

Rural Migrant Workers in China: Scenario, Challenges and Public Policy

Working Paper No. 89

Li Shi*

**Policy Integration and Statistics Department
International Labour Office
Geneva**

June 2008

Working papers are preliminary documents circulated
to stimulate discussion and obtain comments

* The author is Professor in the School of Economics and Business, Beijing Normal University. The author is very grateful for comments from Patrick Belser and Malte Luebker.

Copyright © International Labour Organization 2008
First published 2008

Publications of the International Labour Office enjoy copyright under Protocol 2 of the Universal Copyright Convention. Nevertheless, short excerpts from them may be reproduced without authorization, on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to the ILO Publications (Rights and Permissions), International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland, or by email: pubdroit@ilo.org. The International Labour Office welcomes such applications.

Libraries, institutions and other users registered with reproduction rights organizations may make copies in accordance with the licences issued to them for this purpose. Visit www.ifro.org to find the reproduction rights organization in your country.

ILO Cataloguing in Publication Data

Shi, Li

Rural migrant workers in China : scenario, challenges and public policy / Li Shi ; International Labour Office, Policy Integration and Statistics Department. - Geneva: ILO, 2008
34 p. (Working paper ; no.89)

ISBN: 9789221213840;9789221213857 (web pdf)

International Labour Office

rural migration / rural worker / working conditions / conditions of employment / China

14.09.3

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.

Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

ILO publications and electronic products can be obtained through major booksellers or ILO local offices in many countries, or direct from ILO Publications, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. Catalogues or lists of new publications are available free of charge from the above address, or by email: pubvente@ilo.org

Visit our website: www.ilo.org/publns

Abstract: This paper examines the working conditions of rural migrant workers in China. It first describes the spectacular increase in the number of migrants, from an estimated 30 million in 1989 to about 130 million in 2006. The paper then provides some descriptive statistics on the regions of origin of migrants, their destinations, the sectors in which they are employed, as well as on their age, sex and level of education. The paper goes on to discuss the difficult working conditions of many rural migrant workers in the Chinese labour market, in particular their low wages, the problems of wage arrears, the lack of written contracts, the long working hours, the short weekly rest periods, the low social security coverage, the poor housing conditions, and the difficulties they face in accessing public services. Finally, the author describes how the Chinese authorities have gradually loosened restrictions on rural-urban migration, and how new policies have been developed to try to improve the situation of migrant workers. However, he considers that the objective of decent work for migrant workers in China will remain a major challenge for years to come.

JEL classification: J61; J81; R23; I32.

Résumé: Cet article examine les conditions de travail des migrants ruraux en Chine. Il décrit tout d'abord l'augmentation spectaculaire du nombre de migrants, de 30 millions en 1989 à environ 130 millions en 2006. L'article présente ensuite un certain nombre de statistiques descriptives relatives aux régions d'origine des migrants, leur destination, les secteurs d'emploi, ainsi que leur âge, sexe et niveau de scolarisation. L'article décrit ensuite les difficiles conditions de travail de nombreux migrants en provenance des campagnes, notamment les bas salaires, les arriérés de salaire, l'absence de contrats écrits, les longues heures de travail, les courtes périodes de repos hebdomadaires, le bas taux de couverture sociale, les mauvaises conditions d'hébergement, et le difficile accès aux services publics. Enfin, l'auteur décrit comment les autorités ont graduellement relâché les restrictions à la migration interne, et comment ont émergé les nouvelles politiques visant à améliorer les conditions des travailleurs migrants. Néanmoins, l'objectif du travail décent pour les migrants chinois restera un défi majeur en Chine pour des années à venir.

Classification JEL: J61; J81; R23; I32.

Resumen: Este artículo pasa revista las condiciones de trabajo de los trabajadores migrantes rurales en China. En primer lugar, que todo describe la aumentación espectacular del número de migrantes, de 30 millones en 1989 aproximadamente 130 millones en 2006. El artículo presenta luego un cierto número de estadísticas descriptivas relativas a las regiones de origen de los migrantes, la destinación, los sectores de empleo, así como la edad, el sexo y el nivel de escolarización. El artículo después describe las condiciones difíciles de trabajo de numerosos trabajadores rurales migrantes en el mercado laboral Chino, especialmente los salarios bajos, atrasos salariales, la ausencia de contratos de trabajo por escrito, largas horas de trabajo, periodos corto de descanso semanal, baja protección de seguridad social, malas condiciones de vivienda, y dificultades para acceder a servicios públicos. Por último, el autor describe como las autoridades chinas han perdido gradualmente la restricción en migración rural urbana, y cómo han surgido nuevas políticas para mejorar la situación de los trabajadores migrantes. Este objetivo de trabajo decente para los trabajadores migrantes de China seguirá siendo un desafío considerable para los años venideros.

Clasificación JEL: J61; J81; R23; I32.

The Policy Integration and Statistics Department

The Policy Integration and Statistics Department pursues the ILO's decent work and fair globalization agenda from an integrated perspective. It consists of the Bureau of Statistics and the Policy Coherence Group.

The central objective of the latter is to further greater policy coherence and the integration of social and economic policies at both the international and national level. To this end, it works closely with other multilateral agencies and national actors such as Governments, trade unions, employers' federations, NGOs and universities. Through its policy-oriented research agenda, it explores complementarities and interdependencies between employment, working conditions, social protection, social dialogue and labour standards. Current work is organized around four thematic areas that call for greater policy coherence: Fair globalization, the global poor and informality, macro-economic policies for decent work, and emerging issues.

Labour statistics play an essential role in the efforts of member States to achieve decent work for all and for the ILO's support of these efforts. These statistics are needed for the development and evaluation of policies towards this goal, for assessing progress towards decent work, and for information and analysis of relevant labour issues. The ILO Bureau of Statistics works with integrity, independence and high professional standards to provide users within and outside the ILO with relevant, timely and reliable labour statistics, to develop international standards for better measurement of labour issues and enhanced international comparability, and to help member States develop and improve their labour statistics. It maintains strong professional relationship with national statistical systems and with statistics offices of other international agencies.

Director of the Policy Integration and Statistics Department: *Stephen Pursey*

Director of the Bureau of Statistics: *Sylvester Young*

Director of the Policy Coherence Group and Research Advisor: *Rolph van der Hoeven*

This paper was initiated by *Malte Luebker* and *Patrick Belser*.

It contributes to the department's work on the development of coherent policies towards decent work. The author describes the decent work deficits faced by rural migrant workers in China, and addresses the question as to how domestic policies on internal migration, social security, training, and public services, can be used to better distribute the benefits of China's entry into the global economy and to increase the coherence between China's economic and social objectives.

Rural Migrant Workers in China: Scenario, Challenges and Public Policy

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Rural-urban migration in the context of China’s development.....	3
2.1 Changes in policy towards rural migration in the 1980s and 1990s	3
2.2 Changes in the number of rural-urban migrant workers	4
3. Characteristics of Migrants.....	6
3.1 Places of origin of rural migrant workers	6
3.2 Destinations of rural migrant workers	7
3.3 Who are the rural migrant workers? Age, gender and education.....	10
3.4 How rural migration occurs	11
4. Challenges and problems faced by rural migrant workers.....	12
4.1 Incomes and income inequality	12
4.2 Income insecurity.....	13
4.3 Job insecurity: unemployment and job mobility.....	14
4.4 Hours of work	14
4.5 Housing conditions	15
4.6 Social security.....	17
4.7 Access to public schools	17
5. Conclusion: New policies on rural migration and migrant workers.....	17
References	21

Rural Migrant Workers in China: Scenario, Challenges and Public Policy

1. Introduction

Through the 1970s, China remained primarily an agricultural economy, with the majority of its population living in rural areas. In 1978, when China launched its economic reform, its rural population accounted for 82 per cent of the total population. With the fast growth of the population and the labour force, combined with the effects of the collectivisation of land in the 1960s and 1970s, agricultural productivity was extremely low. The rural labour force was forcibly employed in food production, and the prices of food artificially kept below the market prices in order to accumulate surplus for industrialization. The income of Chinese rural households was therefore extremely low. Those with per capita incomes below the level of 1 USD per day in PPP (purchasing power parity) terms, accounted for over 80 per cent of the total rural population in the late 1970s (Chen and Ravallion, 2004). Outward migration was prohibited and rural people were not even allowed to stay in cities.

