Migrants are out of the negotiation loop and are not

provided with on-site destination housing. Nonetheless, some of them can still rent cheap housing in the same urban village or one nearby. That is because demolition and redevelopment usually take a long time to settle between the government/developer and individual households. In fact, compensation issues form the most troublesome and sensitive part of the land requisition process and frequently lead to social conflicts (Li et al., 2014). In contrast, if migrants intend to improve their living conditions, they are presumably inclined to move out of the disadvantaged urban villages slated for demolition (Hui et al., 2014).

Besides housing concerns, other events in their life course might push them to make an off-site relocation, such as their children reaching school age. They need to purchase urban market-sector housing in a certain school district to enter a local primary school. Otherwise, they have to pay higher administration fees every year than local residents (Chen and Feng, 2012). The forced relocation can trigger the decision to buy. Another issue is a change in employment. Many migrants, mainly service workers and self-employed peddlers, work in urban villages. They have to change their job and their place of work due to demolition and redevelopment (Chen and Pryce, 2013). It seems that diverse needs could be met by off-site relocation. Therefore, on-site relocation is compared with off-site relocation, further differentiating between voluntary and involuntary moves. And given the wide range of possible outcomes, this paper examines the migrant's residential outcomes in terms of dwelling attributes and location attributes (see Figure 5.1).

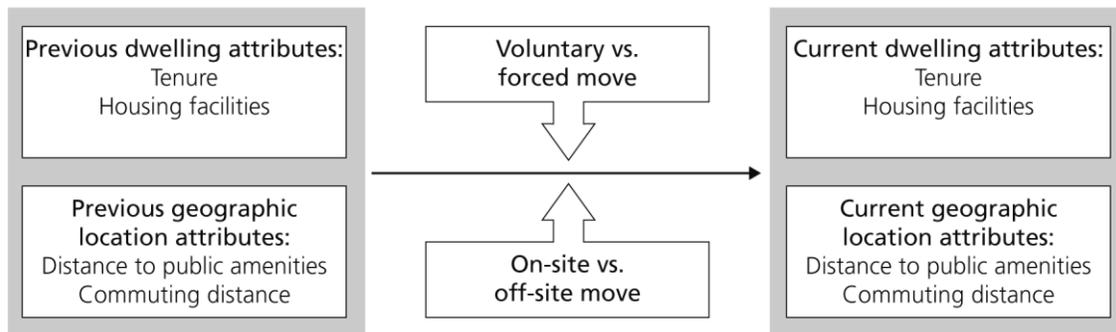


Figure 5.1. The framework of migrants' residential outcomes

With respect to dwelling attributes, migrants will decide whether to purchase an apartment or to rent, and they will decide which facilities they need. With regard to geographical location, they will take account of their commuting distance and the accessibility to public amenities. In the case of a voluntary move, these attributes are expected to have improved or to balance different needs. In the case of an involuntary move, the migrant will try to get at least the previous quality of living conditions. The results are expected to be related to the choice of destination housing. In an off-site relocation, these attributes could be very different from those in the previous dwelling. We are particularly interested in the effects on the distance to various urban activities, the distance of child's trip to school, and commuting distance. Indeed, these location attributes are important conditions for migrants' daily activities. Therefore, this paper poses two hypotheses: (1) A voluntary relocation and the intention to move prior to demolition

are more likely to result in positive outcomes, while migrants make a trade-off between the improvement of dwelling attributes and the improvement of geographic location attributes. (2) Compared to an on-site relocation, an off-site relocation is more likely to result in housing improvement, a decrease in commuting distance, and a decrease in the distance of child's trip to school, whereas the distance to the city center would increase significantly.

5.3 Case-study Area and Research Design

5.3.1 Fieldwork in Yangzhou and the dataset

Our dataset comes from a 2012-2013 survey in the city of Yangzhou in Jiangsu province, China. Over the years, its booming economy has attracted hundreds of thousands migrants from less-developed regions. In 2010, 1.2 million people lived in Yangzhou, and about one-sixth of them were rural migrants. It is located at the confluence of the Yangtze River and the Beijing-Hangzhou Great Canal (see Figure 5.2). The total area covered by the municipality is 6,591 km², with a built-up area of 82 km² divided into three administrative districts (Weiyang, Guangling, and Hanjiang) (Yangzhou municipal government, 2011). In view of its size and population, Yangzhou is a suitable case to represent medium-sized Chinese cities. Since the early the 2000s, the Yangzhou municipal government has been engaged in the demolition and redevelopment of urban villages in the built-up area, beginning with those near the city center (Yangzhou municipal government, 2003).

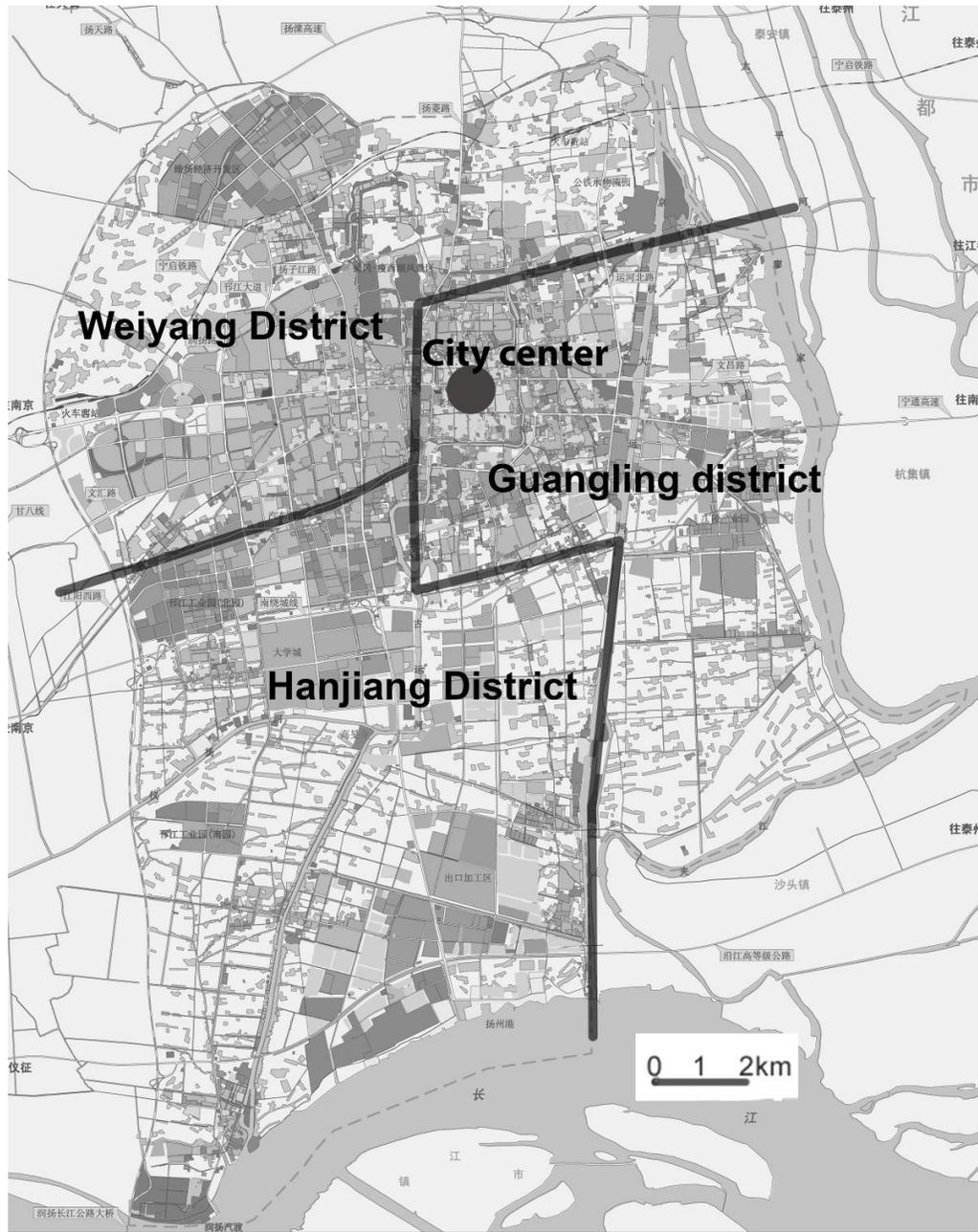


Figure 5.2 Three districts in Yangzhou city

The researchers handed out 973 questionnaires and collected 739 answers (a response rate of 76%). In total, 673 respondents answered all of the questions. Then 32 migrants were interviewed. In the entire sample, females accounted for 35.8%, which is consistent with the gender composition of the migrant population in the official 2010 survey in Yangzhou. Characteristics of the respondents' socio-demographic profile are listed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 List of profiles

	Categories	n	Percent
Age of household head	20-29	230	34.2
	30-49	380	56.4
	50 and above	63	9.4
Gender	Male	432	64.2
	Female	241	35.8
Education	Less than 12 years schooling	544	80.8
	Higher education or above (12 years or more)	129	19.2
Household hukou	No family members have Jiangsu hukou	192	28.5
	All family members have Jiangsu, but no Yangzhou hukou	386	57.4
	At least one family member has Jiangsu Yangzhou hukou	95	14.1
Household structure	Single	153	22.7
	Couple	133	19.8
	Core family (parents with children less than 18 years old)	161	23.9
	Adult family (all family members are adults)	150	22.3
	Extended family (three-generation family)	76	11.3
Household monthly income	Low (less than 3,000 Yuan)	189	28.1
	Medium (3,000-5,000 Yuan)	317	47.1
	Higher (more than 5,000 Yuan)	167	24.8
Employment type	Construction workers (builders at building sites and workers who do interior decoration)	82	12.2
	Manufacturing workers (operative employees)	207	30.8
	Service workers (waiters, waitresses, cooks, and cleaners in restaurants or hotels; children's nurses, interior cleaners, and nursing assistants; street cleaners and street repairman; day service laborers)	171	25.4
	Self-employed (small shopkeepers, drivers, and street sellers)	213	31.6
	Forced move: Respondents had to move because of demolition and had no prior intention to move.	240	35.7
Type of residential relocation	Prior intention to move in forced move: Respondents had to move because of demolition redevelopment, but they also intended to move.	50	7.4
	Move for job-housing balance: Respondents moved to attain a better job-housing balance.	160	23.8
	Move for housing improvement: Respondents moved to improve the dwelling attributes (tenure or facilities).	127	18.9
	Move for child's education: Respondents moved to shorten the distance to school for their children, or they purchased market-sector housing in a certain neighborhood so their child could attend a local school.	53	7.9
	Move due to terminated rental contract: Due to the termination of the rental contract, the respondents moved to another dwelling with cheap rent.	43	6.4
Level of relocation	Move within the same neighborhood: Respondents moved to another place in the same neighborhood; the moving distance was no more than 1 km.	231	34.3
	Move to another neighborhood in the same district: Respondents moved to another neighborhood in the same district; the moving distance was more than 1 km.	306	45.5
	Move to another district: The respondents moved to another district; the moving distance was more than 1 km.	136	20.2
Total		673	100

In total, 290 households experienced demolition-led redevelopment, and 50 of them indicated a prior intention to move. In the group whose move was more voluntary in nature, 160 households moved to improve their job-housing balance; 127 households moved to improve housing conditions; others moved for children's education (53 households). Forty-three households moved at the end of the rental contract. Regarding the type of relocation, more than one-third of the respondents relocated on-site. Among those relocating off-site, nearly 70% (306/442) moved to another neighborhood in the same district, while 30% of moved to a different district.

5.3.2 Measurements and methods

The dependent variables in the empirical analysis included a change in dwelling attributes (tenure and housing facilities) and a change in geographic location attributes (distance to public amenities, commuting distance, and the distance of child's trip to school). The independent variables included the type of relocation, level of relocation, and the socio-demographic status of the household (education level of the household head, employment sector of the household head, household structure, household income, and household *hukou* status). With respect to household structure, the focus was on the effects of marriage on the size of the household (the addition of a child or elderly person). Three variables are examined: whether the household head married (or entered a partnership); whether the household had a child under 16 years old; or lived with elderly parents (aged 60 years or above). We also took other individual demographic characteristics into account, such as the age and gender of the household head. But these showed significant co-variation with household structure, so we excluded them from the analysis.

With respect to the type of relocation, the respondents were invited to give their reasons to move (multiple options in the survey). Based on their answers, we divided relocation into more subtypes (see Table 5.1): 'forced move driven by urban redevelopment', 'prior intention to move in forced relocation', 'voluntary move' (including 'move for job-housing balance', 'move for housing improvement', and 'move for children's education'), and 'move due to terminated rental contract'.

The level of relocation is expressed in three categories, 'move within the same neighborhood', 'move to another neighborhood in the same district', and 'move to another district'. The first category was viewed as an on-site relocation. It was evaluated by the distance from the previous housing site to the current one. According to China's "Code for Transport Planning on Urban Roads", the distance between two main avenues should be in the range of 800 meters to 1,200 meters. So a typical neighborhood covered a block of 1km*1km. The other two categories were considered off-site relocation. Compared to a move within the same district, a move to a different one created the need to cope with more institutional issues, for instance, *hukou* status and children's registration in schools (Chen and Feng, 2012). Therefore, we divided off-site relocation into 'move to another neighborhood in the same district' and 'move to another district'. Tenure is divided into four categories: market rental; employer-provided housing; acquaintance's home; and homeownership. The emphasis was on whether the respondent purchased a home after relocation. In our sample, no one sold a dwelling to return to renting, so

only the situations of ‘remain non-homeowner’ and ‘from other tenure to homeownership’ are discussed in the empirical part of this paper.

The variable ‘housing facilities’ refers to the availability of internet, living room, kitchen, bathroom and furnishings in the dwelling (Huang and Jiang, 2009). These various features were combined into a single scale. For example, in a dwelling without a bathroom, the index of bathroom equaled 0; if the household had to share it with other tenants, the index equaled 1; and if the household had the exclusive use of a bathroom, it equaled 2. The housing facility index comprises the sum of all facility indexes. The change in housing facility indicated whether the index increased or decreased.

Accessibility to public amenities was evaluated by the distance from a migrant’s housing site to the city center, where they are concentrated (see Figure 5.2). Yangzhou city has a typical monocentric urban structure. Offices, city parks, city-level public facilities, the main shopping center, historic cultural districts such as tourist spots, leisure services, and public transport are concentrated in the downtown area (Yangzhou municipal government, 2010). As a result, proximity to the city center is highly valued in the choice of location (Wang et al., 2013). A change in the distance to the city center is expressed as the current distance minus the previous one. Similarly, commuting distance refers to the linear distance between the housing site and the respondent’s workplace. The change in the respondent’s commuting distance equals his/her current commuting distance minus the previous one.

The empirical part of this paper also examines the distance of the eldest child’s trip to school. Migrants usually worked more than eight hours (official working hours) per day, so they did not have time to drop off and pick up young children. Most migrants could not rely on elderly family members to do so. As a result, a short distance from home to school was important to migrants, if school-age children were living with them or they intended to bring their children from their hometown. In the analysis, the change in the distance of the eldest child’s trip to school equals the current distance minus the previous one.

To avoid possible disturbing impacts of the dimension of continuous variables on these regression models, the continuous variables (household income, housing facility index, distance to city center, commuting distance, and distance of the eldest child’s trip to school) were transformed into standardized variables through the function ‘Z score’ in the regression analysis.

5.4 Empirical analysis

Table 5.2 shows the changes in dwelling attributes and location attributes. With respect to dwelling attributes, the general conditions of migrants’ housing were improved after the relocation, even in the group whose move was ‘forced’. As the worst-quality housing is likely to be demolished, the previous housing condition (the starting point) is somewhat lower for those whose move was forced than for other groups. Therefore, it is not difficult to improve conditions by moving (Posthumus et al., 2013). However, the magnitude of this improvement is lower than in the case of ‘a voluntary move for housing improvement’, especially when the move is into homeownership.

In regard to the distance to city center, the respondents moved farther away from the city center in general, except when the move was for a child's education. The changes in commuting distance were diverse: whereas 'move for child's education' increased, a decrease was registered in 'forced move', 'move for job-housing balance', and 'move due to terminated contract'. Our regression models test whether these intra-group differences are statistically significant or not.