The rural reforms of the late 1970s and early 1980s were characterized by de-collectivisation of land, and provided a strong incentive for rural households to produce food more efficiently. However, the problem of surplus labour did not disappear and became even more challenging. One estimate is that there were about 150-200 million surplus labourers in rural China in the 1980s (Wang and Ding, 2005). One solution to this problem, favoured by the Chinese government, was to develop TVEs (township-village enterprises) to absorb the surplus labour. As a result, a large number of rural labourers were transferred to TVEs and by the end of the 1980s, TVEs employed about 100 million workers. However, in the 1990s urban reforms, especially the restructuring of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), raised the competitiveness of urban industry, placing TVEs in a disadvantaged market position. The growth of TVEs was therefore slow in the 1990s.

In light of the slow employment growth in TVEs, rural workers attempted to move to cities to find employment opportunities – even though migration was still not legalized. As a result, there was a large increase in the number of rural migrant workers in the early 1990s, which jumped from around 30 million in 1989 to 62 million in 1993. However, this process did not continue smoothly: from the mid 1990s, the reform of the SOEs, referred to above, led to the dismissal of millions of urban workers. The urban unemployment rate rose to over 10 per cent, posing a threat to the Chinese government's policy of social stability. Facing rising unemployment rates, city governments implemented a series of regulations to restrict urban enterprises from employing rural migrants and even forced enterprises to lay off migrant workers and employ more local urban workers instead. Some government regulations specified that certain jobs were to be closed to rural migrant workers and filled by local urban workers only. As a result, the number rural workers who migrated to urban areas and sought work increased less rapidly in the late 1990s.

At the beginning of the new century, the Chinese government realized that measures aimed at inhibiting the movement of workers from rural to urban areas had generated many negative impacts on the development of the rural economy and damaged China's human rights image in the world. Recently, the central government issued a number of directives appealing to local governments to improve services for rural migrant workers. For instance, Document Number 5 of the State Council 2006 explicitly required local governments to implement guidelines on equal employment opportunities and rights protection for rural migrant workers. With implementation of this policy easing rural labour mobility and providing services for rural migrants, the number of rural migrant workers in urban areas recently reached a historical peak of 120 million. The overall

number of rural out-migrants is even larger if their children and families are taken into account.

There have been many studies focusing on rural migration issues in China in the last two decades. This paper therefore does not intend to provide a survey on the literature of China's rural migration studies; an excellent literature survey was written by Zhao (2005). However, there are few studies providing a comprehensive picture of recent changes in the situation of rural migration in terms of size, distribution, wage level, social security coverage, working conditions, and relevant policies. This paper attempts to make a contribution in this direction by providing an update on information and data made available on these issues in recent years.

Section II of the paper provides a description of the basic facts of rural migration in terms of size, demographic characteristics, regional and industrial distribution. Section III discusses changes in government policies on rural migration and as regards migrant workers in urban areas. The problems and discrimination faced by rural migrant workers are surveyed in Section IV. Conclusions of this study are reported in the final section.

The data used in the discussion comes from two sources: The Chinese Household Income Project Survey (CHIPS) of 2002 and the Rural Migration Survey of the National Bureau of Statistics (RMS-NBS) of 2004. The CHIPS was designed to investigate household income and income inequality in China as a whole. The size of the rural household sample in the 2002 survey was 9,200 households, and the number of provinces covered was 22 of 31. The sample size of the urban household survey was 7,000 households and the number of provinces 12.¹ In addition to the survey of urban households 2,000 rural-urban migrant households were also surveyed. These households were selected from all the provinces represented in the urban survey, but not from all the cities. Since rural-urban migrants are concentrated in large cities, all the provincial capital cities, plus one or two middle-sized cities in each of the provinces, were selected for the migrant survey. The principle for sample distribution among the provinces was that 200 households were chosen in the provinces of the coastal and interior regions, and 150 households in provinces of the western regions. Within each province, 100 migrant households were in the capital city and 50 households in the other city or cities.

Within cities, because of sampling frame limitations, rural-urban migrant households were selected from resident committees. In other words, migrant workers living on construction sites and in factories were not included in the sampling selection. This data limitation leads to an under-representation of migrant workers in manufacturing and construction. Consequently most of the migrants selected had families with them. Therefore, in order to make the sample more representative, the number of households selected from each resident committee was 20 or less. More detailed information on the composition of the migrant sample is given in Appendix Table A.

This paper also reports some results derived from the Rural Migration Survey carried out by the National Bureau of Statistics (RMS-NBS). This survey has been conducted since 2003 as a complementary survey to NBS's regular household survey. The RMS-NBS surveys the same households as the regular one, but with a set of different questions concerning out-migration of household members and a special questionnaire designed for the village head. The RMS-NBS covers around 68,000 households and 7,100 villages in 31 provinces and province-level mega-cities.

¹ A detailed description of the survey can be found in Li et al. (2007).

2. Rural-urban migration in the context of China's development

2.1 Changes in policy towards rural migration in the 1980s and 1990s

China's policy on rural migration has been changed gradually over the past three decades. In the pre-reform period, strict restrictions were placed on rural migration and labour mobility. Rural-urban migrants were "referred to as" "blind-floating population", the terminology indicating that their mobility was not legally recognized, either socially or administratively. The government put many measures in place to curb rural migration. For example, the food rationing system, which provided food coupons to urban residents only, made it difficult for rural migrants to survive in cities, while rural-urban vagrants and job-seekers, captured on the street by police were sent forcibly back to their hometown. Moreover, the household registration system (*hukou*), which was implemented in the late 1950s and classified households as rural or urban, became an instrument to identify who came from rural areas. It was extremely difficult for anyone to change a rural *hukou* to an urban one.

Improvement in labour productivity resulting from agricultural reforms, together with the baby-boom of the 1950s and 1960s, led to an increasing labour surplus in rural areas in the 1980s (Liu et al., 2003). The Chinese government recognized this problem and encouraged the development of rural industry as a solution to absorb the surplus labour. As a result, there was a rapid development of TVEs in terms of output and employment. By the end of 1980s, the number of workers employed by TVEs reached around 95 million (NBS, 1992). At the same time, rural people were encouraged to move to small towns rather than to cities. The government was concerned that an uncontrolled rural-urban migration would cause many problems in large cities, such as traffic jams, rising crime, and social conflicts, as had occurred in most other developing countries, and therefore adopted a strategy at this stage called "Development of Small Towns". One slogan was "*li tu bu li xiang*" (leaving land but not village), which vividly reflects the underlying principle of the strategy.

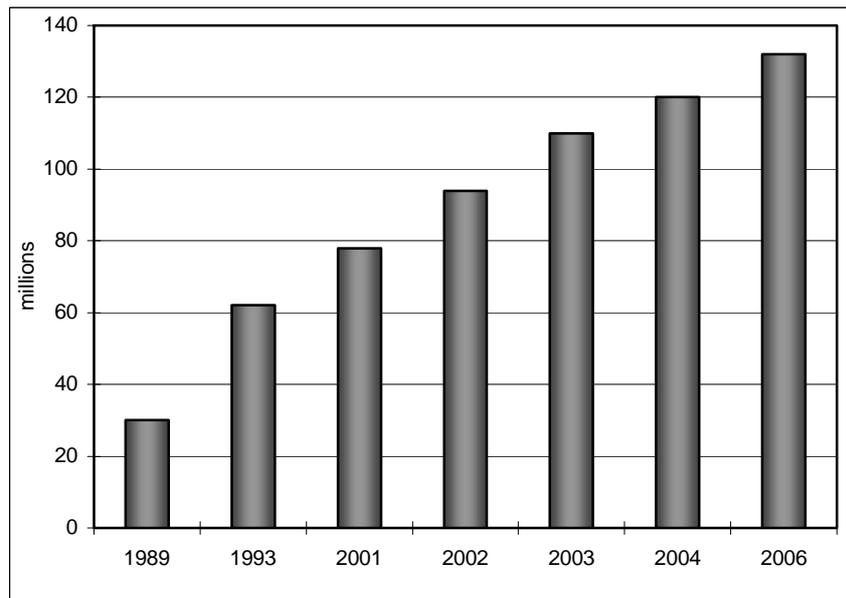
In the early 1990s, the growth of employment in TVEs slowed down due to strong competition from foreign-funded enterprises and the reformed SOEs. Surplus labour therefore continued to increase, creating a strong impetus for rural people to seek employment in cities. Meanwhile, the central government changed its attitude to rural migration from a negative one to a more neutral position. This change meant that city governments were in effect formulating their own policies on rural migration. As a result, policies on rural migration varied from one city to another. If a city faced a shortage of labour supply, the policy was in favour of employment of rural migrants, such as in Shenzhen, a Special Economic Zone in Guangdong province. Even in the mid-1990s, residents with local urban *hukou* accounted for only one quarter of all the residents in Shenzhen, with three quarters coming from elsewhere. When most large cities ran up against serious problems of unemployment and an increasing number of laid-off workers due to economic restructuring from the mid-1990s onwards, their policies for employment of rural migrants became more negative and restrictive. For instance, the Beijing city government issued a guideline in 1998, which listed a number of jobs not open to rural migrants and established measures to punish enterprises violating this guideline (Bai and Song, 2002). Such guidelines were very common in other large cities in the late 1990s. Thus, employment of rural migrants was more concentrated in industries and enterprises in which local urban people did not want to work, or in jobs that local urban people disliked.

2.2 Changes in the number of rural-urban migrant workers

The number of rural-urban migrant workers increased with the gradual loosening of administrative restrictions on labour mobility to urban China. This showed that restrictive policy on labour migration was a major determinant of the volume of rural-urban migration. In the late 1970s, rural people were barred from cities and found it difficult to survive if they had taken the risk to move anyway. As all the job opportunities were controlled by city labour bureaus and urban jobs were only assigned to people with urban *hukou*, it was impossible for rural migrants to find a job in a city. And, as noted, the food rationing system, under which only urban households were entitled to food coupons, made it difficult for rural people to have access to food and so served as another barrier to rural people wishing to live in cities. Furthermore, people from rural areas found begging in cities were systematically sent back to their home villages, while marriage between rural and urban people was very uncommon due to the *hukou* barrier. These factors contributed to the fact that, according to some rough estimates, the number of rural-urban migrant workers was less than 2 million in the late 1970s, accounting for less than 1 per cent of the total labour force in rural areas. These people were provided work by local governments in some big construction projects and their employment was exceptional in the context of the planned employment regime.

When, at the end of the 1980s, the food coupon system was abolished after 30 years of implementation in urban China, the number of rural migrants rose to 30 million. At the same time, private business and an informal sector were allowed to develop, which created a rising demand for rural migrant workers. Most jobs in the informal sector were characterized by four “Ds”: dirt, drain, danger, and disgrace, and were therefore disliked by urban people. For all of these reasons, the early 1990s saw the most rapid increase in numbers of rural-urban migrant workers. Between 1989 and 1993, the number more than doubled, as shown in Figure 1. It is estimated that in 1993 one third of rural migrant workers had moved between provinces, and two thirds within provinces (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006). There were two driving forces to pull and push rural labourers to migrate to cities. The first was the increasing openness of the Chinese economy to the world market after Deng Xiaoping’s South trip speech in the spring of 1992. Thereafter, foreign capital moved into China more rapidly and generated a greater demand for rural migrant workers. The second was the rapid economic growth driven by a rapid development of the private sector and of self-employment in urban areas, which had previously been constrained by government policy. A majority of employees in private enterprises and a majority of the self-employed were rural migrants, filling jobs which were not attractive to local urban people.

Figure 1: Number of rural migrant workers in China, 1989-2006 (millions)



Source: Li Shi (2006).

However, in the mid-1990s, when unemployment caused by the restructuring of the SOEs became a major problem in urban areas, city governments took more restrictive steps to curb the rising number of rural-urban migrant workers and reduce the unemployment of urban residents. City Bureaux of Labour implemented quota systems for the employment of rural migrant workers in cities (Bai and Song, 2002). If an enterprise employed migrant workers beyond the quota, it was fined or otherwise sanctioned. At the same time, city governments increased the moving costs of migrant workers by charging fees to both migrant workers and their employers. As a result, no significant rise in the number of rural migrants was observed in the late 1990s.

The number of rural-urban migrant workers increased again as China entered the New Millennium. According to the figures provided by the National Bureau of Statistics, there were some 120 million rural labourers employed and living outside their townships for over three months in 2004; their numbers reached 132 million in 2006². The average time which migrant workers stayed outside their village was 9.4 months in 2006. The statistics also indicate that over 80 per cent of rural migrant workers stayed in the cities together with some family members and nearly 20 per cent had moved with their whole family. It should therefore be noted that the total number of rural migrants is even larger than the number of rural migrant workers, as there is a tendency of for rural migrant workers to move with their families. As it is estimated that almost 20 per cent of all rural migrant workers move with their entire family, the total number of rural-urban migrants can be estimated at about 160 million.

² NBS, 2007. Situation of rural migration in China in 2006. Internal Research Report No. 18, 2007.

3. Characteristics of Migrants

3.1 Places of origin of rural migrant workers

China has a striking regional disparity in income levels along with a huge income gap between rural and urban areas. The eastern region is more developed and has the highest income per capita, while the western region is at the bottom in terms of economic and social development. Taking the year 2005 as an example, the East has 39 per cent of China's total population and a GDP share of 64 per cent, while the corresponding figures are 26 per cent and 14 per cent for the West. GDP per capita in Shanghai, located in the East, is 10 times higher than that in Guizhou, the poorest province in the West. Moreover, foreign capital and foreign-funded enterprises are more concentrated in the East. For instance, in 2005 80 per cent of all foreign direct investment moved into the East while only 6 per cent went into the West³.

Not surprisingly, the significant differences among the three large regions (i.e., East, Central and West) in terms of income level, educational attainment, public services and so on, causes high labour mobility across regions. It is therefore obviously of interest to examine the patterns of rural migration by region of origin and region of destination. Figure 2 presents a regional distribution of rural migrant workers by their region of origin. We see that in 2004, 40 per cent of the rural migrant workers came from the central region and 27 per cent from the western region. However, even from the economically more developed eastern region there were a large number of rural migrant workers migrating to find jobs in cities. Therefore, we conclude that rural migration is a national phenomenon in contemporary China, arising from the large income disparity between urban and rural areas⁴.

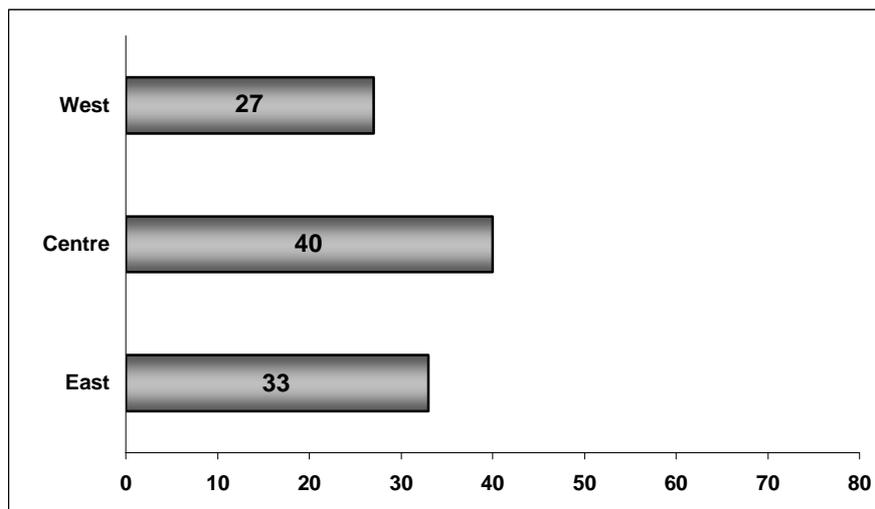
When looking at the distribution of rural migrant workers by their province of origin (rather than the broad region), we can see more significant differences, which are due partly to the differences in rural population size and partly to the differences in the proportion of the population migrating across provinces. The number of rural migrant workers from each province is largely proportional to the size of its rural population. It is apparent that some provinces such as Sichuan, Henan, Anhui, Shandong – all of which have large rural populations – provide more rural migrant workers to urban areas, compared to less populated provinces such as Qinghai. A survey conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) indicates that Henan and Sichuan had over 10 million rural migrant workers who had migrated to seek employment in 2004, with that figure continuing to increase in the last two years (NBS, 2006)⁵. Each of the two provinces had a population close to 90 million in the same year. There were seven provinces (Anhui, Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangsu, Hubei, Hunan, and Shandong) with less than 10 million, but which nonetheless had more than 5 million out-migrant workers.