Table 5.2 Change in dwelling attributes and location attributes

	Home ownership	Housing facility index			Distance to city center (km)			Commuting distance (km)		
	Current	Previous	Current	Change	Previous	Current	Change	Previous	Current	Change
Forced move	5.8%	3	3.9	0.9	5.1	5.3	0.2	2.9	2.5	-0.5
Prior intention to move	22.0%	4.1	4.9	0.8	4.7	5.6	0.9	2.9	2.8	0
Move for job-housing balance	10.0%	4.5	4.9	0.4	5	5.5	0.4	4.3	2.9	-1.4
Move for housing improvement	32.3%	5.3	6.8	1.5	4.9	5.9	1	2.7	2.7	0
Move for child's education	26.4%	5.2	5.8	0.6	5.6	4.6	-1	3.8	4.1	0.3
Move due to terminated contract	4.7%	3.4	3.9	0.5	4.5	5.2	0.7	3.9	3.3	-0.6
Move within the same neighborhood	7.4%	3.4	4.5	1.1	5	5	0	2.8	2.5	-0.3
Move to another neighborhood	14.7%	4.5	5	0.6	5	5.4	0.4	3.2	2.8	-0.4
Move to another district	26.5%	4.3	5.3	1	5.1	6.1	1	4.5	3.4	-1.1
Total	14.6%	4.1	4.9	0.8	5	5.4	0.4	3.3	2.9	-0.4

5.4.1 Dwelling attributes

In the binary logistic regression model for the change in housing tenure and housing facilities, 'non-homeowner' is set as the reference category of the dependent variable in the model 'housing tenure'. The Nagelkerke R square equals 0.487, with 16 degrees of freedom. In the ordinary least squares regression model for the change in the housing facility index, the dependent variable equals the current index minus the previous value. The adjusted R square equals 0.080, with 16 degrees of freedom (see Table 5.3). The ANOVA test for the OLS model is statistically significant. Compared to the Nagelkerke R square in the logistic regression model, the value of

the adjusted R square in the OLS model is low. The explanation lies in the dependent variable – ‘housing tenure’ is binary, while ‘housing facility index’ is continuous. Along with the change in the dummy independent variables (0 or 1), a change in a continuous dependent variable is relatively small compared to that of a binary dependent variable. In view of the significance of the OLS model, the low value of the adjusted R square is reasonable (cf. Bedeian and Mossholder, 1994).

Table 5.3 Binary logistic regression on the change in housing tenure and OLS regression on the change in housing facility index

	Homeownership		Housing facility index	
	B	Odds	B	Beta
Household income (Z-score)	0.926***	2.524	0.112**	0.109
The household head is married (or in partnership) (dummy)	1.360**	3.897	0.078	0.034
The household has a child under 16 years old (dummy)	0.466	1.593	0.211**	0.102
The household has a member over 60 years old (dummy)	0.365	1.441	-0.065	-0.017
The household head has higher education (dummy)	1.144***	3.140	-0.292***	-0.115
Employment type of household head (‘manufacturing Construction worker (dummy)	-0.139	0.870	-0.120	-0.039
Service worker (dummy)	-0.038	0.963	-0.217**	-0.095
Self-employed (dummy)	1.197***	3.309	0.044	0.018
The household has a Yangzhou hukou status (dummy)	1.696***	5.452	0.130	0.040
Relocation type (‘forced move’=ref)				
Prior intention to move in forced move (dummy)	1.836***	6.269	-0.018	-0.005
Move for job-housing balance (dummy)	0.554	1.740	-0.047	-0.020
Move for housing improvement (dummy)	2.021***	7.544	0.304***	0.119
Move for child’s education (dummy)	1.386***	3.998	-0.171	-0.046
Move due to termination of rental contract (dummy)	0.138	1.148	-0.024	-0.006
Level of relocation (‘move within the same Move to another neighborhood (dummy)	0.941**	2.563	-0.150	-0.075
Move to another district (dummy)	1.372***	3.941	0.015	0.006
Constant	-6.376		-0.002	
Nagelkerke R square	0.487			
Adjusted R square			0.080	

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; * $p \leq 0.01$.**

A higher household income and having a Yangzhou *hukou* are strongly positive in predicting a move into homeownership (see Table 5.3). A higher income is also strongly positive in predicting improvement in housing facilities after relocation. That is consistent with previous findings (Huang et al., 2014). Being self-employed is also a positive predictor. The odds ratio of 3.309 indicates that self-employed migrants were three times more likely to attain homeownership. Compared to workers in manufacturing and construction, self-employed persons

are not provided with accommodation in dormitory or sheds. Thus, they had to rent in an urban village or purchase market-sector dwellings (Li et al., 2009). The latest relocation allowed them to change their tenure. Homeownership and the *hukou* transfer associated with it could provide them with a guarantee for a business loan to finance their future career. Conversely, being a service worker is negative in predicting improvement in housing facilities (see Table 5.3). Since migrants employed in the service industry were concentrated in downtown areas, they continued to rent in other inner-city urban villages if they intended to live close to their workplace. That did not improve their housing conditions.

Compared to single persons, the households of married couples are more likely to attain homeownership. Indeed, marriage consolidated the intention to buy, in line with the Chinese cultural attitude that encourages the purchase of a new home for the marriage (Hu and Zhu, 2011).

It is interesting to observe that a higher level of education is significantly positive in predicting homeownership but negative regarding improvement in housing facilities (see Table 5.3). Only 14% of the higher-educated respondents showed an increase in housing facility index, while nearly 40% of the lower-educated respondents did so, mainly by adding internet and a bathroom. This discrepancy suggests that higher-educated persons had previously rented dwellings with better facilities. Thus, buying a new home would not bring much improvement in this respect. That discrepancy might also be related to the difference in people's lifestyle, calling to mind the bathing culture in Yangzhou. Yangzhou is famous for its history of public bathing dating from 2,200 years ago (Olivová and Børdahl, 2009). Public bathing is very popular – more than half of the lower-educated respondents in our sample (58% before relocation, and 48% after relocation) did not have a private bathroom and went to the public bath. They even view the public bath as a suitable place for social networking. But the percentage was less than 10 percent among our higher-educated respondents (before and after relocation). They are probably more sensitive to privacy and hygiene in public baths, and they rented or purchased dwellings with a private bathroom.

With respect to the type of move and the level of relocation, the models suggest that migrants are more likely to become homeowners and improve their housing facilities after a voluntary move for reasons of the dwelling itself. Moreover, most homebuyers (71/98) made an off-site move, so 'move to another neighborhood' and 'move to another district' are positive in predicting homeownership. Migrants would not choose to move into an apartment in their previous substandard, migrant-concentration neighborhoods. Instead, they preferred to move into newly built, local-concentration or mixed neighborhoods, if they intended to set up an urban home. Consider the story of 30-year-old Xiaohuang.

I did not want to purchase a second-hand apartment in *Niansi* neighborhood [where he previously lived], although the price was low [5,000 Yuan per square meter]. The neighborhood is too old, and there is no property management. Public facilities are in bad condition, like the provision of water, electricity and internet. There is little open space, and the road is too narrow ... We plan to have a baby [he got married when living in *Niansi*], but we do not want our child to live in the poor neighborhood ... so I purchased

an apartment in *Hanjiang* neighborhood near *Ji'an* Road, although the price was higher [6,500 -7,000 Yuan per square meter].

(Xiaohuang, male, 30 years old, construction worker)

Xiaohuang purchased an apartment in another neighborhood to provide his child with a better living environment. This concurs with the model, which reveals a positive effect of 'move for children's education' in predicting homeownership (see Table 5.3). The respondents purchased a new home so their children could go to school conveniently or attend a certain school (Lan, 2014), as in the case of 36-year-old Lijie.

My son is eight years old. He is in second grade in *Weiyang Shiyan* primary school ... It is a very good school. We do not want him to go to *Cuigang* primary school nearby [a special school for migrant students], so we pay the extra 7,200 Yuan per year to attend *Weiyang Shiyan* primary school [compared to local students] ... We decided to purchase an apartment in *Yaozhuang* neighborhood. It belongs to the school district of *Weiyang Shiyan* primary school. It has nearly 90 square meters and cost us 0.6 million Yuan.

(Lijie, 36 years old, self-employed, hair salon)

Without a Yangzhou *hukou*, Lijie had to pay extra fees for her son's education. After the purchase, Lijie initiated the process to transfer her son's *hukou*. At the time of interview, it was under review by the government. If successful, she would not have to pay the extra fees for her son to attend high school.

The model also reveals a positive effect of 'prior intention to move in forced relocation' in predicting homeownership (see Table 5.3). It is consistent with the finding that forced relocation may inspire some residents who are already considering a move (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). Consider the story of 32-year-old Tanjie.

In 2012, our daughter was seven years old, and she needed to go to primary school. But I did not have time to drop her off and pick her up, because I usually started work at noon and came back home at midnight [as a foot massage service worker]. I have to sleep in the morning. So we decided to invite my parents to live with us, but our previous place only had 70 square meters with two bedrooms [in *Donghuayuan* neighborhood] ... At that time, the landlord showed us a notice that the dwelling would be demolished for redevelopment, and we needed to look for a new place [the rental contract will end] ... So we purchased an apartment with three bedrooms in *Nanjue Zhuangyuan* neighborhood [located in a southern suburb]. Although it is far away from the center, it is big enough for five persons.

(Tanjie, female, 32 years old, foot massage service worker)

Tanjie intended to move for her daughter's education, and the demolition redevelopment of *Donghuayuan* neighborhood pushed her to make the final decision. She did not perceive the forced relocation as a stressful experience. As a migrant and a renter, she did not have strong

attachment to the demolished dwelling. Since she would not get compensation, she did not worry about negotiations with the government and could easily move out. Even in some extreme cases, when the dwelling was going to be demolished, migrants would deliberately move into another dwelling slated for demolition. They did not expect an improvement but intended to keep their rent low, as in the story of 38-year -old Xuge.

The best way to save money is to rent a dwelling on the list for demolition redevelopment. I looked for dwellings with a big sign “拆” [demolition] on the external wall of the building ... *Donghuayuan* neighborhood is under demolition. Some buildings are demolished, but some are not [still in the process of negotiation]. I went door to door to ask [whether there was a room for rent] ... Finally, my current landlord agreed to let me a room for 200 Yuan per month [lower than the average rental, which runs about 500 Yuan per room per month], but I will have to move out once he gets a nice compensation [makes a deal with the government].

(Xuge, Male, 38 years old, short-term laborer)

Sometimes negotiations lasted more than a year because the landlord asked for a high compensation. And the landlord usually reduced the rent to urge the renter to stay in this period. So it was an ideal accommodation for Xuge, who wanted to a place with at least the same quality of his previous living conditions. Comparing these two cases (Xuge vs. Tanjie), it appears that, if the displaced residents did not have a prior intention to move for the sake of improvement, they would have looked for on-site new accommodation, like the migrants whose rental contract automatically terminated. In that light, the difference between a ‘move due to the termination of rental contract’ and the reference category ‘forced move (induced by urban village redevelopment)’ is not significant (see Table 5.2, 5.3). In other words, the demolition-led redevelopment would not have more impact on rural migrants than the end of a rental contract did, with respect to dwelling attributes.

5.4.2 Location attributes

In the model for the change in distance to the city center (Table 5.4), the set of independent variables excludes the level of relocation for two reasons. First of all, the city center is located in the *Guangling* district, so the move from this district to another one was by definition related to a longer distance to the city center. Secondly, the urban redevelopment started from the downtown areas and reached toward the inner suburb, so all kinds of off-site relocation were related to a longer distance to the city center. The dependent variable refers to the change in distance to the city center or to the commuting distance. If it increased, the location had become worse. The adjusted R square equals 0.049 and 0.043 in the model ‘distance to city center’ (with 14 degrees of freedom) and ‘commuting distance’ (with 16 degrees of freedom), respectively (see Table 5.4). The ANOVA test for the OLS model is statistically significant, and the reason for the low value of the adjusted R square is given above.

In the model for the change in the family eldest child's trip to school, the independent variables exclude the household structure, as the analysis only covers households with school-age children (under 16 years old). So the sample size is 256 instead of 673. With respect to the eldest child's trip to school, the mean value also decreased in general. But in the group of 'forced move', this statistic did not change much. The dependent variable refers to the change in the distance of the family's eldest child's trip to school (current value minus previous value). If it increased, the location had become worse. With 13 degrees of freedom, the adjusted R square equals 0.056 (see Table 5.4). The ANOVA test for the OLS model is statistically significant, and the reason for the low value of the adjusted R square is mentioned above.

Table 5.4 OLS regression on the change in distance to city center, respondent's commuting distance, and child's trip to school

	Distance to city center		Commuting distance		Child's trip to school	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Household income (Z-score)	0.067	1.422	-0.115**	-0.112	-0.010	-0.008
The household head is married (or in partnership) (dummy)	-0.215**	-1.945	0.078	0.034		
The household has a child under 16 years old (dummy)	0.081	0.904	-0.021	-0.010		
The household has a member over 60 years old (dummy)	-0.317**	-2.148	0.188	0.050		
The household head has higher education (dummy) ('12 years and less'=ref)	-0.053	-0.513	-0.064	-0.025	-0.307	-0.099
Employment type of the household head ('manufacturing worker'=ref)						
Construction worker (dummy)	0.192*	1.512	-0.032	-0.010	-0.360	-0.095
Service worker (dummy)	-0.083	-0.862	-0.128	-0.056	0.057	0.024
Self-employed (dummy)	0.123	1.174	0.050	0.020	0.223	0.097
The household has a Yangzhou hukou status (dummy)	-0.067	-0.531	-0.007	-0.002	0.283	0.102
Relocation type ('forced move'=ref)						
Prior intention to move in forced move (dummy)	0.303**	1.975	0.199	0.052	-0.359	-0.103
Move for job-housing balance (dummy)	0.080	0.764	-0.267***	-0.114	-0.196	-0.074
Move for housing improvement (dummy)	0.321***	2.898	0.266**	0.104	-0.234	-0.093
Move for child's education (dummy)	-0.470***	-3.088	0.332**	0.089	-0.446**	-0.161
Move due to termination of rental contract (dummy)	0.156	0.945	-0.041	-0.010	-0.036	-0.007
Level of displacement ('move within the same neighborhood'=ref)						
Move to another neighborhood (dummy)			0.050	0.025	-0.295**	-0.146
Move to another district (dummy)			-0.234**	-0.094	-0.139	-0.056
Constant	0.068		-0.023		0.242	
Adjusted R square	0.049		0.043		0.056	

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; * $p \leq 0.01$.**

Being a construction worker was positive in predicting a longer distance to the city center (see Table 5.4). These results suggest that these workers did not make an improvement in the location attributes. They usually lived in a work-shed at the construction site and moved as the

project changed. Urban development and redevelopment in Yangzhou shifted from the inner city to the suburb, so construction workers tended to move to a more peripheral area, following their jobs.

Living with old parents did shorten the distance to city center. The addition of elderly family members encouraged migrants to get closer to public amenities; for instance, they sought better accessibility to hospitals and social activities. Marriage (or partnership) was also significant in predicting a decrease in the distance to the city center (see Table 5.4). Most single migrants lived in a factory dormitory in the peripheral industrial zones. If one found a partner, s/he intended to find market rental housing and live together. Compared to the factory dormitory, market rental housing is concentrated in the inner city relatively near the center.

With respect to types of relocation, ‘move for housing improvement’ was significant in predicting an increase in the distance to the city center and in commuting distance. This outcome suggests that the location attributes got worse, while this variable was positive in predicting housing improvement (compare Table 5.3 with Table 5.4). For urban market-sector housing in Yangzhou, both the sales price and rent decrease as the distance to city center grows (Wang et al., 2013). Given the limitation of their financial resources, these migrants could only afford to buy a dwelling in the outer suburb. As a result, they attained homeownership at the expense of a good location. Consider the case of 32-year-old Tanjie. As mentioned above, she previously rented an apartment of 70 square meters in *Donghuayuan* neighborhood (inner suburb) and then purchased an apartment of 120 square meters in *Nanjue Zhuangyuan* neighborhood (outer suburb).

The sales price in *Donghuayuan* neighborhood is about 7,000 Yuan per square meter, but apartments in *Nanjue Zhuangyuan* neighborhood sell for about 5,500 Yuan per square meter. We at least need 100 square meters with three bedrooms [because she wants to invite her parents to look after her daughter] ... If we purchase the one in *Nanjue Zhuangyuan* neighborhood, it can save us 150,000 Yuan. We have already borrowed 300,000 Yuan from all relatives, and we cannot get any more.

(Tanjie, female, 32 years old, foot massage service worker)

After the purchase, Tanjie’s commuting distance increased substantially. In contrast, a ‘move for a better job-housing balance’ is significant in predicting a decrease in commuting distance. The respondents made an improvement in location attributes but not in dwelling attributes (see Table 5.3 and 5.4). The effect of this variable is opposite to the effect of a ‘move for housing improvement’. Given their limited resources, it seems that migrants rarely made improvements in both dwelling and location attributes. They had to make trade-offs.

Similarly, a ‘move for children’s education’ is significant in predicting a decrease in the distance to the city center but an increase in commuting distance (see Table 5.4). Good public schools for local students are concentrated in good locations, and special schools for migrated students are concentrated in peripheral areas (cf. Yangzhou master plan, 2010). Children have to attend the local primary school. As a result, the respondents intended to move close to the inner city, where good schools are concentrated. Living in such inner neighborhoods, migrant children could attend good public primary schools by paying extra fees. However, that might increase a

migrant's commuting distance, as in the case of 36-year-old Lijie. After buying an apartment for the sake of her son's education, they moved from *Renzhuang* neighborhood to *Yaozhuang* neighborhood, but commuting distance increased for both herself and her husband. In this sense, the household gave to their child's education priority over commuting distance. And in the case of Xiaohuang, the children's living environment was important enough to spend more and purchase an apartment so they could move out of a disadvantaged neighborhood. Their stories suggest that migrants' concerns for their children usually have the highest priority, and to a large extent these concerns determine the result of their trade-off between dwelling and location attributes.