³ See the China Statistical Yearbook 2006, p. 192.

⁴ A significant income gap remains in the eastern region. For example, Guangdong Province is one of the richest provinces in the East. Its income per capita for rural households is 5,080 yuan, while the figure for urban households is 16,016 yuan, giving an urban-rural income ratio of 3.15 (see Statistical Report of Economic and Social Development in Guangdong, 2006, http://www.gdstats.gov.cn/tjgb/t20070226_44515.htm).

⁵ As the author observed during field work in Fushun and Shehong Counties, Sichuan, in March 2007, out-migrant workers account for over 50 per cent of the total rural labourers there, with their numbers increasing by 15 per cent and 18 per cent in Fushun and Shehong respectively in 2006.

Figure 2: Regional distribution of rural migrants by origin, 2004 (in %)



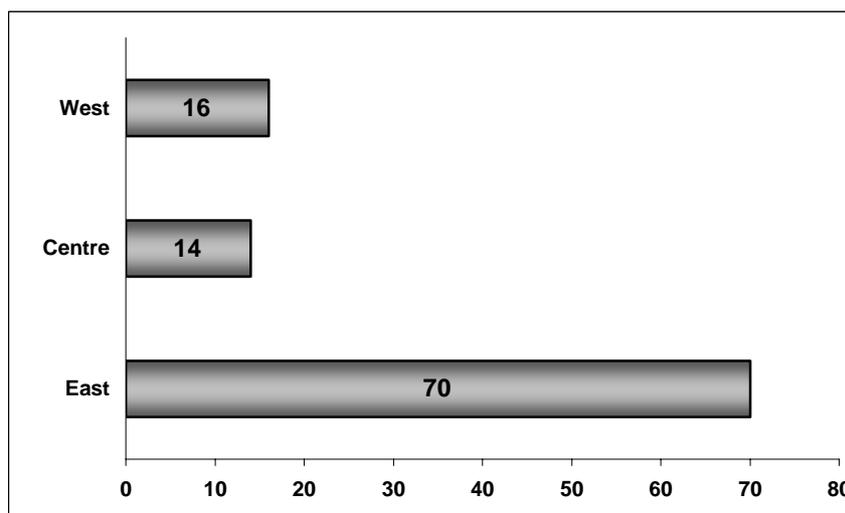
Source: NBS (2006).

3.2 Destinations of rural migrant workers

After having established where the rural migrant workers come from, it is natural to ask the question as to where they go. To answer this question, Figure 3 and Figure 4 illustrate the distribution of migrant workers by their destination regions and provinces. It is clear that the East is the largest region of destination, receiving 70 per cent of all rural migrant workers in 2004. Within the eastern region, Guangdong is the largest receiving province, with about 34 million employed rural migrant workers, representing 44 per cent of the current population in the province. The reasons that Guangdong became the largest receiving province are easy to understand, given the province's location and economic growth. In 2005, GDP per capita in Guangdong Province was 74 per cent above the national average (NBS, 2006: p. 57, p. 66), while the province absorbed over one fifth of foreign investment in fixed assets in China as a whole (NBS, 2006: p. 192). During the period 2001-05, GDP growth on average was nearly 14 per cent in Guangdong compared to 10 per cent at the national level. But Guangdong is only one eastern province: Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian are also eastern provinces experiencing rapid economic growth and large increases in foreign capital investment. As shown in Figure 4, the eight most important provinces of destination for rural migrants are all located in East. This tendency will continue for some years – even though some new phenomena are emerging in the labour market for rural migrants, such as a new shortage of migrant workers in the Pearl Delta (in Southern China) due to the even faster increase in the demand for migrant workers in the Yangtse Delta (in the proximity of Shanghai)⁶.

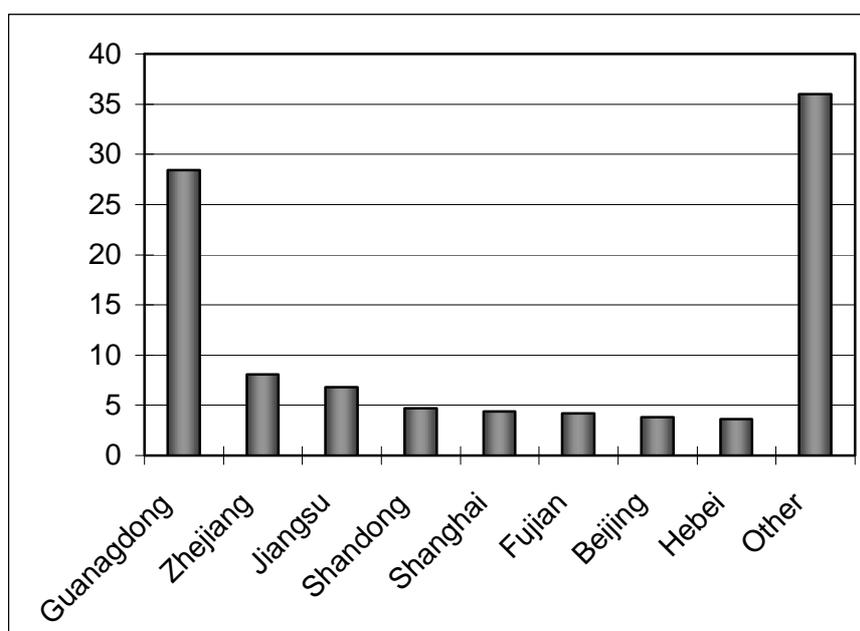
⁶ The shortage of rural migrant workers in China is currently a hot topic. The shortage emerged first in the Pearl Delta in 2004. It was estimated there was a shortfall of about 2 million migrant workers at the beginning of 2004 (<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/news/1023/2695434.html>). The shortage of rural migrant workers in the Pearl Delta attracted attention from domestic researchers, as described in an article by Y. Ling (<http://www.sss.net.cn/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=1932&BigClassID=10&%20amp;SmallClassID=27&SpecialID=0&belong=sky>).

Figure 3: Regional distribution of rural migrant workers by destination, 2004 (in %)



Source: NBS (2006).

Figure 4: Distribution of rural migrant workers by province of destination, 2004 (in %)



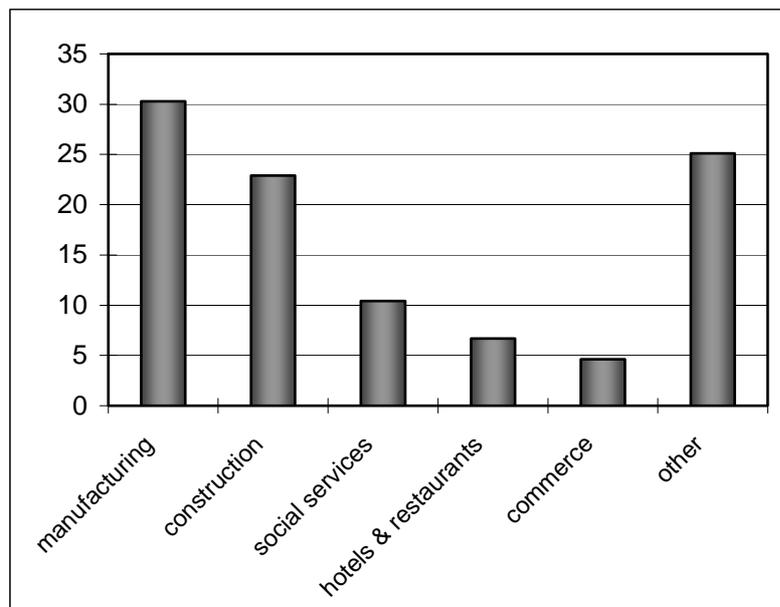
Source: NBS (2006).

The next question is: “in which industries are the migrant workers employed?” Figure 5 provides some answers to this question. In 2004, 75 per cent of the migrant workers were employed in 5 industries, i.e., manufacturing, construction, social services, hotels & restaurants, and commerce. Between them, manufacturing and construction employed over 50 per cent of all migrant workers. Manufacturing is closely related to exports, and is also the sector in which private and foreign investment enterprises are concentrated. During 1998-2005, the number of private industrial enterprises increased from 10,667 to 123,820, with an annual increase of 42 per cent and growth in value-added of

55 per cent in constant prices⁷. At the same time, the number of industrial enterprises funded by foreign capital (including funds from Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR), Macao SAR and Taiwan, Province of China increased by 113 per cent, from 26,442 in 1998 to 56,387 in 2005⁸. Unlike state-owned enterprises, private and foreign enterprises were granted greater autonomy to employ rural migrant workers from the beginning of economic reform. These enterprises found it attractive to employ rural migrant workers as they are paid low wages and are not entitled to social security. Construction is another rapidly growing sector in China⁹, but most jobs in this sector are difficult and done in harsh conditions and therefore not sought-after by local urban people. Overall, the number of workers in state-owned construction enterprises decreased by 44 per cent during the period 1996-2005, while the number of workers in private construction enterprises increased from less than 1 million to over 18 million.

Rural migrant workers account for a large proportion of the work force in manufacturing and construction. The 2000 Census data indicate that 68 per cent of all jobs in the manufacturing sector and 80 per cent in the construction sector were filled by rural migrant workers (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006: p. 7). Meanwhile, in the services sector, rural migrant workers accounted for 52 per cent of the work force in 2000, a percentage thought to have risen since then.

Figure 5: Distribution of rural migrant workers by industry, 2004 (in %)



Source: NBS (2006).

⁷ The number of private industrial enterprises and their value-added can be found in the China Statistical Yearbook 2006, p. 536. The growth rates presented here are calculated by the author.

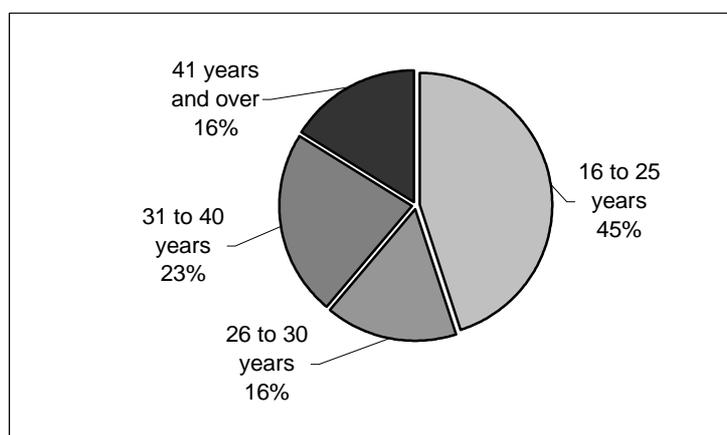
⁸ The number of industrial enterprises funded by foreign capital can be found in the China Statistical Yearbook 2006, p. 546.

⁹ Employment in construction enterprises increased from 9.12 million in 1985 to 27 million in 2005 (see the China Statistical Yearbook 2006, p. 579).

3.3 Who are the rural migrant workers? Age, gender and education

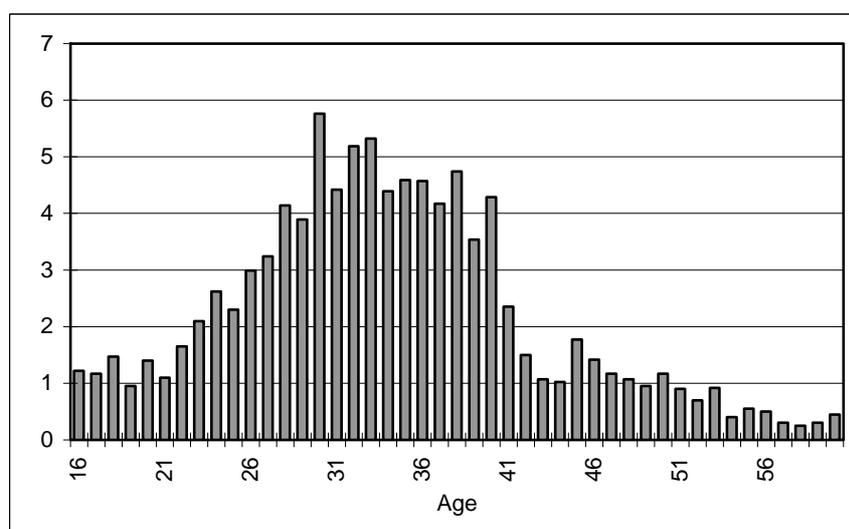
What are the personal characteristics of rural migrant workers? Have their characteristics changed over time in response to changes in demand in labour market? To answer these questions, we need to look at the age make-up, gender ratio and educational attainment of the migrant labourers. It is apparent for example that the rural migrant workers are young. In 2004, the RMS-NBS data indicated that 45 per cent were under 26 years old and only 16 per cent above 40 (see Figure 6a and 6b). The data from the National 1 % Population Survey in 2005 show that of the working age population (taken for the purposes of this study to be those aged 15-59), those aged between 15 and 24 years account for 22 per cent of the total, and those over 40, for 40 per cent (see the China Statistical Yearbook 2006: p. 104). The CHIPS data collected in 2002 show an older age profile for rural migrant workers at that time, because the survey was conducted in residential communities and over-sampled the migrants already settled in cities. Thus, Figure 6a shows a higher proportion of workers in the 26-40 age group of around two thirds of the all migrants within the approximate working-age band covered in the survey (for this study, respondents aged 16 to 60 years). As with the RMS-NBS data, the CHIPS data cover a relatively small proportion of migrants over 40, some 19 per cent.

Figure 6a: Age break-down of rural migrant workers, 2004



Source: NBS (2006).

Figure 6b: Age profile of rural migrants in urban areas, 2002 (in % of migrants aged 16 to 60)

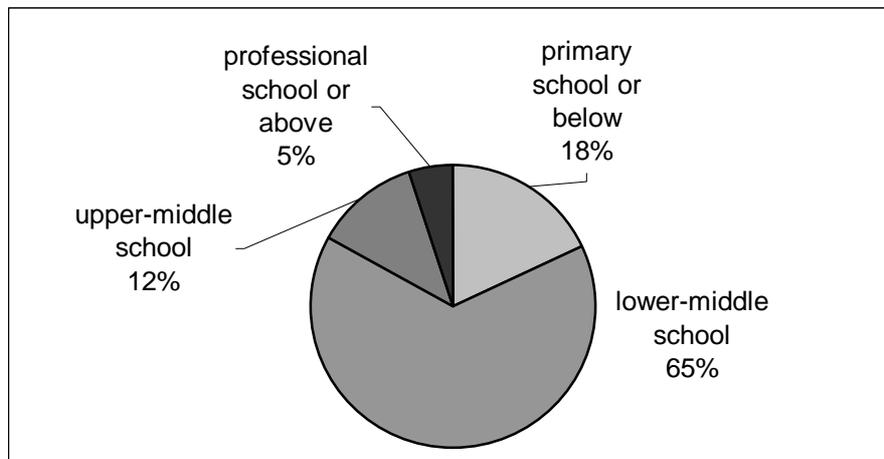


Source: The 2002 CHIPS

Analysis of the gender composition of the rural migrant labour force shows that almost two thirds are male and only one third are female. One may think that this is due to discrimination against women in the labour market. Such discrimination is one explanation, but is not a major one. Actually, the lower propensity of females to migrate is largely associated with gender division of labour within households, which is heavily influenced by traditional Chinese values. Chinese women continue to carry more responsibility for work in the home, including with respect to the care of children and aged parents. While doing fieldwork in two counties in Sichuan Province, the author asked some returned female migrants why they had returned, rather than remaining with their husbands in cities. The most frequent response was “in order to care for children and sick parents”. Since migrant children face many difficulties in obtaining access to public schools in urban areas, the majority (an estimated two thirds) have to remain in villages for schooling. Therefore, family responsibilities would appear to be a major reason for the lower propensity of women in rural China to migrate. This suggests that if access for migrant children to public schools in cities were eased, a rising proportion of females among rural migrants could be expected.