Indeed, compared to an on-site relocation, the effect of a 'move to another neighborhood in the same district' is significant in predicting a decrease in the distance of a child's trip to school (see Table 5.4). If migrants intended to move for their children's education, they usually moved to another neighborhood. That usually occurred when their children entered high school. Consider the case of 48-year-old Laopeng.

When we lived in *Wangzhuang* neighborhood [in the east of *Weiyang* district], my litter daughter went to *Tongxin* charity migrant student primary school ... She even could take the school bus [because it was a charity school] ... then she needed to enter *Cuigang* high school [in the west of *Weiyang* district]. It was far away from *Wangzhuang* neighborhood, so we considered a move and I began to look for a new place nearby.

(Laopeng, male, 48 years old, vegetable peddler)

Laopeng's family finally moved into *Renzhuang* neighborhood near the high school. Moves of this kind were not usually just across the district. If Lijie and Laopeng had moved to another district, they would have had to register with the bureau of education there when their children entered high school and prepared to take college entrance tests – that would have cost them extra fees.

However, a 'move to another district' is significant in predicting a decrease in commuting distance. The reason is that migrants usually changed jobs at the same time – nearly 300 respondents had changed their employment. Consider the case of 19-year-old Xiaodong.

I lived in the dormitory of *Guangling* industrial zone, near *Wenchang* Road [in the outer eastern suburb]. It was too far away from the city center. And life in the dormitory was very boring ... Just at that time, my friend invited me to live with her. She rents an apartment in *Xinzhuang* neighborhood [near Yangzhou court, inner western suburb], but she cannot afford the rental by herself. We are very close, and the housing location is very good. So I decided to move, and I also quit the job in *Guangling* industrial zone. And I found a new job [as a waitress] in this hotpot restaurant [in the Walmart shopping mall, not far from her new home] ... In our leisure time, we can go to the shopping mall – a lot of activities there.

(Xiaodong, female, 19 years old, waitress)

If Xiaodong had moved to the *Xinzhuang* neighborhood but kept working in the *Guangling* industrial zone, the commuting distance would have increased sharply. So she quit her job and found a new one nearby.

The effect of a ‘prior intention to move in forced relocation’ is significant in predicting an increase in the distance to the city center. The location gets worse but prior intent is positive in predicting an improvement in dwelling attributes (see Table 5.3, 5.4). That outcome is reasonable. We can imagine that the housing under redevelopment was in poor condition, so the migrants understandably gave dwelling attributes priority over geographic location attributes.

The difference between a ‘move due to the termination of rental contract’ and the reference category ‘forced move by urban village redevelopment’ is not statistically significant with respect to location attributes (see Table 5.4). That is the same as the models for dwelling attributes. With respect to location attributes, being forced to move due to the demolition redevelopment did not have more impact on rural migrants than the expiration of rental contract did.

Considering both dwelling and location attributes, our hypotheses seem to be plausible: (1) A voluntary relocation and the intention to move prior to demolition are more likely to result in positive outcomes, while migrants make a trade-off between the improvement of dwelling attributes and the improvement of geographic location attributes. (2) Compared to an on-site relocation, an off-site relocation is more likely to result in housing improvement, decrease in commuting distance, and decrease in the distance of child’s trip to school, whereas the distance to the city center would be likely to increase significantly.

5.5 Conclusion and discussion

This study has explored residential mobility among rural migrants in Yangzhou in Jiangsu province. The emphasis was on the outcomes of forced relocation driven by the demolition of inner-city villages. The empirical material highlighted three characteristics of migrants’ residential mobility. First, the migrants’ prior intention to move and the decision to move off-site led to positive outcomes whether the move was forced or not. This characteristic reflects the fact that housing conditions in many urban villages under threat of demolition were indeed very poor. Thus, the outward move was convincingly related to housing improvement. Secondly, both for voluntary and involuntary moves, migrants made a trade-off between housing improvement and geographic location. Given their limited resources, they either had to purchase an apartment at a disadvantageous location or shorten their commuting distance at the expense of better dwelling attributes. Thirdly, the outcomes of the trade-off between the dwelling and the location were modified by migrants’ concerns for their children’s living environment and education, such as the preference for a certain school. For their children’s sake, other considerations were given lower priority, including better housing, a short commute, and proximity to the city center.

These findings lead to a better understanding what ‘forced’ relocation means to rural migrants. In the short term, its ‘forced’ character may not be perceived as negative. It should be kept in mind that the migrants had lived in disadvantaged conditions. Their pursuit of ‘betterment’ actually did result in a modest improvement in the dwelling or location. Their move

out of urban villages does not seem to be a harsh experience, in contrast, perhaps, to that of the urban poor who originally lived there. As temporary renters, migrants showed less emotional attachment to the demolished villages. The migrants were not trapped in a time-consuming negotiation process and the physical cost of leaving was low. In the long term, their ‘forced’ relocation does have negative repercussions. Without a local *hukou* status, migrants obtain little compensation for the demolition and have no access to public rental housing or a housing mortgage. They therefore had to move to a disadvantageous location or remain in poor conditions at the previous location.

The empirical findings shed light on the migrants’ choice of destination housing – their strategy regarding an off-site relocation. They make a trade-off between housing quality and geographic location in order to realize their principal purpose. In view of its positive outcomes, this geographic strategy does work, even though migrants obtain little compensation and are not provided with alternative housing. The new possibilities it opens up buttress the positive side of forced relocation, But the effect of this strategy depends on multiple factors, such as degree of urbanization. Yangzhou is a medium-sized city with a built-up area of less than 100 km². That means migrants’ moving distance and the distance to the city center are usually no more than 10 km. Even if they move to the most peripheral site, the geographic location is not unacceptable. In municipalities like Beijing and Shanghai with their large built-up areas, however, a move to the most peripheral site would have more negative outcomes. Given the migrants’ flexibility in terms of employment, that geographic strategy also offers advantages. In the absence of formal contracts, migrants can easily change their job or place of work to reach a new job-housing balance after an off-site relocation. But the migrants are in an institutional bind under the *hukou* system. One implication of settling down in the destination city is that their employment is supposed to be stable, so their flexibility will diminish. Commuting distance will therefore remain important in their housing choice at the new destination, which makes off-site relocation problematic.

This paper emphasizes the physical aspects of relocation. It does not address the outcomes in terms of the migrants’ social network. To what extent would forced relocation impact the latter? Does any social displacement occur? Questions like these are investigated in our ongoing research. In a forthcoming paper, we will compare migrants’ previous social network with their current one after residential relocation.

In terms of its social relevance, this study has explored some directions for further improvement that could benefit displaced migrants in the context of inner-city demolition and redevelopment. One direction would be to provide them with compensation for the transition period from the beginning of demolition until they settle down in destination housing. An alternative would be to provide them with public rental housing during the transition period or better access to a mortgage – if they intend to purchase urban market-sector housing. It should also be kept in mind that the negative outcomes of ‘forced’ relocation will impact housing provision for newly arriving migrants. The reason is that there will be less cheap rental housing in inner-city areas after the demolition and redevelopment of urban villages. More new arrivals will have to rely on their relatives (most of whom are former migrants) to help them search for housing. Or they might even have to move in with their relatives. So even if migrants had made

housing improvements via residential relocation, their newly arriving relatives would increase the housing stress again. In that light, the provision of temporary accommodation for newcomers should get more attention, for instance, by providing short-stay public rentals or migrant dormitories. Newly arriving migrants could live there until they found employment and related accommodation.

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6. Rural migrants' social networks after relocation: evidence from the medium-sized Chinese city Yangzhou

Abstract

This paper analyzes the effects of residential relocation on China's rural–urban migrants' social networks in medium-sized cities in light of evidence from Yangzhou, Jiangsu province. Our objective is to contrast voluntary moves with moves driven by the demolition-led redevelopment of urban villages. Based on data from a survey conducted between 2012 and 2013, we find two basic strategies to cope with the loss of pre-existing social contacts after relocation: to keep in touch with former neighbors by phone/computer; or to build contacts in the destination neighborhoods by participating in public activities. The logistic regression analysis shows that voluntarily relocated people are more likely than involuntary migrants to contact their former neighbors by phone/computer, and communication technology allows them to maintain the frequency of their contact. Furthermore, when moving to a privately developed gated neighborhood, voluntary migrants are more likely than forced movers to participate in public activities and have more contacts with new neighbors, and thereby to get more help from the residents' committee and new neighbors. These results suggest that forced moves have negative effects on migrants' social networks in the neighborhood and that the demolition-led redevelopment programs do not promote the migrants' integration in the city.

Keywords : Rural–urban migrant, social network, forced relocation, gated neighborhood, communication technology, residents' committee, Chinese cities

6.1 Introduction

Social networks with members of the local community play an important role in low-income migrants' integration into host societies (Mouw, 2002; Yue et al., 2013). Any change in living environment, particularly through forced relocation, may cut off their social contacts. Research in Western countries has highlighted the negative outcomes of relocation driven by urban restructuring programs on low-income residents' social networks (for a review, see Atkinson, 2002). Out-movers suffer a decrease of face-to-face contacts, and their social support mechanism is broken by this 'social displacement' (Davidson, 2011; Doucet, 2009).

Recently, the negative effect of relocation has been disputed. Even in forced relocation, some residents move only a short distance, because they are granted the 'right to return' to the renewed area (cf. Kleinhans, 2003). By exercising that right, they can preserve their social networks (cf. Posthumus et al., 2013). Alternatively, displaced residents might substitute previous social contacts adequately with new ones in their destination neighborhood (cf., Kearns and Mason, 2013). Such new contacts can support low-income migrants in their pursuit of quality of life more than those who remain in the former socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhood (Burns et al., 2001). Thus, relocation can be an opportunity to make an improvement, whether it is voluntary or not (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). In that light, migrants' social networking strategies should be taken into account when discussing the effects of residential relocation.

However, the consequences of movers' responses are rarely examined in empirical studies. We know little about how they preserve existing contacts or construct new ones. The program of inner-city demolition-led redevelopment in China provides an opportunity to study the experience of affected low-income migrants. Before the demolition, because of limited housing resources, fresh rural migrants without a local *hukou* status often live in physically isolated urban villages (Wu, 2004). In time, some manage to move to a better living environment (Wu, 2006). Others are forced to relocate when an emerging real estate market results in housing clearance in central city areas (Wu et al., 2013). After their relocation, they might use communication technology to keep in touch with their former neighbors (cf., Liu et al., 2012). If they move to one of the prevalent privately developed gated neighborhoods (in the private-rental or owner-occupancy sector), they may take advantage of activities organized by the residents' committee. It usually promotes migrants' integration through initiatives such as book clubs, line dancing, and film shows (e.g., Yangzhou municipal government, 2012a). Migrants might participate to get to know their new neighbors and thereby construct new social networks.

By examining if and how migrants' strategies preserve pre-existing social contacts and construct new ones, this paper seeks to fill some gaps in the literature on the effects of residential relocation. First, a distinction is made between different *types of moves*. Some people move voluntarily to improve their situation. Even when the move was instigated by redevelopment, some residents had a prior intention to seek improvement, while others were moved against their will. Second, a distinction is made between *types of destination neighborhoods*. A move within the same urban village or to another urban village is distinguished from a move to a gated neighborhood. To address these points, this paper poses the following research question: **Does the type of intra-urban residential move affect rural migrants' social network strategies, and how does the type of destination affect their integration, as mediated by these strategies?**

The first section reviews the literature on the nature of migrants' social networks and the effects of residential relocation on their contacts with neighbors. Then, using data from a 2012-2013 survey of nearly 700 migrants in Yangzhou City in Jiangsu province, it describes and compares two strategies: to contact former neighbors by telecommunication, and to construct new contacts by participating in public activities organized by the residents' committees. The analysis examines the consequences of these two strategies.

6.2 Theoretical perspectives

6.2.1 Rural-urban migrants' social networks

Social networks with neighbors differ from family or kin ties. Besides fostering residents' sense of belonging and security, neighborhood networks generate high levels of trust between different groups (cf., Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Burns et al., 2001). These benefits play an important role in low-income migrants' integration into host societies (Mouw, 2002; Yue et al., 2013). Furthermore, contacts with indigenous neighbors often lead to better opportunities for housing and employment by providing better access to local knowledge and resources (Kanas et al., 2011).

However, discrimination makes it hard for low-income migrants to develop social contacts with their native neighbors. In most Western countries, that social distance is usually the result of ethnic factors (Vervoort, 2012). In China, largely an ethnically homogeneous society, discrimination is usually related to the division between an urban *hukou* and a rural *hukou* (Liu, 2005). A person with an urban *hukou* may be working for the government or a state-owned enterprise (SOE) known as a *danwei* (work unit). An urban *hukou* entitles them to access nationally funded public amenities and social services like healthcare, pensions, and children's education (Treiman, 2012). People with a rural *hukou* work on the farmland are assigned by the collective village. They are excluded from nationally funded public amenities and social services. Consequently, their educational level and socio-economic status are much lower than those of their urban counterparts. Upon arrival in the destination cities, rural migrants can only do lowly labor. They are often perceived as dangerous, unhygienic and uneducated and are likely to be poor (Chen and Prycee, 2013). This perception further increases the social distance between urban locals and rural migrants, resulting in the social marginalization of migrants (Liu et al., 2008).

Upon arrival, an absence of social support among the local community affects migrants' access to information and resources. The lack of official support is especially frustrating when they look for accommodation (Liu et al., 2013; Lu et al., 2013). And owing to their limited access to public housing (lacking a local *hukou* status) and the unaffordable cost of market-rate housing, migrants have little choice but to congregate with their relatives or fellow migrants in the low-cost rental sector (Wu, 2004). In contrast, the rental in gated neighborhood where urban locals concentrate is much higher, and it is not easy for them to find enough rooms. However, with an abundant low-cost rental stock, the inner-city urban villages are thought to be the most likely destinations for migrants as most of the established villagers prefer to move away and lease out their dilapidated units (Wu et al., 2013).

There, the newcomers find not only shelter but also the chance to form reciprocal relationships with other migrants and the local urban poor (Du and Li, 2010; Li and Wu, 2013). They meet less discrimination there than in other types of destination, as most of their neighbors also have a low socio-economic status (cf., Ma and Xiang, 1998; Li et al., 2012). Indeed, the social resources in urban villages provide migrants with real benefits when they are seeking jobs, conducting business, exchanging rental information, and acquiring loans at low interest rates (Liu et al., 2013; Yue et al., 2013). Getting into the information loop is particularly helpful to newly arrived migrants who need to make it through the transition period.

However, their concentration in urban villages is primarily the outcome of housing constraints rather than choices (Wu, 2002). In spite of the noted benefits, spatial concentration in a disadvantaged neighborhood has a drawback. It makes it less likely to connect with local residents whose socio-economic status is higher. That separation results in migrants' segregation in long term (Liu et al., 2008; He et al., 2010). In that light, it is instructive to consider some findings from the social network position generator in a survey conducted in Shanghai. According to that information, the average extent of social networks of urban residents in Shanghai is about five persons, while it is only three for rural migrants (Lu et al., 2013). Moreover, because of the segregation, the social support in deprived neighborhood enables poor people to maintain only a

basic life. They are just able to ‘get by’ rather than to pursue a desirable quality of life – to ‘get ahead’ (Burns et al., 2001). To get better housing opportunities and higher chances of social integration, migrants need more social support (Liu et al., 2013; Yue et al., 2013). Therefore, if they want to improve their position, they probably need to move out of the deprived neighborhoods. In practice, as the housing conditions and living environment are really bad in urban villages (Huang and Jiang, 2009), most migrants intend to move – more than 90%, according to a case study in Shenzhen (Hui et al., 2014). They could be induced to move by the housing stress related to stages in the household life cycle such as family growth and job change (for a review, see Wu, 2006).

But not all moves are made by choice. Recently, urban villages have been developing bad reputations and serious social problems such as crime, fire hazards, poor public health, and crowding. To address the issue, large-scale demolition has been implemented there. An emerging real estate market has led to housing clearance in the central areas for reasons of profit and city image (Wu et al., 2013).

6.2.2 Residential relocation and social displacement

The general literature on residential relocation has widely reported negative impacts on residents’ social networks (for a review, see Atkinson, 2002). That is usually explained by two arguments. One, the geographic separation caused by relocation decreases face-to-face contacts with former neighbors. Their social support mechanism is disrupted; that is, they can no longer help each other in the course of daily life. Two, the migrants fail to replace their existing contacts adequately with new ones (cf., Davidson 2011; Doucet, 2009). These two negative impacts are particularly noticeable in forced relocation, as most involuntarily relocated low-income migrants do not remain in close proximity to their old residence. And because of ethnic or socio-economic differences, it is difficult for relocated migrants to develop social contacts with neighbors in their new location, especially when they move into middle-class neighborhoods (cf., Atkinson, 2002).