Another of the characteristics of rural migrant workers is their low educational attainment. The RMS-NBS data indicate that in 2004, 65 per cent were lower-middle school graduates, while 18 per cent had an educational level of primary school or below. This means that at that point, 83 per cent of migrant workers had completed no more than nine years of schooling. In rural China, compulsory education is nine years and the enrolment rate in upper-middle school (school years 10 to 12) is relatively low, although it has been increasing slightly. The low educational attainment of rural migrant workers indicates that they enter the labour market as unskilled workers, in need of training.

Figure 7: Educational attainment of rural migrant workers, 2004



Source: NBS (2006).

3.4 How rural migration occurs

The process of rural migration is generally market-oriented. The government plays a very limited role in this process, which can be confirmed by examining the various channels through which migrant workers migrate from their villages. As reported in the 2006 study by the Project Team of the State Council’s Research Office, 57 per cent of migrant workers used personal connections such as relatives, friends and village neighbours to find jobs outside their area; 17 per cent found their jobs through their own contacts; and 14 per cent found their jobs through job centres or job fairs. Only around 12 per cent migrated with the assistance of government agencies in their places of origin. The

insignificant level of government assistance to job-seeking rural migrant workers is confirmed by the 2002 CHIPS data, which show that 93 per cent of all migrant workers had found a job in the city before actually migrating, and less than 2 per cent found jobs through government departments.¹⁰ Since 2004, local governments at the county level have improved their services with respect to assisting rural migrant workers in finding work, by setting up migration service centres. However, it is not clear that the centres have played an important role in assisting migrant workers to find employment.¹¹

4. Challenges and problems faced by rural migrant workers

Although the Chinese government has recently made great efforts to improve the social and economic environment for rural migrant workers, they still face many problems and difficulties. Due to the *hukou* system, rural migrant workers are discriminated against in the urban labour market and are regarded socially as “second class” in urban society. The government continues to face many challenges in developing effective policies to eliminate discrimination against migrant workers and ensure that they have equal access to public services in urban areas.

4.1 Incomes and income inequality

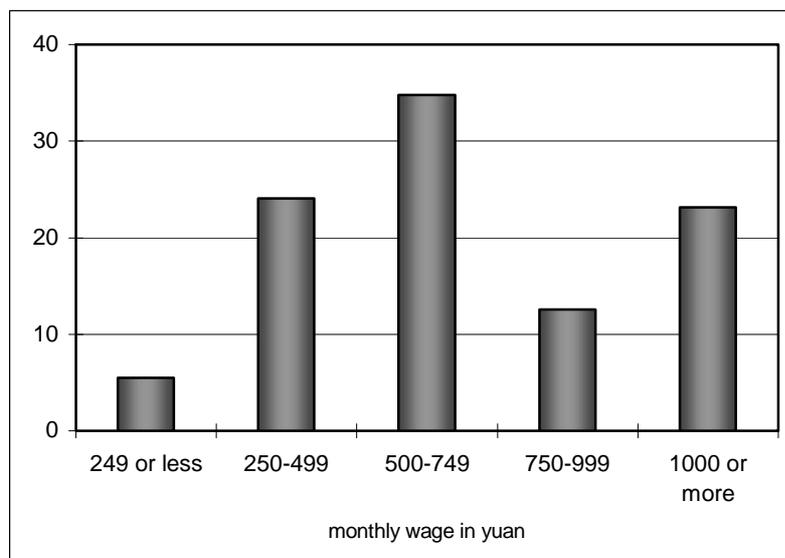
The first problem faced by rural migrant workers is their low income. Given the large number of rural surplus labour moving into cities, the urban labour market for low-skilled workers principally consists of rural migrant workers, creating very difficult conditions and becomes very difficult for job seekers. Therefore, the wage rate is kept at subsistence level, which had been maintained during the late 1980s and in 1990s. Several surveys indicate that the nominal average wage level of rural migrant workers has not increased in the Pearl Delta in the last ten years, which in fact means that the real wage has decreased considerably (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006). In 2002, the average monthly wage of migrant workers was 100 USD, which is 58 per cent of the average wage of urban workers. Differences in hourly wages are even larger. In fact, to compensate for the decline in real wages, rural migrant workers accepted ever longer working hours (which means that their hourly wage is even lower than is suggested by the differences in monthly wages). A survey conducted in Henan, Hunan and Sichuan provinces shows that hourly wage rates for migrant workers are about one quarter of those for local urban workers (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006).

¹⁰ The data show that 26 per cent of migrant workers found work via the assistance of family members, 10 per cent through the assistance of friends, 43 per cent with the help of relatives, and 8 per cent via help from fellow villagers.

¹¹ A survey conducted by the author in two counties in Sichuan Province in the spring of 2007 indicated that over 80 per cent of migrant workers did not know about the existence of such service centres.

Moreover, due to quite significant income inequality among rural migrant workers¹², a large proportion of them earn very low wages. Some migrants earn what is equivalent to the official minimum wage, which is set at an unusually low level in some cities (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006). The CHIPS data indicate that around 5 per cent of migrant workers earn less than 250 yuan (ca. USD 32) per month and that 24 per cent earn between 250 and 499 yuan (ca. USD 32-63) per month. In total, 64 per cent earned less than 750 yuan (ca. USD 100) per month in 2002 (see Figure 8). Fortunately, there are signs that things may be improving. In the last three years, the wage level of rural migrant workers has increased considerably due to a shortage of unskilled labour in the coastal region. The RHS-NBS (Rural Household Survey-National Bureau of Statistics) data show that the average wages of migrant workers rose by 10 per cent in 2006 (NBS, 2007).

Figure 8: Wage profile of rural migrant workers in China, 2002 (monthly wage in yuan, %)



Source: The 2002 CHIPS.

4.2 Income insecurity

The second problem faced by rural migrant workers is income insecurity. Given that their income is low and there is significant income inequality among them, insecurity as regards payment of their wages makes their life even more difficult. Prior to 2003, when Premier Wen Jiabao personally intervened in an affair involving wage arrears for a migrant worker in Sichuan Province, it had been common for migrant workers not to receive their wage when due, owing lacking protection of their rights. The government realized that wage arrears could lead to social instability and, since 2003 has taken many measures to deal

¹² There are several studies focusing on income inequality among rural migrants. Khan and Riskin (2007) used the 2002 CHIPS data and found that inequality among rural migrants is greater than the inequality amongst urban residents, with the Gini coefficient being 20 per cent higher for the migrants. Wang (2007) employed the data from a new survey conducted in five large cities in 2005 and also found that inequality among rural migrants has risen since 2001 and presented a larger Gini coefficient than that among local urban people.

with this problem¹³. The situation has subsequently much improved. However, even if the problem of wage arrears has become less severe, it has not disappeared completely. For example, the RMS-NBS data show that around 10 per cent of rural migrant workers received their wage payment on average seven months late (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006). It should be noted that income insecurity is largely due to job insecurity, which we will discuss below.

4.3 Job insecurity: unemployment and job mobility

Generally speaking, migrant workers have quite a low unemployment rate, partly due to the fact they cannot afford to be unemployed for long. According to the 2002 CHIPS data, the unemployment rate for rural migrant workers was less than 3 per cent in 2002, as compared to 10 per cent among local urban workers (Li and Deng, 2004). However, a low unemployment rate does not mean low job mobility for migrant workers. On the contrary, their job mobility is much higher than that of local urban workers (Knight and Yueh, 2006). The 2002 CHIPS data indicate that almost 98 per cent of rural migrant workers had changed their job at least once since they moved to the city, and that two thirds of them had changed jobs more than twice. High job mobility of rural migrant workers results partly from their concentration in the unskilled labour market where competition for jobs is very strong, and partly from their lack of full information on the nature of their jobs. To some extent, their first jobs are “pilot” jobs that enable them to establish a foothold in the urban labour market. When the migrant workers in the 2002 survey were asked why they left their previous job, 41 per cent gave low income as the reason, 15 per cent job instability and 8 per cent bad working conditions.

Another aspect of job insecurity is that only a small proportion of migrant workers have written contracts with their employers: In 2004, 79 per cent of migrant workers had no signed labour contracts with their employers, meaning only 21 per cent had such contracts (Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006). A survey conducted in 40 cities by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in 2004 indicated an even lower proportion of migrant workers with written job contracts, at only 12.5 per cent (see Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006: p. 13). Without written contracts, migrant workers are usually in a weak position when they have disputes over wage payment.

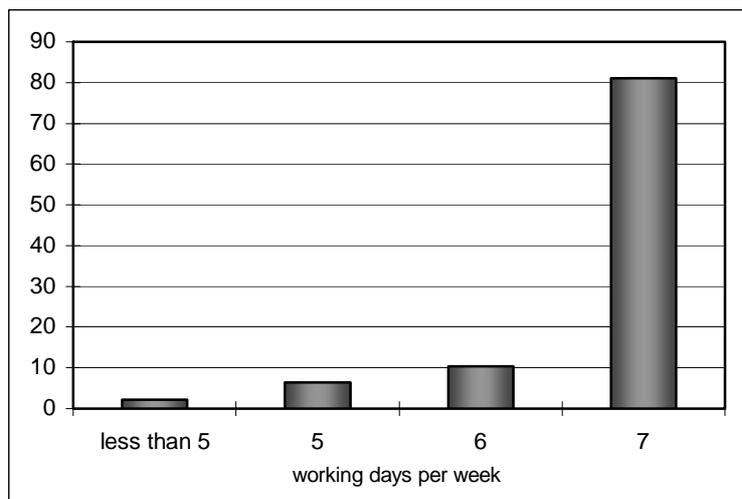
4.4 Hours of work

The majority of migrant workers have longer working hours than local urban workers, and more working days per week. This can be seen from Figures 9 and 10. The 2002 CHIPS data show that over 80 per cent of rural migrant workers worked seven days per week, and only 7 per cent worked five days in accordance with the officially mandated number of working days for local urban workers. Moreover, the data also show that migrant workers had longer working times per day, as illustrated in Figure 10. One third of migrant workers had to work 9 to 10 hours per working day, almost one quarter 11 to 12 hours, and 12 per cent 13 or more hours per day. Put another way, less than 30 per cent of migrant workers had working hours equal to or less than the legal maximum working time

¹³ It was reported that in the first six months of 2005, the governments helped rural migrant workers claim unpaid wages amounting to 3.24 billion yuan. It was estimated that this represented only a small proportion of over-due wages. The amount of delayed wages was estimated at 3 billion in the construction sector in Beijing alone at the end of 2004. (<http://www.southcn.com/news/community/shzt/nmggq/zyjs/200511290363.htm>).

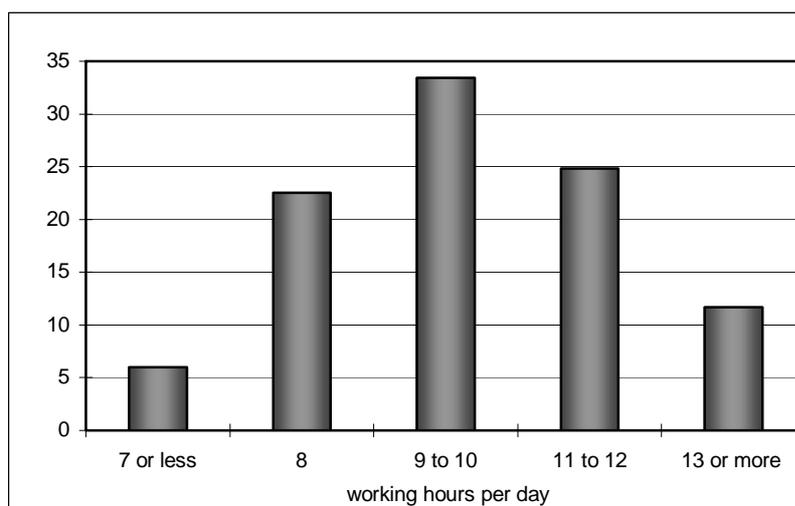
of 8 hours per day. Of course, the maximum 8 hours per day limit has not thus far been implemented for rural migrant workers.

Figure 9: Working days per week for rural migrant workers, 2002 (in %)



Source: The 2002 CHIPS.

Figure 10: Daily working hours for rural migrant workers, 2002 (in %)



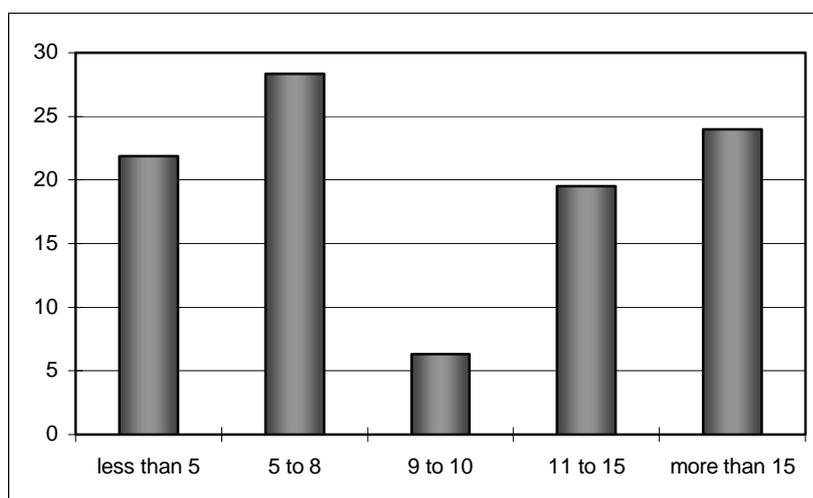
Source: The 2002 CHIPS.

4.5 Housing conditions

Overall housing conditions for migrant workers have not improved significantly since the point at which they were permitted to settle in cities. The majority live in dormitories that are provided by their employers in factories or on construction sites. These dormitories are crowded and lack basic furniture, sanitation facilities, heating and air-conditioning (Xu, 2007). Figure 11, derived from the CHIPS data, presents living area per migrant worker in 2002. It is apparent that 22 per cent of migrant workers had a living area of less than 5 square meters per capita and 28 per cent between 5 and 8 square meters. On average, over 55 per cent of migrant workers possessed living space of less than 10 square meters. Actually, these migrant workers are even better off than those living in factories or on construction sites not captured by the CHIPS in terms of living space.

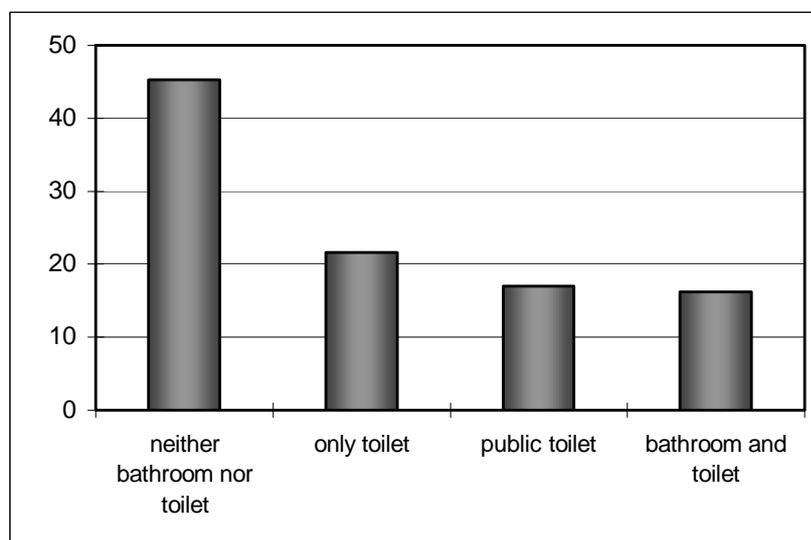
Figure 12 presents the housing conditions of migrant workers in terms of basic sanitation facilities in 2002. It shows that 45 per cent of migrant workers lived in housing without a bathroom or toilet, 22 per cent in housing with only a toilet and 17 per cent in housing with a shared public toilet. However, even given the limited living space and poor housing conditions, housing costs are still a big financial burden for migrant workers due to rising rents and stagnation in wage growth. Migrant households in the 2002 survey reported that rent accounted for almost half of their total household expenditure.