With respect to the first argument, however, some residents are able to relocate over a short distance if they are granted priority rights in the public housing market. That practice is common for urban renewal programs in, for instance, the Netherlands (cf., Kleinhans, 2003). And households take that option in order to satisfy their preferences, notably as the desire to preserve social networks (Posthumus et al., 2013). In China, the migrants are out of the negotiation loop and are generally not provided with on-site destination housing (He and Wu, 2005). Nonetheless, some of them can still rent cheap housing in the same urban village or in one nearby. That is because demolition and redevelopment tend to be gradual. It usually takes a long time for the government/developer and individual villagers to reach a settlement. Issues of compensation form the most troublesome and sensitive aspects of the land acquisition process and frequently lead to social conflicts (Li et al., 2014). If migrants relocate over a long distance, it is possible for them to use a phone or computer to keep in touch with their former neighbors. A large majority of rural migrants (more than 95% in a case study in Shanghai) use a mobile phone and the Internet for social contacts (cf. Yang, 2008; Yang, 2012). In this sense, whether people stay in contact with

their former neighbors depends on migrants' choice rather than on constraints posed by geographic separation.

With respect to the second argument, the key issue is social relations in the destination neighborhood. Besides urban villages, the prevalent gated neighborhoods are also destinations for rural migrants. They buy or rent an apartment there (Li et al., 2012). However, most residents in gated neighborhoods are local middle-income people. It is not easy for migrants to get to know and be accepted by their new neighbors, even though some of them have raised their economic status after years of hard work. Discrimination against rural migrants persists due to the perception that local urban-dwellers hold of the migrants (cf., Wang et al., 2015). Moreover, the level of neighborly interaction in gated neighborhoods is much lower than in urban villages. Casual face-to-face meetings between neighbors are much less common (Forrest and Yip, 2007). Gated neighborhoods usually emphasize privacy and security, signifying social status, and mainly cater to China's expanding middle class (Pow, 2007; Zhu et al., 2011). In view of that profile, the municipal government supports the outreach efforts of residents' committees. These committees organize activities such as line dancing and film shows to promote residents' local involvement and interaction. Some activities are specially designed for the migrants' children and elderly parents to encourage their participation (e.g., Yangzhou municipal government, 2012b). These events provide an opportunity to contact new neighbors and might help migrants become integrated in the destination neighborhood.

This paper addresses these two arguments. The following section builds a framework for investigating rural migrants' response to residential relocation with respect to their social network strategies. As shown in Figure 6.1, it frames the migrants' social networks in two strategies: to preserve existing contacts with former neighbors; and to develop contacts with new neighbors in the destination neighborhood. The basic idea is that migrants apply coping strategies. To bridge the geographic separation between migrants and their former neighbors, migrants tend to preserve their pre-existing social contacts by using phone and computer communications instead of face-to-face contacts as the major contact mode. To cope with their limited contact in gated neighborhood, migrants tend to construct new networks at their destination by participating in public activities organized by the residents' committee. And in an ideal situation, they would tend to do both to increase their social support.

We measured the use of the strategy called 'preserving existing contacts' by examining whether the former neighbors are still the migrants' current important contacts, comparing current with previous frequency. The use of the strategy called 'developing new contacts' was measured by determining the frequency of contact with a new neighbor, the neighbor's help, the frequency of participation in public activities organized by the residents' committee, and the amount of assistance they derive from it.

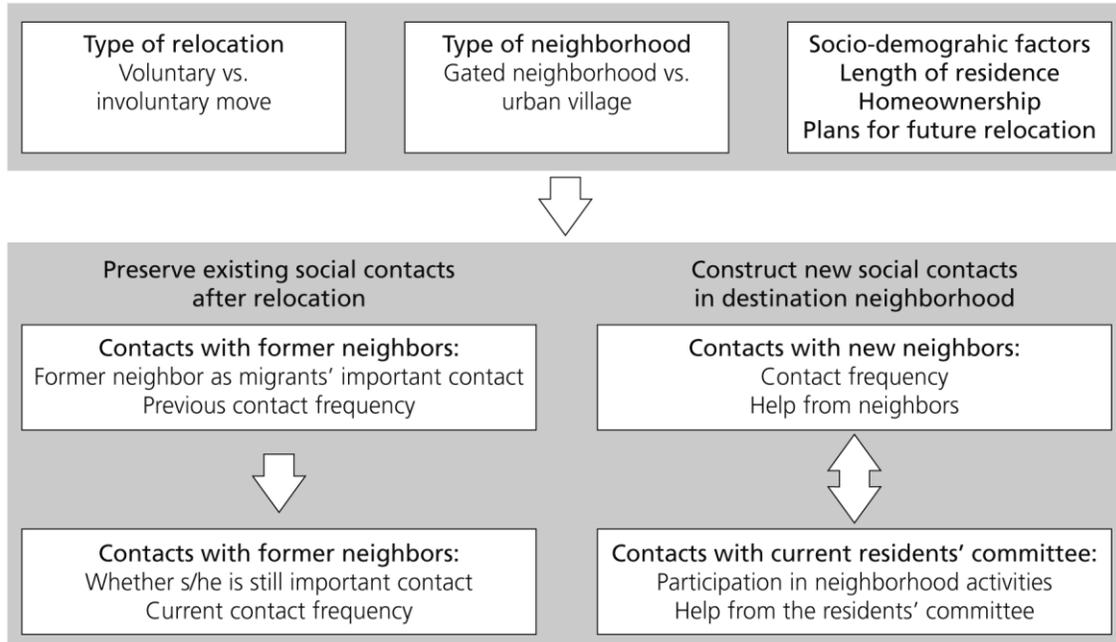


Figure 6.1 Framework of migrants' social networks in the neighborhood

These consequences are expected to be influenced by the type of relocation and the types of destination neighborhood. Addressing the research questions, this paper poses two hypotheses: (1) Migrants who relocated voluntarily and migrants who intended to move prior to the demolition are more likely than involuntary movers to stay in contact with their former neighbors by using phone/computer, and the use of such communication technology will increase the frequency of their contact. (2) Compared to the migrants who continued choosing urban villages as the destination neighborhood, the ones who moved to a gated neighborhood are more likely to participate in public activities organized by the residents' committee and to have more contacts with new neighbors, and thereby to get more help from the residents' committee and new neighbors.

6.3 Research design

6.3.1 Fieldwork in Yangzhou and the dataset

Our dataset comes from a 2012-2013 survey in the city of Yangzhou in Jiangsu province, China. It is located at the confluence of the Yangtze River and the Beijing-Hangzhou Great Canal (see Figure 6.2). Over the years, its booming economy has attracted hundreds of thousands migrants from less-developed regions. In 2010, 1.2 million people lived in Yangzhou, and about one-sixth of them were rural migrants. It has a built-up urban area of 82 km², divided into three administrative districts (Weiyang, Guangling, and Hanjiang) (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2011). In view of its size and population, Yangzhou is a suitable case to represent medium-sized Chinese cities.

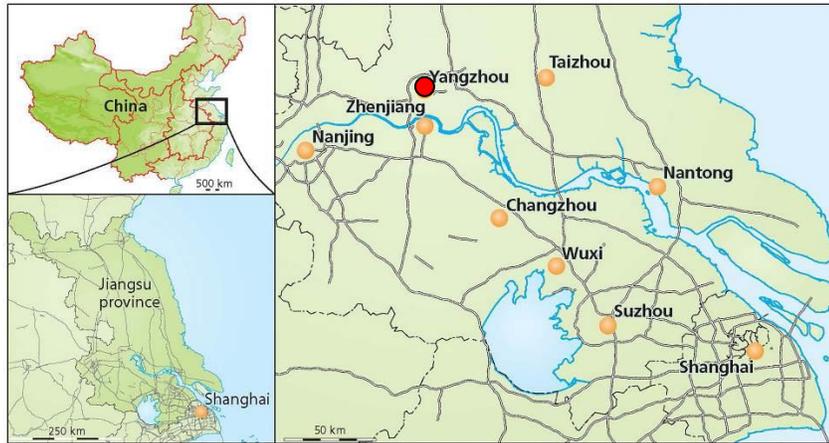


Figure 6.2 The location of Yangzhou city

Since the early 2000s, the Yangzhou municipal government has been engaged in the demolition and redevelopment of urban villages in the built-up area, beginning with those near the city center (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2003). Therefore, if we were to approach only those residents of existing urban villages, we would miss the information on migrants who had already moved out of the demolished villages. It was thus decided to approach the migrants at their workplaces. Most tenants living in urban villages were service workers or self-employed. Their occupations were diverse: waiters, waitresses, cooks, and cleaners in restaurants or hotels; children's nurses, interior cleaners and nursing assistants in hospitals; street cleaners and street repairmen; day laborers; small shopkeepers, taxi drivers, truck drivers and street peddlers.

The researchers handed out 973 questionnaires and collected 739 forms (a response rate of 76%). In the entire sample, 480 respondents had once lived in urban villages, and they answered all of the questions. Half (241) of the latter households had experienced demolition redevelopment, and 50 of them indicated a prior intention to move. On average, the 480 households moved a distance of 2.3 km. With respect to the type of destination neighborhood, 30% of these respondents (149/480) moved to gated neighborhoods. Characteristics of the respondents' socio-demographic profile are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Profiles

	Categories	n	Percent
Age of household head	20-29	171	35.6
	30-49	269	56.1
	50 and above	40	8.3
Gender	Male	291	60.6
	Female	189	39.4
Education	Less than 12 years of education	376	78.3
	12 or more years of education	104	21.7
Household Hukou	All family members own No Jiangsu Yangzhou hukou	423	88.1
	At least one member owns Jiangsu Yangzhou hukou	57	11.9
Household structure	Single	111	23.1
	Couple	104	21.7
	Core family (parents with children under 16 years old)	114	23.8
	Adult family (all family members are adults)	105	21.9
	Extended family (three-generation family)	46	9.6
Household monthly income	Low (less than 3,000 Yuan)	138	28.7
	Medium (3,000-5,000 Yuan)	222	46.3
	High (more than 5,000 Yuan)	120	25.0
Type of residential relocation	Voluntary move: respondents move for housing improvement, or for better job housing balance, or for children's education.	191	39.8
	Prior intention to move in forced relocation: under redevelopment, some residents have a prior intention to move for housing improvement.	50	10.4
	Forced move: under redevelopment, respondents are forced to move with no prior intention against their will.	239	49.8
Type of destination neighborhood	Urban village as destination: a move within the same urban village or to another urban village.	331	69.0
	Move to gated neighborhood: move from urban village to privately developed commercial housing neighborhood	149	31.0
Length of residence in neighborhood	Less than 1 year living in previous neighborhood	118	24.6
	1 year or more living in previous neighborhood	362	75.5
	Less than 1 year living in destination neighborhood	123	25.6
	1 year or more living in destination neighborhood	357	74.4
Future plan in next five years	Intend to stay in destination neighborhood	107	22.3
	Move to another neighborhood, or return home, or go to another city, or remain undecided	373	77.7
Total		480	100

6.3.2 Measurement and methodology

With respect to the measurement of migrants' social networks, the first problem is how to define a *neighbor*. The terms neighborhood and neighbor are used at three different scales. The survey used the smallest unit of neighborhood, referred to as the 'home area, encompassing a 10-minute walk (about 1 km) from one's home (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). Living at this scale, a 'neighbor' should meet another criterion: the respondent got to know the person after arrival, which means the person is not his/her relative or fellow migrant. In the survey, the respondent was invited to provide the surname of his/her top five social contacts in Yangzhou prior to relocation; and s/he provided another five after the relocation. The respondent also described the current relationship with each contact, including the "relative living in Yangzhou", "fellow migrant from the same hometown", "colleague", "new friend living in Yangzhou" and "neighbor living in the home area". If the respondent listed more than one neighbor, the top one was taken into account.

Before relocation, 480 respondents listed their neighbors among the top five contacts. Afterwards, 192 respondents still considered their former neighbors among their top five contacts, while the rest (288 respondents) only listed new neighbors and deleted the former ones. Among those 192 respondents, 136 respondents also listed new neighbors. So in sum, 424 respondents developed new contacts in the destination neighborhood. Characteristics of the respondents' social contacts are listed in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Characteristics of migrants' social contacts

	Categories	Percent or mean value
Contact mode with former neighbors (192 cases)	Phone/computer serves as the major contact mode with the former neighbor after relocation	43%
Contact frequency with former neighbors (192 cases)	Contact frequency with former neighbors before relocation , evaluated by Likert Scale – the respondent scores the frequency from 1 to 5 (1-occasional contact; 2-once a month; 3-once every two weeks; 4-once a week; 5-more than once a week).	4.2
	Contact frequency with former neighbors after relocation	4.1
Contact with new neighbors in the destination neighborhood (424 cases)	Contact frequency with a new neighbor	4.2
	How much help does s/he get from the neighbor : 1-almost no help; 2-a little help; 3-some help; 4-much help; 5-very much help.	3.2
Social participation in the destination neighborhood (424 cases)	Participation in public activities organized by the residents' committee : 1-almost never attend; 2- occasionally attend; 3-sometimes attend; 4-usually attend; 5-attend almost every time.	2.6
	How much help does s/he get from the residents' committee	2.6

The empirical analysis consists of two parts: one examines respondents' social contacts with their former neighbors; the other discusses their new social contacts in the destination neighborhoods.

The first part applies binary logistic regression to model whether the respondent still listed the former neighbor among the top five social contacts after relocation. For the respondents who listed them, ordinal regression is employed to model the current frequency of migrants' contacts with their former neighbors and then compare it with the previous frequency. In the model for the frequency change, if the frequency decreased after relocation, the value of the dependent variable is set to 1; if it stayed at the same level, the dependent variable equals 2; if it increased, the dependent variable equals 3. In addition to contact frequency, the analysis explores the new contact mode by binary logistic regression – whether using communication technology became the major mode of contact between migrants and their former neighbors.

Except the type of relocation, the type of destination neighborhood, moving distance, the set of independent variables include the socio-demographic status of the household (gender of the household head, education level of the household head, household structure, household income, and household *hukou* status), the length of residence in the previous neighborhood, and the length of residence in the current neighborhood, because these factors may also have impacts on migrants' social networks according to existing studies (cf., Liu et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2015). Household structure examines whether the household has a child under 16 or an elderly person over 60, because that might impact migrants' social network with neighbors (cf. Wang et al., 2015). The age of the household head and the marriage status have significant co-variation with household structure, so these two characteristics are excluded from the analysis. Besides, most tenants in urban villages are service workers or self-employed (cf., Li et al., 2009), and the housing choices of these two groups appear to be homogeneous. Thus, the employment type is not entered into the set of dependent variables in the analysis.

In the second part of the analysis, ordinal regression is employed to model the frequency of migrants' contacts with their new neighbors, the level of help from new neighbors, the frequency of migrants' participation in public activities, and the level of help from the residents' committee.

The same set of independent variables is used in this second part of the analysis, with the exception of the length of residence in the previous neighborhood. Instead, whether the former neighbor is listed among the current top five contacts is added to examine the impact of contacts with the former neighbor on contacts with the new neighbor. The contact frequency with former neighbor is not used because 288 of the 424 relevant respondents did not list their former neighbors and the contact frequency has missing values. Homeownership and plans for future relocation may also affect migrants' contacts with new neighbors (cf., Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999). However, the factor 'plan for future relocation' (whether or not to stay in current neighborhood in the next five years) has significant co-variation with the type of destination neighborhood. Most migrants who move to a gated neighborhood tend to stay, so this variable is excluded from the regression analysis. The factor 'homeownership' is also excluded because all homeowners live in gated neighborhoods. Instead, the effects of these two variables are discussed by using the outcomes of the interviews.

6.4 Empirical findings

6.4.1 *Preserving existing social contacts*

Table 6.3 displays the results of the models regarding contact with former neighbors. Gender of the household head, education level of the household head, and household *hukou* status are not statistically significant in any of these four models, so the results of the models exclude these three variables. In the models for whether the respondent still lists the former neighbor among the current top five social contacts, the Nagelkerke R square equals 0.093, with 9 degrees of freedom for 480 cases (see Table 6.3). In the models for ‘current contact frequency with the former neighbor’, ‘change of contact frequency’, and ‘the use of communication technology’, only the respondents who had listed the former neighbors are included in the analysis, which reduces the sample size to 192 from 480. With 9 degrees of freedom, the Nagelkerke R square equals 0.093, 0.110, 0.074, and 0.254, respectively (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Regression models for migrants' contacts with the former neighbor

	Former neighbor is listed as current top-five contact		Current contact frequency with former neighbor		Change of contact frequency		ICTs act the major contact mode	
	B	Odds	B	Chi square	B	Chi square	B	Odds
Relocation type ('forced move'=ref)								
Intention to move prior to demolition (dummy)	-0.065	0.937	0.124	0.060	1.017*	3.066	1.707**	5.513
Voluntary move (dummy)	0.268	1.308	0.242	0.631	0.699**	4.060	1.557**	4.743
Destination neighborhood is gated ('urban village as destination neighborhood'=ref)(dummy)	0.944***	2.570	-0.173	0.270	-0.121	0.104	0.653*	1.920
The distance of housing move (Z-score)	0.013	1.013	-0.011	0.006	0.022	0.019	0.347**	1.414
Living in previous neighborhood for at least one year (dummy)	0.444**	1.559	1.338***	11.561	0.003	0.001	0.452	1.571
Living in destination neighborhood for at least one year (dummy)	-0.023	0.978	-0.795**	4.416	-0.083	0.040	-0.576	0.562
Household income (Z-score)	-0.134	0.874	0.074	0.231	-0.086	0.251	0.282*	1.326
The household head is female (dummy)								
A higher education of the household head ('12 years and less'=ref) (dummy)								
Having a child less than 16-year-old (dummy)	0.327	1.387	0.561*	3.588	0.575*	2.908	-0.308	0.735
Having a member more than 60-year-old (dummy)	0.054	1.055	0.283	0.348	0.933*	3.003	0.141	1.151
Having a Yangzhou <i>Hukou</i> status (dummy)								
Constant	-0.640						-4.016	
Threshold for level one			-1.840		-0.767			
Threshold for level two			-1.130		2.718			
Threshold for level three			-0.452					
Threshold for level four			1.451					
Nagelkerke R square	0.093		0.110		0.074		0.254	
Cases / df	480/9		192/9		192/9		192/9	

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

With respect to the effects of the type of relocation, compared to ‘forced move’, two types -- namely ‘voluntary move’ and ‘intention to move prior to demolition’ -- are not statistically significant to predict whether the respondent had listed the former neighbor among the current top five social contacts. However, these two categories are positive to predict the use of communication technology and a higher value for the change in contact frequency (see Table 6.3). These results suggest that, although forced relocation might not result in absolute social disconnections, it would have a negative impact. Indeed, few respondents used communication technology as the major mode of contact and the contact frequency decreased.

To understand this, the reason that the respondents no longer list the former neighbor should be kept in mind. The explanation lies in the loss of the mechanism of mutual assistance (cf., Kearns and Mason, 2013; Yue et al., 2013). Because of the geographic separation caused by relocation, former neighbors provide little help to migrants. From a practical angle, they are not as important as before. This outcome is reflected in the interviews, as in the case of 19-year-old Xiaodong, who chose to not contact her former neighbor. She moved from *Guangling* district to *Hanjiang* district.

I usually bought clothes online, and *Shunfeng* [express company] delivered them to my home...Mr. Zhu [her former neighbor] could help me by signing for express delivery... after relocation, we sometimes sent short messages to each other. But he is a little bit boring, so we do not have much contact now.

(Xiaodong, female, 19 years old, waitress)

Before relocation, Xiaodong viewed Mr. Zhu as an important contact for practical reasons. After the move, they kept in touch through communication technology instead of face-to-face contact. That is also reflected in the effect that moving distance has on the use of telephone and computer – a longer distance is positive to predict the dominance of communication technology as contact mode (see Table 6.3). However, their relationship is based on reciprocal benefits. In spite of contact by phone or Internet, Mr. Zhu could not help Xiaodong anymore. In that case, the estrangement seems unavoidable. This case suggests that the preservation of existing contacts depends on two conditions. One, migrants have to be able to use communication technology to keep in touch with former neighbors if they are to overcome the geographic separation. Two, communication technology helps them develop a better friendship instead of just being neighbors, or at least they can still help each other after relocation. Meeting these two conditions, migrants are likely to continue viewing their former neighbors as important contacts after relocation.

However, ‘forced move’ is significantly negative to predict using communication technology as the major contact mode (See Table 6.3). The reason is related to the simultaneous relocation. Their former neighbors also moved out when faced with the demolition of the whole village, and the government/developer relocated all the villagers in a newly built neighborhood (cf., Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2010). The villagers continue to lease out their housing to migrants. In that case, migrants and their former neighbors still live in one neighborhood, no matter how far they have moved. In the group of a ‘forced move’ (67 of 192 migrants), the

percentage of these cases is 66% (44 of 67), much higher than that for the other two groups – 7/19 fall into ‘intention to move’ and 28/106 into ‘voluntary move’. Consider the case of 31-year-old Xiaoliu. She previously rented a room of 20 square meters in *Peizhuang* (an urban village) in *Chahe* Town and then moved to an apartment of 60 square meters in the adjacent *Hongxing* neighborhood, which was built for relocated villagers after the demolition.

I knew Ms. Wang because we played poker cards after work... After the demolition, she got an apartment in *Hongxing* neighborhood as compensation [because Ms. Wang is a local villager with homeownership]. My former landlord [in *Peizhuang*] also got an apartment, and he still wanted to lease it to me. So I also moved to *Hongxing*... now we still play poker cards together, but less than before, as I have become very busy.
(Xiaoliu, female, 31 years old, milk tea peddler)

In the new neighborhood, Xiaoliu and her former neighbor still live nearby. They can meet each other and play cards as before, without the use of a phone or computer. And the mechanism of their mutual assistance did continue, although the busy work schedule decreased their face-to-face contacts. From this angle, it is reasonable that a ‘forced move’ is not statistically significant to predict the loss of existing social contacts. It only predicts that the contact frequency will not increase after relocation (see Table 6.3).

In the cases of ‘voluntary relocation’ and ‘prior intention to move’, the situation is usually different with respect to the use of communication technology. That is because voluntary movers have made an obvious improvement in housing facilities after relocation, such as having Internet access in their dwelling. Although almost every respondent has a mobile phone, the percentage of those who use a computer for these two groups is 56% (161/289), while it is only 34% (65/191) in the group ‘forced relocation’. And the use of a computer could help migrants develop new social activities with their former neighbors, which would increase the contact frequency. That is very important for working migrants, as they do not have much time for face-to-face contacts. Consider the story of 24-year-old Xiaohe. He moved from *Donghuayuan* neighborhood to *Niansi Xincun* neighborhood 4 km away, and his former neighbor did not move.

After the move, we kept in touch by QQ [Chinese instant messaging software, it operates like MSN]... recently, he invited me to play ‘Cross Fire’ [an online game developed by QQ, it resembles Counter Strike], and we played almost every day online.
(Xiaohe, male, 24 years old, self-employed bicycle repairman)

The use of the computer has also promoted their relationship. Almost every week, they went to an Internet cafe together and became good friends. Migrants can also use communication technology to ask their former neighbors for help, as in the story of 36-year-old Lijie with her eight-year-old son. She moved from *Renzhuang* neighborhood to *Yaozhuang* neighborhood (1.5 km away).

My son is doing the second grade in *Weiyang Shiyan* primary school. He gets on well with Ms. Yang's son [her former neighbor]. They are also classmates... The school closes at five p.m. But if there are customers in my hair salon, I cannot take him home. I then call Ms. Yang for help, and she will pick up her son and my son together. They go back to Yang's home [still in *Ren Zhuang* neighborhood], do homework and play there. I will pick him up after work in the evening.

(Lijie, 36 years old, self-employed hairdresser)

Of course, reciprocity exists in their contacts. If Ms. Yang were busy, Lijie would also offer to help. Communication technology has facilitated their mutual assistance and their friendship.

Friendship is particularly important to migrants who have moved from an urban village to a gated neighborhood. That type of destination has a strongly positive effect on the preservation of social contacts (see Table 6.3). It is relatively hard for these migrants to make contacts in gated neighborhoods, where many of the neighbors are middle-income local residents (cf. Li et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2015). Instead, they particularly value their connections with former neighbors. Consider the case of 32-year-old Tanjie. She previously rented an apartment of 70 square meters in *Donghuayuan* village and then purchased an apartment of 120 square meters in *Nanjue Zhuangyuan*, a gated neighborhood 5 km away. She explained that "Everyone closes their door after coming back home. I cannot meet neighbors on the street."

The lack of face-to-face contacts increases the difficulty of developing a social network in gated neighborhoods. Instead, Tanjie has kept in touch with her former neighbor Ms. Liao by mobile phone. More importantly, Ms. Liao could provide useful information after relocation. As Tanjie recounted, "If Ms. Liao knows someone who wants to have a massage, she will call me." Thus, by using phones or computers, the mechanism of their mutual assistance continued and their contact frequency did not decrease.

These models also take the duration of residence into account. A longer period of residence in the previous neighborhood has positive effects on the preservation of existing contacts. It predicts a higher contact frequency with former neighbors; they still list their former neighbors among their top five contacts after relocation. Conversely, a longer residence in the destination neighborhood has a negative effect, such as decreasing the contact frequency with former neighbors (see Table 6.3). In the case of 19-year-old Xiaodong, she still contacted Mr. Zhu for a short time after the relocation but no longer did so as time passed.

These stories also hint at ways to explain the effects of socio-demographic variables. Having a child and living with elderly parents are both positive to predict a higher value of contact frequency and its rate of change; this applies especially when a respondent has a child (see Table 6.3). Consider Lijie's case. Her son is close friends with the neighbor's child. In spite of the relocation, this connection between children facilitates contact between the parents, which is consistent with findings in the literature (cf., Wang et al., 2015).

Not surprisingly, a higher income level plays a positive role in the use of phones and the Internet (see Table 6.3). It is reasonable to assume that higher-income migrants are more likely to

purchase a computer, mobile phone, and the related Internet service. Conversely, lower-income migrants are disadvantaged in this respect.

In view of the evidence presented in Table 6.3 and the anecdotes cited above, our first hypothesis seems plausible: that voluntarily relocated migrants and migrants who had the intention to move prior to demolition are more likely to stay in contact with their former neighbors by using communication technology, and the use of that technology can increase their contact frequency. In that light, the use of phones and computers cushions the negative impacts of residential relocation on migrants' existing social contacts. It even seems that mobile phones and Internet connections can sustain their mutual assistance.

6.4.2 Developing new social contacts

In the models for 'contact frequency with the new listed neighbor', 'the level of help from the new listed neighbor', 'frequency of participation in public activities', and 'the level of help from the residents' committee', only the respondents who have established new contacts are included in the analysis. That reduces the sample size from 480 to 424. With 10 degrees of freedom, the Nagelkerke R square equals 0.087, 0.116, 0.190, and 0.191, respectively (see Table 6.4). We also take into account the impact that contacts with the former neighbor have on contacts with the new neighbor. We include this impact by putting 'whether the former neighbor is listed among the current top five contacts' in the set of independent variables. However, it is not statistically significant, so the results for these models exclude this factor. Instead, the interviews elucidate the relation between contacts with former neighbors and contacts with new neighbors.

Table 6.4 Regression models for migrants' social networks in the destination neighborhood

	Frequency of contacts with new neighbors		Help from new neighbors		Frequency of participation in activities		Help from the residents' committee	
	B	Chi square	B	Chi square	B	Chi square	B	Chi square
Relocation type ('forced move'=ref)								
Intention to move prior to demolition (dummy)	0.600*	3.125	0.589*	3.743	1.034***	10.443	0.905***	8.435
Voluntary move (dummy)	0.442**	4.244	0.489**	6.055	1.062***	24.436	0.880***	18.116
Destination neighborhood is gated ('urban village as destination'=ref)(dummy)	-1.122***	17.242	0.122	0.241	0.664**	6.604	0.445*	3.095
Living in destination neighborhood for at least one year (dummy)	0.759***	11.638	0.778***	13.453	0.424*	3.729	0.565***	6.835
Household income (Z-score)	0.034	0.092	-0.134	1.608	-0.269**	5.884	-0.222**	4.218
The respondent is female (dummy)	0.037	0.034	0.407**	4.942	0.203	1.145	0.615***	10.781
A higher education of the respondent ('12 years and less'=ref) (dummy)	0.077	0.100	0.418*	3.366	0.780***	10.963	0.595*	6.649
Having a child less than 16-year-old (dummy)	0.207	0.856	0.194	0.894	0.476**	4.922	0.385*	3.375
Having a member more than 60-year-old (dummy)	0.112	0.092	0.687**	4.036	0.655*	3.495	0.458	1.772
Having a Yangzhou <i>Hukou</i> status (dummy)	0.098	0.102	0.581**	3.984	0.154	0.266	0.676**	5.299
Threshold for level one	-2.326		-1.676		-0.397		-0.067	
Threshold for level two	-1.843		0.593		2.220		2.132	
Threshold for level three	-1.201		1.675		2.926		3.098	
Threshold for level four	0.461		3.299		5.003		5.066	
Nagelkerke R square	0.087		0.116		0.190		0.191	
Cases / df	424/10		424/10		424/10		424/10	

Significance levels: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

‘Voluntary move’ and ‘intention to move prior to demolition’ play significantly positive roles in all models, unlike ‘forced move’ (see Table 6.4). These results suggest that forced relocation has a negative effect on migrants’ record of building new social networks in the destination neighborhood. A majority of the involuntarily relocated migrants have listed new neighbors among their top five contacts (162/191). Nonetheless, their level of contact frequency is lower, and these migrants are less likely than voluntary migrants to participate in public activities organized by the residents’ committee. The reason is related to their experience of forced relocation. Consider the case of 31-year-old Xiaoliu.

My husband visited the committee to ask whether they could help us to look for a room for rent [after demolition]. They were rude to my husband, and did not give us any help as we did not have a local *hukou*... we think it is useless to participate in public activities. The residents’ committee will not help us, if another demolition happens.
(Xiaoliu, female, 31 years old, milk-tea peddler)

The residents’ committee in the urban village did not provide the necessary help for involuntarily relocated migrants. In line with that experience, they expressed a negative impression of the committee in the interview. Involuntarily relocated migrants are therefore reluctant to participate in activities organized by the committee in their destination neighborhood. That further impedes the development of social networks with new neighbors – they have little chance to meet their new neighbors. In contrast, voluntarily relocated migrants hold a neutral or positive attitude on the residents’ committee. They are more active than involuntary movers in the contacts with the residents’ committee and thereby get to know their new neighbors. They also get more help from the residents’ committee and their new neighbors.

That particularly applies to those migrants who move to a gated neighborhood from the urban village. This is significant to predict a lower level of contacts with new neighbors. On the other hand, it has a positive effect on participation in public activities organized by the residents’ committee (see Table 6.4). To understand this discrepancy, we should consider the role that participation in public activities plays in migrants’ social networks. As cited above, Tanjie provided one reason for the low level of contact between neighbors: “everyone closes their door after coming back home.” The chance of encountering one’s neighbors is much lower in gated neighborhoods than urban villages. In addition, new neighbors, especially middle-income local natives, are hesitant to make friends with migrants. Consider the experience of 30-year-old Xiaohuang. He moved from *Niansi* village to *Ji’an* neighborhood in *Hanjiang* district.

I feel they do not want to have trouble. They think I will usually ask them for help, if we get to know each other very well. They are worried about that... They are polite to me. Say hello to each other, but no friendship.
(Xiaohuang, male, 30 years old, construction worker)

In that case, migrants can turn to the residents’ committee and participate in public activities. For instance, they could join the program called ‘neighboring care for migrant children

and elderly' in Yangzhou. Every committee member is responsible for several migrant households. They visit their home at regular intervals in order to invite the migrants' children and aged parents to take part in public activities. They also discuss ways to help during the visit. Supported by a subsidy from the Yangzhou Municipal Government, this program is better implemented in gated neighborhoods (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2012b). In contrast, public activities in urban villages rarely get any municipal subsidy because urban villages have their own collective revenue source (cf., Li et al., 2012). However, the residents' committee is unwilling to use the collective revenue to subsidize this program, as most of the established villagers have already moved out. Thus, although the chance of encountering one's neighbors on the street is relatively low in gated neighborhoods, the residents' committee there can provide more help and more public activities for migrants than a committee in an urban village. While participating, 36-year-old Lijie mentioned the problem of picking up her child, and the committee member introduced her to Ms. Gao. It is convenient for Ms. Gao to pass by the school after work and bring the child home.

If Ms. Yang [her former neighbor] is busy, I have to call Ms. Gao [her new neighbor] for help. She can pick up my son, when she passes by the school after work.
(Lijie, 36 years old, self-employed hairdresser and salon owner)

As cited above, Lijie continues to contact her former neighbor Ms. Yang because Ms. Yang can take care of her son. If Ms. Yang cannot help out, Lijie turns to her new neighbor. To reciprocate, she gives Ms. Gao a discount when she does her hair. In her case, the strategy is fail-proof. Similarly, 136 respondents not only preserve their contacts with former neighbors but also make new contacts in the destination neighborhood. This strategy is particularly meaningful to women, as females take more responsibility for household tasks like the care of children. Indeed, being female is significantly positive to predict a high level of help from new neighbors (see Table 6.4).

However, given the limitation on time to spend on social networks, do more contacts with the former neighbor result in fewer contacts with the new neighbor? The answer is reflected by the effect of when the 'former neighbor is listed among current top five contacts': it is not significant to predict the contact frequency with the new neighbor. In the bivariate correlation test comparing the frequency of contact with the former neighbor and the frequency of contact with the new neighbor for those 136 respondents, the Pearson correlation statistic equals 0.675, being significant at the 0.001 level (two-tailed). This indicates that for this group of migrants, the current contact with former neighbors has a significantly positive correlation with the contact with new neighbors because the respondents contact both old and new neighbors for the same purpose, as in the case of Lijie. For her, the mobile phone facilitates contact among three persons. It is unnecessary for Lijie to visit Ms. Yang or Ms. Gao personally to organize the required assistance. It saves her a lot of time, which is important given that their work schedules leave the migrants with little spare for social activities. Thus, comparing this group with the 288 respondents who turn to their new neighbors and totally ignore their former neighbors, the contact

frequency with the former neighbor is not significant to predict a lower level of the contact frequency with the new neighbor.

The outreach program of the resident's committee worked well in Lijie's case. But without a doubt, it has an obvious bias against certain migrants such as a household without a child or not living with an elderly person. The assistance offered to households with children and elderly parents explains the positive effect of household structure on participation in public activities in the models (see Table 6.4). As 30-year-old Xiaohuang said, "We do not have kids, so we cannot participate in those activities... we will participate in more public activities, if we have a child".

The second bias inherent to the program is against migrants who live in the neighborhood for a short time. Residing in the destination neighborhood for at least one year is significantly positive to increase the participation frequency and the level of help from the residents' committee (see Table 6.4). That difference is particularly clear between renters and homeowners. The score on participation frequency for homeowners is 3.0, much higher than the 2.5 for renters. Consider the story of 35-year-old Xiajie. She moved from *Guadong* village to *Jinshan huayuan* neighborhood.

The residents' committee invited my mother to take part in the team of line dancing in *Jinshan huayuan* [every year the Yangzhou municipal government will hold a competition of line dancing between neighborhoods]... Their team has more than twenty members, and most are old ladies. They practice almost every week.
(Xiajie, female, 35 years old, snack shopkeeper)

After her mother's participation, Xiajie got to know the reason for the invitation. To win the line-dance competition, the residents' committee needs people who can take part in the activity for a long time. Therefore, they invited individuals from homeowners' families instead of renters. Xiajie also encouraged her mother to participate, reflecting the stronger stake of homeowners in their community. That motivates them to participate in public activities (cf. Li and Li, 2013). Living in the neighborhood for a long time corresponds to more contact with the residents' committee and knowing more neighbors. Of course, it is usually the case that other family members instead of migrants participate in public activities. Migrants are simply too busy. Most of them need to work more than eight hours per day for the whole week to increase their income. This is especially true of self-employed migrants; as most interviewees stated, "I am too busy or too tired to participate in these activities." That is why a higher income level has a negative effect on participation in activities organized by the residents' committee, and the level of its help is also relatively low (see Table 6.4).

The third bias in the outreach program is against migrants with a low educational level, while having a higher educational level is significantly positive to predict a high participation frequency and a high level of help from the residents' committee (see Table 6.4). That effect of education level is related to the contents of public activities. Following the guidance of the Yangzhou municipal government, the residents' committee usually organizes cultural activities such as book clubs, line dancing, and film shows (Yangzhou Municipal Government, 2012a). Yet

the lower-educated interviewees felt rather bored when participating; they preferred to attend entertainment activities such as games of poker. Poker is very popular among rural migrants in Yangzhou – 63% of the respondents listed it as their preferred social activity with neighbors. It is especially prevalent among the lower-educated ones (75%). But the residents' committee does not approve of card games because there is always a link to illegal gambling behavior.

The fourth bias is that migrants obviously benefit from having a Yangzhou *hukou* status. It is positive to predict a higher level of the help from the residents' committee (see Table 6.4). The benefit results from the basic services provided by the residents' committee (cf. Derleth and Koldyk, 2004). Migrants need the residents' committee to provide all kinds of referral letters. The references are required to apply for public services, including *hukou* transfer, entering public school, urban insurance, and marriage registration (cf., Heberer, 2009). Access to public services is usually based on a Yangzhou *hukou* status, so these respondents have more reasons to ask for help from the residents' committee than residents with a different *hukou*.

In view of the evidence presented in Table 6.4 and the stories cited above, our second hypothesis seems plausible: that migrants who voluntarily move to a gated neighborhood are more likely than forced migrants to participate in public activities organized by the residents' committee and have more contacts with new neighbors, and thereby get more help from the residents' committee and new neighbors. However, because the emphasis of the programs run by the committee is on migrant children and the elderly, on higher-educated migrants, and on migrants with a Yangzhou *hukou* status, the programs are obviously biased against lower-educated migrants, migrants without a Yangzhou *hukou*, without a child, and not living with elderly parents.

6.5 Conclusions and discussion

This study explored the effects of residential relocation on rural migrants' social networks; these effects result from their strategies to compensate for the potential damage to existing networks caused by the move and to build new contacts. The empirical material from Yangzhou in Jiangsu province highlighted two strategies. In one, migrants used mobile phones and the Internet to preserve their contacts with former neighbors. In the other, migrants participated in public activities organized by the residents' committee to make contact with their new neighbors in their destination neighborhood. The empirical material showed that the frequency of using each of these strategies depended on the type of move, the type of destination neighborhood, and the migrants' socio-demographic characteristics. A voluntary move and the intention to move prior to the demolition-led redevelopment, and having a child or living with elderly parents proved to have a stronger effect on preserving networks with former neighbors. Under those conditions, communication technology was used more often and the contact frequency increased. These conditions, as well as a number of other characteristics -- including moving to a gated neighborhood, being female, having a higher education level, and having a Yangzhou *hukou* status -- also had a greater impact on building new networks. These migrants were more likely to participate in public activities organized by the residents' committee and have more contacts with

new neighbors. Thereby, they could get more help from the residents' committee and new neighbors.

This exploration of migrants' social network strategies furthers our understanding of the impact of residential relocation. It is especially enlightening in the situation of a forced move caused by the demolition of an urban village. An unintended process of clustering occurs where the government builds new housing for displaced villagers (the previous landlords of migrants) from the same village in one neighborhood. When these landlords, who are homeowners, stick to their habit of subletting their property to migrants, some migrants move with them to that new neighborhood. That clustering allows them to preserve existing contacts without having to use communication technology. But at the same time, these migrants don't actively construct new social contacts. Moreover, even if their destination areas are newly constructed, they remain socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhoods where most residents are poor migrants, which will limit their chances to improve their social networks. In this sense, the demolition-led redevelopment does not promote the integration of migrants in the city. Furthermore, without a local *hukou*, migrants get little help from the residents' committee to deal with the effects of forced relocation. The lack of access to the services offered by the committees explains the migrants' negative attitude towards these and their lack of social participation in the destination neighborhood. That lack of participation further impedes their integration. Hence, the negative effect of 'forced' relocation is rooted in the institutional disadvantages of migrants. Those disadvantages are inherent in the *hukou* system. It ensures that only 'locals' get ahead in demolition-led redevelopment.

The findings also further our understanding of how rural migrants adjust to living in a new 'formal' urban residential environment. Some of the vignettes illustrate the challenges they face if they move from an urban village characterized by informality to a commercially developed gated neighborhood. Because of the lack of informal contacts between neighbors there, migrants have to participate in formally arranged social activities. These are organized by the residents' committee to help newcomers build connections with their new neighbors. That outreach is particularly important for migrant households that have a child or are living with elderly parents. It is they who need most help from the residents' committee and new neighbors to take care of the children and the elderly. However, their own participation remains limited. First, migrant households usually choose to take part only in activities from which they get real benefits, such as the program on 'neighboring care for migrant children and elderly'. Secondly, participation is mostly limited to the migrant children and elderly parents. The migrant workers themselves seldom join in because of their busy work schedules. Thirdly, a majority of the migrants have a low level of education and are not interested in most cultural activities. Additionally, they may have difficulty making arrangements to participate. However limited its impact, the residents' committee does play a positive role and those public activities do benefit the migrants in the gated neighborhoods.

This paper emphasizes migrants' social networks in a medium-sized city, with a built-up area of less than 100 km². That means that the distance the migrants move -- hence the distance to their former neighbors -- is usually less than 10 km. They can meet each other in less than half an hour by bike. If they want, they can still help out, taking care of the children and the elderly in the

family. In this sense, whether people meet each other or not is primarily related to migrants' choices; it is less a question of the constraints caused by geographic separation. However, in metropolitan areas like Beijing and Shanghai, one can imagine that the moving distance and the distance to the former neighbors would be much longer, especially in the situation of forced relocation. Because of the large scale of demolition-led redevelopment and the large population that is being displaced, the local governments are less likely to relocate all villagers to a few newly built neighborhoods, as Yangzhou once did. Therefore, migrants might be less likely to live close to their former neighbors after relocation. In that case, which social network strategies will they develop after relocation in metropolitan areas, and what would be the consequences? Questions like this will be taken up in our future research.

In terms of its social relevance, this study has explored some directions for further improvement in the work of the residents' committees in order to increase the benefits for displaced migrants. First, as every private-rental contract needs to be put on record, the residents' committee can offer involuntarily relocated migrants a consultation service, providing them with information on new accommodation. Based on the outcomes of the interviews, we are confident that such support would promote trust between involuntarily relocated migrants and the residents' committee. Secondly, the interviewees living in urban villages expressed a strong willingness to participate in public activities. It would be better for the municipal government to give more support to the residents' committee there. For instance, the use of public subsidies for the program 'neighboring care for migrant children and elderly' could be extended to the urban villages. Thirdly, the interviews showed that lower-educated migrants were more willing to participate in leisure activities than in cultural activities. If the residents' committee could organize entertainment, games, and sporting competitions, the participation of lower-educated migrants would increase. Greater participation, in turn, could promote their integration in the destination neighborhood.

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7. Conclusions and discussion

7.1 Introduction

The objective of the research presented in this thesis was twofold: to make a scholarly contribution to the field of mobility studies and to evaluate policy options for the challenges facing China. From an academic angle, it set out to rethink the theoretical approaches to China's rural migrants' residential mobility in view of the new context created by the *hukou* reform. The methodology assembled for that purpose was geared to understanding individual behavior in response to macro-level changes. Specifically, it took two lines of inquiry: which housing strategies did rural migrants devise in the course of their residential mobility to derive benefits from the *hukou* reform, and how did they deal with the presumed negative effects of urban redevelopment?

With respect to its social implications, this research has evaluated the practical benefits of the *hukou* reform and urban redevelopment for this vulnerable migrant population. The outcomes of that evaluation may contribute to an understanding of the externalities of government policies in China. By pursuing this objective, the study has explored some directions for further reform of the *hukou* system. Moreover, it has offered some suggestions that might contribute to a solution for the housing problems of low-income migrants.

To realize these social and academic aims, the following research questions were formulated:

- 1. What are the effects of institutional factors and migrants' demographic characteristics on their homeownership rates after the *hukou* reform in China? And which differences occur between destination municipalities in the same province in this respect?**
- 2. What is the difference between new and first generations of rural migrants in their understanding of the meaning of 'home', and to what extent is this difference reflected in their motives to acquire an urban domicile? Does family support matter in the migrant's aspirations to choose for a domicile at the destination?**
- 3. What are the effects of socio-demographic and migration characteristics on the initial and current housing conditions of rural migrants? Does the initial tenure choice matter in the migrant's current tenure?**
- 4. What are the outcomes with respect to dwelling attributes and geographic location attributes in different types of rural migrants' intra-urban residential relocation? And what are the effects of on-site relocation (partial displacement) and off-site relocation (total displacement), respectively?**
- 5. Does the type of intra-urban residential move affect rural migrants' social network strategies, and how does the type of destination affect their integration, as mediated by these strategies?**

This thesis addresses these questions in a collection of five empirical research papers that were written for separate publication in refereed journals. Chapter 2 is based on data from the official survey supervised by the Department of Human Resources and Social Security of the Jiangsu Provincial Government (JSHRSS) in 2009. That survey documented the impacts of the *hukou* reform on rural migrants' homeownership rates from 2003 to 2009. Chapter 3 is based on data from the official 2009 survey supervised by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the national government (MOHURD). That one recorded the aspirations of migrants to obtain an urban home, querying migrants who were renting accommodation at the time. Chapters 4, 5, 6 are based on the data from a survey we conducted ourselves but also on a number of in-depth interviews we held with a selection of migrants employed in different economic sectors. These three chapters are focused on the migrants' latest moves, which occurred between 2009 and 2012.

Section 7.2 summarizes the main results of the empirical studies presented in Chapters 2 through 6 and links them to the body of existing knowledge. This overview is followed in Section 7.3 by an outline of the theoretical insights generated by the research reported in this thesis. After that, Section 7.4 turns to a discussion of the theoretical implications of the findings. Finally, Section 7.5 concludes the thesis by offering some suggestions for the *hukou* reform and urban housing policies in China.

7.2 Answers to research questions and links with the literature

What are the effects of institutional factors and migrants' demographic characteristics on their homeownership rates after the *hukou* reform in China? And which differences occur between destination municipalities in the same province in this respect?

The empirical analyses in Chapter 2 revealed that after the *hukou* reform, older, better-educated, higher-income migrants with a large family were more likely than others to own private housing. Institutional factors, notably having a Jiangsu provincial *hukou* and being enrolled in an urban pension insurance scheme, were shown to be positively associated with rural migrants' rate of homeownership. But differences between municipalities were noted. In the more-developed municipalities of Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing, a Jiangsu *hukou* proved to be a prominent factor in predicting rural migrants' path to homeownership. In contrast, a Jiangsu *hukou* turned out to be irrelevant to homeownership in the less-developed municipalities of Changzhou, Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Nantong, and Taizhou.

These results lead to a deeper understanding of the *hukou* reforms. Before the reforms, homeownership was predominately explained in terms of institutional constraints. After the reforms were introduced, demographic and socio-economic characteristics were said to have a much greater influence. Later, the explanatory models for tenure differentiation in China became more consistent with findings from research in market economies (cf., Huang and Clark, 2002). In that sense, the *hukou* reform has been recognized as having positive effects. It lessened the institutional constraints on rural migrants' access to homeownership at their destination as the regulations were gradually relaxed. In short, the reform works. That observation should dispel

any doubt among scholars that the *hukou* reform has had an effect and will continue to do so (e.g., Zhu, 2007).

But the positive effect is moderate, as the current extent of the reform remains patchy. The emphasis on the housing qualification obviously benefits those better-off rural migrants who are capable of purchasing market-sector housing after years of saving. To date, most low-income migrants have barely benefited from the *hukou* reform. Furthermore, the effects diverge between municipalities, reflecting the varying extent to which the *hukou* reform has been enacted. Rural migrants' access to homeownership is evidently still fettered by institutional constraints in the more-developed municipalities that impose higher standards for *hukou* access. This finding underlines the expectation voiced by Li and Duda (2010) that the difference in the *hukou* access policy between cities would result in different outcomes with respect to migrants' housing choice.

What is the difference between new and first generations of rural migrants in their understanding of the meaning of 'home', and to what extent is this difference reflected in their motives to acquire an urban domicile? Does family support matter in the migrant's aspirations to choose for a domicile at the destination?

Chapter 3 addresses the situation of migrant renters. The empirical analyses presented there revealed that the motives of new-generation migrants more strongly reflect modern Western thought than do the motives of the first generation. First-generation migrants' motives are more driven by the *hukou* benefits related to Socialist institutions. Regarding other demographic characteristics, the better-educated, higher-income migrants whose stay in Suzhou has been long are more likely than others to aspire to an urban home. There is also a positive correlation between family support (family accompanying the migrant at the destination, not having to send remittances, and selling rural housing) with the migrant's aspiration to settle permanently in the city. A Jiangsu *hukou* turned out to be not statistically significant in an explanation of rural migrants' aspirations for an urban domicile. The main reason is that the *hukou* reform suppresses the effect of *hukou* status. In comparison, other paths to participation in institutions, like the urban insurance schemes, appear to be more important.

These findings suggest that a migrant's choice of a place to make a future home largely depends on the individual's values and opportunities. This tendency is particularly significant among the new generation of migrants (born after 1980). After the 'opening-up' of China, this new cohort received better education than their parents had and were eager to embrace modern Western thought. They might choose to stay in a city and make use of its rich educational resources to further their professional training with an eye to their future career. Or they might return to their hometown and use their acquired human capital to start their own business instead of going back to farming. Or they may be in no hurry to make a decision and take a wait-and-see attitude toward an uncertain future. No matter what they choose and where they stay, they are trying to find their own way to set up a new home.

As China modernizes, this individualistic tendency might become more dominant in explanations of migrant behavior, unless the institutional barriers to mobility remain in place. For instance, a migrant still needs family support in order to purchase an urban market-sector

dwelling and thereby to transfer the *hukou* status. Given that dependency, one can hardly shake off the will of the family along the path to a new home, even if s/he attaches great value to individualism. These findings corroborate the inter-generational difference between migrants that scholars have identified (e.g. Liu et al., 2012).

What are the effects of socio-demographic and migration characteristics on the initial and current housing conditions of rural migrants? Does the initial tenure choice matter in the migrant's current tenure?

The empirical analyses in Chapter 4 highlighted two inter-related aspects of migrants' tenure choices: they are non-homogeneous and they are path-dependent. Being better socially connected at the destination, intra-province and intra-municipality migrants were more likely to live in an acquaintance's home upon arrival. Alternatively, as they were more likely to benefit from government programs to promote employment, they could start out in employer-provided housing, making it relatively easy for them to adapt to their new urban setting. As this initial choice saved them money, it may have facilitated their current homeownership status. In contrast, getting little help from acquaintances or the government, inter-province migrants encountered more difficulties during their adaptive phase. They had to search for market-rental housing upon arrival. Consequently, they spent more on rent and encountered more financial problems, which negatively affected their aspiration to homeownership. For some of them, marriage proved to be an effective way to transfer a *hukou* and thereby overcome these institutional barriers, but that option creates a significant gender bias. Female migrants are more likely to marry a local homeowner, which gives them grounds to apply for a local *hukou*.

The analysis of this marriage strategy expanded on the role of marriage in migration, as explored by Davin (2005). In the context of migration, marriage is not just a life-course event. The household structure and changes in it brought about by marriage would have far-reaching impacts on an individual's housing choice and related *hukou* status. The effects are complicated in a household with members originating from different places. While marriage may provide grounds to subsequently change the *hukou* of the migrant, it may also lead to the persistence of different *hukous* within a household. For some migrants, a dual status would enable them to retain their claim on the user-rights of land in their place of origin. Alternatively, it would make them eligible for financial compensation if the land were to be expropriated for urban development.

More importantly, these findings revealed that the *hukou* reform, as implemented by local governments, first benefits rural migrants from the same municipality. Next in line are migrants from the same province. The last to benefit are those from other provinces. Intra-province migrants can transfer their social welfare schemes within the province without needing a *hukou* transfer. In addition, local governments provide more support to intra-province migrants who are searching for employment and facilitate their access to dormitory housing. This last finding provides evidence for the argument by Poncet (2006) that intra-province migrants have institutional advantages over inter-province migrants.

What are the outcomes with respect to dwelling attributes and geographic location attributes in different types of rural migrants' intra-urban residential relocation? And what are the effects of on-site relocation (partial displacement) and off-site relocation (total displacement), respectively?

Chapter 5 highlighted three characteristics of migrants' residential mobility. First, the migrants' prior intention to move and the decision to move off-site led to housing improvement whether the move was forced or not. This characteristic reflects the fact that housing conditions in many urban villages under threat of demolition were indeed very poor. Thus, the empirical findings convincingly related the outward move to housing improvement. Secondly, both for voluntary and involuntary moves, migrants made a trade-off between housing improvement and geographic location. Given their limited resources, they either had to purchase an apartment with attractive attributes at a disadvantageous location, or they had to keep their commuting distance short at the expense of dwelling quality. Thirdly, the outcomes of the trade-off between the dwelling and the location were mediated by variables related to migrants' concerns for their children's living environment and education, such as a preference for a certain school. For their children's sake, other considerations, including a short commute and proximity to the city center, were given lower priority.

These findings shed light on what a 'forced' relocation means to rural migrants. In the short term, its 'forced' character may not be perceived as negative. This finding confirms the idea put forth by Kleinhans and Kearns (2013) that forced relocation can result in an upward movement in the housing career. It should be kept in mind that the migrants had lived under disadvantaged conditions. Their pursuit of 'betterment' actually did result in a modest improvement in the dwelling and/or living environment. Their move out of urban villages did not seem to be a harsh experience, unlike, perhaps, the experience of the indigenous urban poor who originally lived there. Having been temporary renters, the migrants showed little emotional attachment to the demolished villages. They had not been trapped in a time-consuming negotiation process, and the real cost of leaving was low. In that light, the new possibilities opened up by a move add weight to the positive side of forced relocation.

But in the long term, a 'forced' relocation did have negative repercussions. Without a local *hukou* status, migrants received little compensation for the demolition and had no access to public-rental housing. Nor could they obtain a housing mortgage or other financial support from a benevolent association. Therefore, their choices were limited. They could either move to another disadvantageous location or remain in poor housing conditions at the previous or a similar location. That choice amounts to a trade-off between their needs for housing amenity (cf., Rossi, 1955) and their needs for geographic location (cf., Clark and Dieleman, 1996). Because of their experience with poor housing conditions, the migrants understandably gave dwelling attributes priority over geographic location attributes. That outcome confirms the idea put forth by Hui et al. (2014) that a majority of rural migrants tend to move to improve their housing conditions. However, the final outcomes were moderated by the migrants' concerns for their children's education, as it is really difficult for migrant children to get into a good public school (cf., Chen and Feng, 2012). So when the opportunity arose to enroll them in a good school, the migrants

gave the highest priority to their children's education, and other considerations were relegated to second place.

Does the type of intra-urban residential move affect rural migrants' social network strategies, and how does the type of destination affect their integration, as mediated by these strategies?

The empirical analyses in Chapter 6 highlighted two strategies. One is that migrants used mobile phones or the Internet to preserve their contacts with former neighbors. The other strategy was to participate in activities organized by the residents' committee to contact new neighbors in their destination neighborhood. The consequences of these two strategies depended on the type of move (voluntary vs. forced), the type of destination neighborhood (gated neighborhood vs. urban village), and migrants' socio-demographic characteristics. Particular situations -- a voluntary move and an intention to move prior to the demolition-led redevelopment, and having a child or living with elderly parents -- proved to be more strongly associated with preserving networks with former neighbors. Under those conditions, the use of mobile phones and the Internet was higher and the contact frequency increased. Type of neighborhood and socio-demographics including moving to a gated neighborhood, being female, having a higher educational level, and having a Yangzhou *hukou* status proved to have a positive effect on building new networks. Migrant households with some of these characteristics were more likely to participate in activities organized by the residents' committee and have more contacts with new neighbors, and thereby get more help from them.

These findings lead to a better understanding of migrants' social networks in the neighborhood. Their connections with neighbors allow them to construct their social support mechanisms for daily life. A support system is particularly meaningful to women, as they shoulder more household responsibilities, such as childcare. A large majority of migrant households with a child tend to develop new contacts in the destination neighborhood. In gated neighborhoods, however, the process is less direct. Because of the lack of informal contacts there, the newcomers have to participate in formal social activities organized by the residents' committee to contact new neighbors. But findings from both settings are consistent with the idea advanced by Wang et al. (2015) that migrants are active in the social network in the neighborhood.

However, if the move is involuntary, the situation is usually the opposite. This is obvious where the government builds new housing for displaced villagers (the previous landlords of migrants) from the same village in one neighborhood. When these homeowners stick to their habit of subletting to migrants, some move there as a group. That helps the migrants realize their preference to preserve existing contacts. But at the same time, they don't actively try to make new social contacts. Moreover, they remain living in socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, where most residents are migrants and poor. Under such conditions, the demolition-led redevelopment does not promote the migrants' integration in the city. Furthermore, without a local *hukou*, migrants cannot count on much help from the residents' committee to deal with the effects of forced relocation. The effects of these institutional constraints explain the migrants' prevailing negative attitude toward the residents' committees and their lack of social

participation in these destination neighborhoods. These findings support the assertion of Kleinhans and Kearns (2013) that the outcomes of forced relocation for low-income residents depend strongly on the institutional factors and the nature of compensation policies.

7.3 Theoretical insights: Rethinking rural migrants' residential mobility

By answering the research questions set forth earlier, this thesis has demonstrated the scientific relevance of the underlying study. The major scientific contribution of the thesis lies in the reinterpretation of rural migrants' residential mobility. It links China's rural-urban migration patterns to classic explanations of residential mobility in market economies (e.g., Rossi, 1955; Turner, 1968; Clark and Dieleman, 1996; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). With their emphasis on the effects of individuals' demographic characteristics and their preferences, those classic ideas now play an increasingly important role in explaining China's rural migrants' residential mobility. Conversely, the effects of institutional factors on migrants' residential mobility have declined. Via this linkage, we have placed the notion of individual determinism in a new context, namely the period after the *hukou* reform. That recontextualization updates the body of existing work on rural migrants' residential mobility, which has been dominated by the idea of *hukou* determinism (e.g., Wu, 2006).

Against that revised theoretical backdrop, this thesis revisits the received wisdom about residential mobility – that its inherent logic is the aspiration for 'betterment', irrespective of whether the move is voluntary or involuntary (cf., Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013). People expect an improvement after relocation, and people may even move several times to reach a higher level in their housing career (cf., Turner, 1968; Kendig, 1986; Morrow-Jones and Wenning, 2005). As the *hukou* reform affords the possibility to set up a home in urban areas, a Chinese version of the housing ladder materializes for rural migrants. Low-cost rental housing in a deprived neighborhood is at the bottom, followed by market-rate rental housing, while homeownership of a new commercially developed apartment is at the top. However, whether they can 'climb' this ladder depends on the individuals' values and goals. And whether they can take a subsequent step upward depends on their endeavors and opportunities. In this process, they use a set of strategies to establish an urban home in the destination city. These strategies include but are not limited to the following actions:

- (1) Choose to settle in less-developed destination cities;
- (2) Marry a local homeowner;
- (3) Live in an acquaintance's home, or in an employer-provided dormitory upon arrival;
- (4) Make a trade-off between dwelling attributes and geographic location in the move;
- (5) Stay in contact with former neighbors by mobile phone or through the Internet after the move;
- (6) Move into a gated neighborhood and participate in public activities;
- (7) Generate family support and/or wait for the expropriation of rural housing and farmland, and use the money from the compensation to purchase an urban dwelling.

The individual might take one or more of these actions. The outcomes are related to their socio-demographic characteristics, including age, gender, educational level, employment, income, household structure, and place of origin. Models explaining residential mobility in China are starting to become more consistent with findings from research in market economies. But it should be kept in mind that the *hukou* reform remains patchy. Some institutional constraints still exist, so it is too early to remove the institutional factors entirely from an explanation of migrants' residential mobility.

Nonetheless, our exploration underlines the importance of analyzing residential mobility in the study of China's rural-urban migration. When we realize that most migrants seek improvement and no longer move from one low-cost rental unit to another in deprived neighborhoods, it is time to rethink the role of residential mobility in their migration experience – and more importantly, in migration itself.

7.4 Discussion: Refining the theory of rural-urban migration

If we accept the economic logic underpinning the Neoclassical Economic (cf., Todaro, 1969) or the New Economics of Labor Migration (cf., Stark, 1982), then we can say that living in poor circumstances in the city, followed by moving back to the hometown and spending one's hard-earned savings in the countryside is the most economical behavior (cf., Démurger and Xu, 2011). However, rural-migration is not just an economic calculation, and it is also a life trajectory. In this thesis, we made a heroic endeavor to insert the concept of 'home' into the discourse. Migration, in that sense, involves abandoning one's old home and searching for a way and a place to establish a new one (cf., Ahmed, 1999).

When applying this concept to contemporary China, we drew upon the grand narratives to trace changes in the meaning of 'home'. In the Chinese mentality, the notion of an ideal home has shifted from 'an Arcadian family-first home' grounded in tradition to 'a state-sponsored urban home' under the Socialist regime and then to 'a self-actualization home' in modern thought. This sequence is closely related to series of profound social changes. Traditional culture, as enshrined in Confucianism, was rooted in conventional farming and required a big family that lived together. The Socialist regime, in contrast, emphasized the industrialization of urban areas (cf., Shak, 2006). To stimulate urban industrial development, that regime also provided nationally financed social welfare benefits to people with an urban *hukou* status (cf., Selden and You, 1997). These benefits were intended to replace the role of the family in taking care of an individual. Thereby the state policy gave the notion of 'an ideal home' a new meaning: 'a state-sponsored urban home'. Thus, the dominant position that 'an Arcadian family-first home' occupied in people's mind was undermined.

However, after the economic reform of 1978, the Party transferred responsibility for social welfare provisions to lower-level governments but also to the private market (cf., Selden and You, 1997). The idea of 'a state-sponsored urban home' was therefore no longer predominant, going the same way as the concept of 'an Arcadian family-first home'. Along with the emergence of market forces and modern Western ideas, the meaning of 'home' shifted toward an individualistic perspective – 'a self-actualization home'. The pathway to establishing a new home

is now forged by personal attempts at self-actualization through migration. A person's trajectory in life is no longer entirely subject to the family's will, nor blindly obedient to the State's designs.

Migrants might choose to stay in a city and make use of its rich educational resources to further their professional training with an eye to their future career. Or they might return to their hometown and use their acquired human capital to start their own business instead of going back to farming. Or they may be in no hurry to make a decision and take a wait-and-see attitude toward an uncertain future. No matter what they choose and where they stay, they are trying to find their own way to set up a new home. Their rationale is no longer based on economic logic and is no longer captured by the rural-urban migration paradigm (e.g., Fan and Wang, 2008). To set up a new home becomes the goal of migration. That motivation underlies the migrants' endeavors to overcome the institutional constraints on their residential mobility. Now, it becomes a problem of constraint vs. choice. Of course, in view of the current state of the *hukou* reform, the migrant can hardly shake off the effect of institutional constraints along the path to a new home. The idea of individual determinism is still far from perfect and warrants further study. This will be our inspiration for future research, as the *hukou* reform continues.

7.5 Social implications

With respect to policy implications, this thesis evaluates the practical utility of the *hukou* reform and explores some directions for further change. Thus far, the constraints on rural migrants who seek access to the local *hukou* system have been relaxed. The propensity to take advantage of the increased possibility to transfer the *hukou* is especially noticeable in the less-developed destination municipalities, where housing prices are lower and participation in institutions and social welfare programs is relatively easy. However, it is still difficult for migrants to meet the criteria for the *hukou* transfer in the large municipalities, where the house prices are much higher. These municipalities therefore need to take further steps to relax their rules for obtaining *hukou* status if they wish to stimulate economic growth by binding the rural migrants to their local economy. More eligibility criteria could be subjected to reform. For instance, changing the rules for the social insurance qualification could give migrants the opportunity to obtain a local *hukou* after participating in an urban pension scheme for a certain number of years.

The emphasis of *hukou* access policies on the housing qualification obviously benefits the better-off rural migrants who are capable of purchasing market-sector housing after years of capital accumulation. However, for most low-income rural migrants, the local *hukou* is still out of reach. In that light, giving farmers full rights to dispose of their rural housing would have a big, positive effect on rural migrants' capacity to stay permanently at their destination. The idea of giving rural residents full ownership of their dwellings was also encouraged by the 2013 Third Plenum of the 18th Central Committee of the Party. Rural migrants could then take out a mortgage on their rural cottage or sell it outright and invest the freed-up assets in urban housing. More of them would then move to the city – especially if additional eligibility criteria for *hukou* access could be subjected to reform.

The way forward is through reform, and not only in the realm of *hukou* access. Change is also needed in social welfare schemes, primarily to separate them from one's *hukou* status.

Education and social assistance (guaranteeing a minimum livelihood) should be provided for rural migrants and their children who will be living in the destination municipalities in the future, even if they currently are unable to purchase an urban home. In order to improve the situation of inter-province rural migrants, provincial governments could cooperate more closely to implement cross-regional policies on social welfare schemes. Thereby, the governments could limit the scope for discrimination against inter-province rural migrants.

In addition, this thesis explores some directions for further improvement of housing policies to benefit rural migrants, especially for new arrivals and those forced to relocate. The provision of temporary accommodation for newly arriving migrants should get more attention, especially regarding inter-province migrants. One possible solution is to provide public-rental accommodation for short-term stays, such as the dormitory built by the Suzhou municipal government. Newly arriving migrants could live there until they find employment and related housing. Furthermore, local governments could encourage employers to build more dormitories in the new industrial zones; for instance, the authorities could provide land at a discount. The policy of the Kunshan municipal government is a case in point. If the factory agrees to build dormitories, it will be charged less for the land-use rights at the factory site (cf., Lu and Jiao, 2010). Such measures might help newly arriving migrants get through the initial adaptive period in their migration.

For the benefit of displaced migrants, one direction would be to provide them with financial support during the transition period. They would then be covered from the beginning of the demolition until they settle down in destination housing. An alternative would be to provide them with public-rental housing during this time. Yet another would be to help them gain access to a mortgage loan if they intend to purchase urban market-sector housing. At the very least, the government's agents, such as the residents' committee, should provide involuntarily relocated migrants with consultation services to coordinate their housing aspirations with the available accommodations.

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Summary

In emerging economies undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization, housing for labor migrants is a big challenge. The situation in China is also serious. Its ongoing economic reforms have produced far-reaching regional and urban-rural disparities, thereby enticing millions of rural people to migrate to urban areas where they work as low-paid manual laborers. However, rural migrants were unable to access a formal residential registration status (*hukou* in Chinese) at the destination, and the *hukou* constraints prevented them from gaining access to public housing. Instead, inner-city deprived neighborhoods (urban villages in China) provided low-cost rental accommodation. Newly arriving migrants, especially service workers, had no money to purchase commercially developed housing and therefore chose to rent in those deprived areas.

During the initial stage of their stay, a number of them saved some money and considered moving to improve their housing conditions. They may even have been enticed by the apparent advantages that come with obtaining a local *hukou* through the ownership of an urban dwelling. Thus, they may have purchased an apartment to be able to benefit from the *hukou* reform, or plan to do that in the future. This trajectory applies especially to those with the ambition to set up an urban home. In addition, there are other movers. Although not everyone is willing to move out of the urban villages, many have to relocate because of their demolition-led redevelopment. Therefore, whether an impending move is voluntary or involuntary, migrants are looking for new housing. The baseline for setting a strategy is the choice of tenure. Does one prefer the flexibility of being a renter or does one choose the permanence of becoming a homeowner – with the added benefits of a *hukou* transfer? No matter what the choice is, this thesis assumes that it is possible for migrants to use a series of strategies to realize their aspirations, by using the principle of methodological individualism.

To explore their strategies, three separate fieldwork projects in Jiangsu province are drawn upon by this research: an official survey conducted by the provincial government to investigate the impact of the *hukou* reform on rural migrants' homeownership from 2003 to 2009; an official survey conducted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the national government to determine the aspirations for future homeownership among the rural migrants who did not purchase an urban home before 2009; and our own (self-conducted) 2012 survey in Yangzhou City to examine the outcomes of migrants' latest relocation between 2009 and 2012.

Our empirical analyses show that, by making a voluntary move, the migrants might be able to take a step upward in quality or even move into homeownership; in the case of demolition-led redevelopment, they might be able to cushion the negative effects of forced relocation. Their strategies are strongly correlated to characteristics such as dwelling attributes, commuting distance, and the distance to public facilities. Because of financial limitations, the migrants might need to make a trade-off between the benefits of certain dwelling attributes and the benefits of the geographic location attributes. It should be taken into account that the relocation results in a spatial separation between migrants and their former neighbors, who may form an important part of their social 'safety net'. In that event, they would need to preserve their

existing contacts or make contact with new neighbors in the destination neighborhood to update their social support mechanism.

The dynamics of this process and the outcomes depend on a number of factors at different levels. The factors at the individual level are wide-ranging: age, gender, educational level, income, employment type, marriage status, household structure, *hukou* status, the connection with other family members in the hometown, remittances, ownership of rural housing, and user-rights of farmland. At the neighborhood level, the factors are less diverse: the socio-economic characteristics of the previous urban village and the destination neighborhood, the location of these two neighborhoods, and the distance between them. At the city level, the factors include the development status of the destination city, its housing policy, the state of its housing market, housing price levels, the municipal *hukou* access policy, and the compensation policy for those affected by demolition.

By exploring the strategies, this thesis has reinterpreted rural migrants' residential mobility. It links China's rural-urban migration patterns to classic explanations of residential mobility in market economies. With their emphasis on the effects of individuals' demographic characteristics and their preferences, those classic ideas now play an increasingly important role in explaining China's rural migrants' residential mobility. Conversely, the effects of institutional factors on migrants' residential mobility have declined. Via this linkage, this thesis has placed the notion of individual determinism in a new context, namely the period after the *hukou* reform. That recontextualization updates the body of existing work on rural migrants' residential mobility, which has been dominated by the idea of *hukou* determinism. That also refines the theory of rural-urban migration. Rural-urban migration is not just the result of economic optimization, it is also a life trajectory. Migration, in that sense, involves abandoning one's old home and searching for a way and a place to establish a new one. That motivation underlies the migrants' endeavors to overcome the institutional constraints on their residential mobility.

This thesis also points at some implications for future reform. The municipalities need to take further steps to relax their rules for obtaining *hukou* status – more eligibility criteria could be subjected to reform. For instance, changing the rules for the social insurance qualification could give migrants the opportunity to obtain a local *hukou* after participating in an urban pension scheme for a certain number of years. But the way forward is not only in the realm of *hukou* access. Change is also needed in social welfare schemes – primarily to separate them from one's *hukou* status. Education and social assistance (guaranteeing a minimum livelihood) should be provided for rural migrants and their children who will be living in the destination municipalities in the future, even if they currently are unable to purchase an urban home. Other changes are needed in housing policies to benefit rural migrants, especially for new arrivals and those forced to relocate. Possible solutions include: to provide newly arriving migrants public-rental accommodation for short-term stays until they find employment and related housing; to provide displaced migrants with financial support or public-rental housing during the transition period from the beginning of the demolition until they settle down in destination housing.

Samenvatting

Het voorzien in de huisvesting van migranten stelt landen met een opkomende economie voor een grote uitdaging. Ook in China is dit een ernstig probleem. Door de nog voortdurende economische hervormingen zijn hier vergaande regionale tegenstellingen ontstaan; deze vertalen zich ook in maatschappelijke ongelijkheden tussen het platteland en de stad. Het gevolg hiervan is dat miljoenen van de plattelandsbevolking naar de steden migreren om daar werk te vinden als laag betaalde ongeschoolde arbeiders. Zij zijn daar tweederangs burgers omdat hen de formele status van gevestigd inwoner (de Chinese term daarvoor is de *hukou*) wordt ontzegd. Hierdoor hebben ze geen toegang tot sociale huisvesting en zijn ze grotendeels aangewezen op goedkope woonruimte in de huursector in achterstandsbuurten in de centra van de steden. Veel van die buurten zijn voormalige dorpen die nu binnen de stad liggen. Nieuw aangekomen migranten, vooral zij die werk vinden in de (informele) dienstensector, hebben gewoon het geld niet om een woning in de particuliere sector te kopen en kiezen er daarom voor te huren in deze achterstandsbuurten.

Maar tijdens een eerste verblijf fase weten sommigen wat geld te sparen en overwegen ze te verhuizen om hun huisvestingssituatie te verbeteren. Het kan zelfs zijn dat ze zich daartoe gesterkt zien door de vermeende voordelen van het verkrijgen van een lokale *hukou* status als eigenaar-bewoner. De voordelen daarvan zijn binnen bereik gekomen sinds de hervormingen van het *hukou* stelsel. Een dergelijke keus ligt vooral voor de hand voor degenen die zich permanent in de stad willen vestigen. Maar niet alle verhuizingen uit de voormalige dorpen zijn vrijwillig; in veel gevallen worden mensen gedwongen om te verhuizen door de plannen tot afbraak en herontwikkeling van hun buurten.

Vrijwillig of onvrijwillig, veel migranten zijn op zoek naar nieuwe huisvesting. Daarbij moeten ze een strategie kiezen. De basis van de strategie is de keus voor de woningmarktsector waarop ze zich richten. Willen ze vasthouden aan de flexibiliteit van het huren van woonruimte of kiezen ze voor de vastigheid van het eigendom – met als bijkomend voordeel het kunnen inruilen van hun *hukou* voor die van hun nieuwe woonplaats. Hoe de keus ook uitvalt, in deze studie wordt ervan uitgegaan dat het mogelijk is voor migranten om te kiezen uit een reeks van strategieën om hun doeleinden te bereiken. Dat uitgangspunt is vervat in het aansluiten bij het principe van methodologisch individualisme.

In dit onderzoek naar het gebruik van de strategieën is gebruik gemaakt van drie afzonderlijke veldwerken die zijn uitgevoerd in de provincie Jiangsu. De eerste is een officiële survey die op gezag van de provinciale overheid werd uitgevoerd met als doel vast te stellen wat de invloed was van de *hukou* hervormingen op de toename van het woningeigendom onder

migranten tussen 2003 en 2009. Het tweede onderzoek betrof een survey uitgevoerd in opdracht van het nationale Ministerie van Huisvesting en Urbane-Rurale Ontwikkeling om vast te stellen hoe groot de wens voor het toekomstig woningeigendom was onder de migranten van het platteland die vóór 2009 nog geen woning hadden gekocht. En ten slotte een door onszelf opgezet en uitgevoerd onderzoek in 2012 in de stad Yangzhou om vast te stellen wat de gevolgen waren van de meest recente verhuizing van migranten tussen 2009 en 2012.

Onze analyses van dat diverse materiaal laten zien dat degenen die vrijwillig verhuisden veelal in staat waren om hun woonomstandigheden te verbeteren of zelfs huiseigenaar te worden; ook als de verhuizing onder dwang gebeurde, in het geval dat de oude buurt werd gesloopt, bleek het niet onmogelijk te zijn om de negatieve effecten van de verhuizing te verzachten. De uitkomst was sterk afhankelijk van de keus van de strategie: richtte men zich op kenmerken van de gekozen woning, de afstand van woon-werk verkeer, of de afstand tot publieke voorzieningen. Vanwege financiële beperkingen moesten de migranten een afweging maken tussen de voordelen van zekere woning- en geografische locatie kenmerken. Daarbij moet bedacht worden dat de verhuizingen veelal leidden tot de ruimtelijke scheiding tussen de migranten en hun vroegere burens, die deel uit konden maken van hun ‘sociale vangnet’. Als dat het geval was, moesten ze actie nemen om bestaande contacten te handhaven of contact te leggen met hun nieuwe burens op de plek van bestemming om op die manier hun sociale hulpbronnen te vernieuwen.

De dynamiek van dit proces en de uitkomsten ervan zijn afhankelijk van een aantal factoren op verschillende niveaus. Het betreft ten eerste een breed scala aan individuele kenmerken: leeftijd, geslacht, opleidingsniveau, inkomen, beroeps categorie, burgerlijke staat, huishoudensstructuur, *hukou* status, de relatie met achtergebleven familieleden op de plek van herkomst, de noodzaak van het sturen van financiële hulp, het al dan niet in eigendom hebben van een woning op het platteland, de gebruiksrechten van agrarisch land. De factoren op buurtniveau zijn wat minder gevarieerd: de sociaaleconomische kenmerken van de voormalige dorpsnederzetting binnen de stad waaruit ze vertrokken en van de buurt van bestemming, de locatie van deze twee buurten, en de afstand ertussen. Met betrekking tot het niveau van de stad gaat het om het ontwikkelingsniveau van de stad waar ze zich gevestigd hebben, het vigerende huisvestingsbeleid daar, de staat van de woningmarkt, het prijsniveau van woonruimte, het gemeentelijk beleid ten aanzien tot het verwerven van een lokale *hukou*, en het compensatiebeleid voor hen die getroffen worden door de sloop van hun huisvesting.

Dit onderzoek van het gebruik van deze strategieën heeft geleid tot een herinterpretatie van de verhuismobiliteit van rurale migranten. Er is daardoor een beeld ontstaan van hoe China's ruraal-urbane migratie overeenkomt met de klassieke verklaringen van het verhuisgedrag in de

landen van het 'rijke westen'. De nadruk die deze laatste leggen op de invloed van de demografische kenmerken en de voorkeuren van individuen blijken een steeds belangrijker rol te spelen in de verklaring van het verhuisgedrag van de Chinese rurale migranten. Omgekeerd lijkt het eens zo belangrijke effect van institutionele factoren voor de verklaring van hun verhuisgedrag te zijn verminderd. Op grond hiervan wordt in deze studie de notie van het individueel determinisme in een nieuwe empirische situatie geplaatst, namelijk die van de periode na de hervormingen van de *hukou*. Deze veranderde contextualisering leidt tot een aanpassing van de bestaande inzichten in het verhuisgedrag van rurale migranten, dat tot dusver gedomineerd werd door de idee van 'hukou determinisme'. Het leidt evenzeer tot een aanpassing van de theorie van ruraal-urbane migratie. Dat laatste lijkt niet alleen te zijn ingegeven door een economische optimaliseringswens, maar kan nu ook geïnterpreteerd worden tegen de achtergrond van levenspaden. In dat opzicht heeft migratie alles te maken met het achterlaten van het oude 'thuis' en het zoeken naar een manier en een plek om een nieuw domicilie te kiezen.

Ook met betrekking tot het beleid biedt deze studie zicht op aanwijzingen voor toekomstige hervormingen. De lokale overheden moeten verdere stappen zetten om de regels voor het verkrijgen van een lokale *hukou* te vereenvoudigen; op diverse terreinen kunnen de toegangscriteria worden verzacht. Als voorbeeld moge gelden dat de regels voor kwalificatie op grond van het deelnemen aan sociale verzekeringen verder aangepast kunnen worden, zodat bijvoorbeeld migranten die deelnemen in een lokaal pensioenfonds na een aantal jaren op grond daarvan een lokale *hukou* kunnen krijgen. Maar voortgang met de hervorming zou niet noodzakelijk gebonden moeten zijn aan het inruilen van de *hukou*. De sociale welzijnsprogramma's zelf dienen aangepast te worden, ten eerste door ze los te koppelen van iemands *hukou*. Toegang tot onderwijsvoorzieningen en tot sociale ondersteuning (waardoor een minimum bestaanszekerheid wordt gegarandeerd) zou beschikbaar moeten zijn voor alle rurale migranten en hun kinderen die zich permanent in de nieuwe woonplaats willen vestigen, zelfs als ze momenteel niet in staat zijn een woning te kopen. Ook andere veranderingen van het huisvestingsbeleid ten gunste van de migranten zijn nodig, vooral om nieuwkomers en zij die gedwongen moeten verhuizen, te helpen. Zo zou het mogelijk moeten zijn om nieuwkomers tijdelijk te huisvesten in sociale huurwoningen, in ieder geval tot ze erin slagen een baan met passende huisvesting te vinden. Huurders die gedwongen worden te verhuizen zouden financieel ondersteund moeten worden (evenals de eigenaar-bewoners) of moeten worden opgevangen in sociale huisvesting gedurende de periode vanaf het begin van de sloop tot ze zelf in staat zijn een nieuw permanent onderkomen te vinden.

Curriculum Vitae

Xu Huang was born on 5 July 1985 in Jiangxi Province, China. He received his bachelor in Urban Planning from Nanjing University in 2007 and his MSc in Urban and Regional Planning from Nanjing University in 2010. Then he began his PhD project in the department of Human Geography and Planning, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. His research interests focus on residential mobility, rural-urban migration, housing policy, informal urban development, and social network in the neighborhood. His PhD research has achieved following results.

Peer-reviewed journal articles:

Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J., Zou, N. (2014) Residential mobility in China: Home ownership among rural–urban migrants after reform of the *hukou* registration system. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 29 (4): 615-636.

Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J., Jiao, Y. X., Sun, Y. (2015) Rural migrants' settlement intention after the hukou reform: Evidence from Suzhou, China. *Population, Space and Place*, (in review).

Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J. (2015) Rural Migrants' Housing Tenure Change and Hukou Transfer in China's Medium-size City: A Case Study of Yangzhou. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, (in review).

Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J. (2015) Rural migrants' residential mobility: outcomes of forced moves in China's medium-sized cities. *Environment and Planning A*, (in review).

Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J. (2015) Rural migrants' social networks after relocation: evidence from the medium-sized Chinese city Yangzhou. *Housing Studies*, (in review).

Book chapter:

Huang, X., Dijst, M., van Weesep, J. (2015) The transformation of value system and urban planning in China: evidence from the city of Yangzhou in Jiangsu province, in: G. Hoskins and S. Saville (Eds.) *Locating Value: Theory, Application and Critique*. London: Routledge (forthcoming).

Conference presentation:

- ‘Consequences of demolition redevelopment of urban villages for rural-urban migrants in China’s medium-size cities’. Conference of Nanjing University Planning Discipline 35th Anniversary & EU FP7-ECURBS Project Interim Conference, 2011, Nanjing, China.
- ‘Effects of institutions and demographics on rural migrants’ house ownership after the *hukou* reform in Jiangsu, China’. 1st Global Social Science Conference and 2nd Conference on China Urban Development, 2012, Hong Kong, China.
- ‘China’s rural-urban migrants’ ties to hometown and their aspirations for urban home ownership’. 25th Conference of the European Network for Housing Research (ENHR), 2013, Tarragona, Spain.
- ‘The meaning of city and urban planning: Case of China’s Medium-size City’. Annual International Conference of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), 2014, London, UK.
- ‘Residential mobility in China: rural migrant’s outcomes of intra-urban relocation’. Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers (AAG), 2015, Chicago, US.
- ‘Rural Migrants’ Housing Tenure Change and Citizenship in China’s Medium-size City: A Case Study of Yangzhou’. 3rd Joint Nordic Conference on Development Research, 2015, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- ‘Rural migrant’s social networks after Forced relocation of informal settlements in China’s medium-size cities: Evidence from Yangzhou’. 3rd Contemporary Urban Issues Conference, 2015, Istanbul, Turkey.