Figure 11: Living area of rural migrant workers in square meters per capita, 2002 (in %)



Source: The 2002 CHIPS.

Figure 12: Housing facilities of rural migrant workers, 2002 (in %)



Source: The 2002 CHIPS.

Local urban workers are entitled to social security coverage such as a pension, unemployment insurance, medical insurance and subsidized public housing. Do rural migrant workers enjoy the same kind of social protection? The 2002 CHIPS data provide some answers to this question. The data indicate that only 5 per cent of migrant workers were covered by a pension scheme, less than 2 per cent by unemployment insurance, 3 per cent by medical insurance and that less than 10 per cent were living in public housing. Another survey conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2005 showed that only 13 per cent of rural migrant workers had insurance coverage for occupational injuries and diseases, 10 per cent by medical insurance and 15 per cent by a pension scheme

(Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006: p. 13). The problem of lack of social protection for rural migrant workers arises mainly from institutional arrangements which discriminate against migrant workers, in that they do not compel employers to make social security provision for migrant workers.

4.6 Social security

As a local urban worker, one is entitled to social security coverage such as a pension, unemployment insurance, medical insurance and public housing (subsidies). Do rural migrant workers enjoy the same kind of social protection? The 2002 CHIPS data provide some answers to this question. The data indicate that only 5 per cent of migrant workers were covered by a pension scheme, less than 2 per cent of them were covered by unemployment insurance, 3 per cent by medical insurance and less than 10 per cent were living in public housing. Another survey conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2005 showed that only 13 per cent of rural migrant workers were covered by an occupational injury insurance, 10 per cent by medical insurance and 15 per cent by a pension scheme (Project Team of the Research Office, State Council, 2006: p. 13). The problem of lack of social protection for rural migrant workers arises mainly from discriminating institutional arrangements against migrant workers, which do not compel employers to provide social securities for migrant workers.

4.7 Access to public schools

Even when living in cities, the majority of rural migrant workers and their families are excluded from access to the public services provided by city governments. Public schools for example are not fully open to the children of migrant workers. It is estimated that, currently, there are about 7 to 8 million children of rural migrants of school age (i.e., 7 to 14 years old) in cities. A survey shows that about 16 per cent of migrant children of school age are not in school, and that 87 per cent of migrant children under the age of seven are not in *kindergarten* (Han, 2001). Migrant children drop out of school partly because they are denied access to public schools and partly because they have to pay higher school fees than local urban children. The same survey shows that 67 per cent of migrant children pay higher school fees than local children.

5. Conclusion: New policies on rural migration and migrant workers

This paper describes current rural migration in China. A number of issues and problems encountered by rural migrant workers are examined on the basis of survey data, and the challenges faced by the Chinese government are discussed. Migrant workers tend to be younger than local urban workers. The majority of migrants are male with lower educational attainment. They come from all regions and provinces, either pulled by higher wages in urban areas or pushed by increasing surplus labour in rural areas. Although their average incomes in the city are much higher than those obtained from farm work in the countryside, a proportion of them (20 per cent) earn incomes below or close to the urban poverty line. The majority of migrant workers face considerable insecurity in terms of employment, income, social protection, and access to education for their children. Their housing conditions are much worse than those of local urban residents, and even worse than those they would have experienced in their place of origin if they had not migrated.

Since the beginning of the new century, which has seen fast economic growth and decreasing unemployment in urban areas, city governments have gradually been loosening restrictions on rural migration. The number of rural migrant workers in urban areas has

reached the historically highest level recently. The new government, formed in 2003, has placed more emphasis on rural development and the establishment of a harmonious society in China, and considers rural migration and urbanization as the most feasible solutions to the problem of underdevelopment in rural areas and unbalanced development between urban and rural areas. With such a change of mind by policy-makers, new policies for rural migration have been emerging in recent years, which can be summarized as follows.

- 1) *Reform experiments as regards the hukou (household registration card) system in some cities.* The objective of the reform is to merge urban and rural *hukou* into one type of registration system, and thus make it impossible for urban government agencies to use the *hukou* system to discriminate between rural and urban people. Fujian, Liaoning and Shandong Provinces abolished the dual-type *hukou* system and issued identical *hukou* to both urban and rural residents within these provinces at the beginning of the new Millennium. Up to now, twelve provinces have abolished the dual urban-rural *hukou* system. However, while this reform accelerates the process of rural migration and urbanization, it has little impact on improving the welfare of rural migrant workers. It is still very difficult for migrant workers to gain access to social security programmes in urban enterprises and to public facilities such as public schools, which remain accessible only to local urban workers. Some cities such as Zhengzhou, Capital of Henan Province, temporarily opened public schools to rural migrant children in 2002 and quickly realized that there were not enough schools to accommodate the large number of children moving to the city from surrounding counties. The experiment was suspended.
- 2) *Abolition of various fees charged specifically to rural migrants.* To curb the movement of rural migrants into cities, city governments required rural migrants to hold a series of cards for which they had to pay fees, particularly in the 1990s. The cards had various objectives, and included temporary residence cards (*zan zhu zheng*) and work permits. In addition, enterprises employing rural migrant workers had to pay further fees to governments,¹⁴ such as a city rural migrant reception fee. Since 2004, city governments have been required by the State Council to eliminate most of the cards previously issued to migrants and abolish all fees charged for rural migration (CDRF and UNDP, 2006).
- 3) *Partial social security provision for rural migrant workers.* As few rural migrant workers are covered by social security, the government is attempting to introduce some programs suitable for migrant workers. In the past two years, work-related injury insurance has been introduced for migrant workers in both public and private enterprises. A pension scheme applies to migrant workers in some cities, but the coverage is still narrow because coordination has been lacking to ensure transferability of pensions from one place to another. There are also plans to introduce medical insurance for migrant workers. However, from the official point of view, given China's special situation, it will take a long time for migrant workers to enjoy the same social protection as local urban workers.
- 4) *Providing training programmes for rural migrant workers.* Since 2004, the Chinese government has initiated training programmes for rural migrant workers. The programmes are implemented at ministerial level, and training costs are shared by the central government and provincial governments. For instance, the "Sunshine Project" started in 2004 trained 2.5 million rural migrant workers. It aims to train 8 million further rural migrant workers every year over the period 2005-08. The subsidy for

¹⁴ Fees charged from rural migrants included the Temporary Residence Fee (*zan zhu fei*), the Migrant Management Fee (*liu dong ren kou guan li fei*), a City Rural Migrant Reception Fee (*cheng shi zeng rong fei*), and the Service Fee for Immigrant Workers (*wai lai wu gong ren yuan wu fu fei*).

each trainee has increased over the years. Taking Sichuan as an example, the subsidy per trainee provided by the governments was 150 yuan in 2004, 160 yuan in 2005, 190 yuan in 2006 and 300 yuan in 2007.

- 5) *Increasing access of rural migrants to public services.* To encourage rural surplus labour to move out of rural areas, local governments began to provide free information, job-search assistance and consultation services for migrant workers. The State Council set up a Joint Committee in 2006, to coordinate rural migration affairs among ministries. Each county – for instance in Sichuan – was required to set up an office to deal with inquiries from workers planning to migrate out, on employment and rights protection. Moreover, city governments are now required to take responsibility for the schooling of the children of migrant workers. Some cities abolished additional school fees for migrant children and others planned to open all public schools to migrant children or provide subsidies to schools agreeing to accept migrant children. Moreover, with the financial support of local governments, law assistance agents have been established at city and county level specifically to provide legal assistance to rural migrants having economic difficulties.

As we can see, the Chinese government is facing major challenges. Although government policies have changed dramatically in recent years, from being generally aimed at preventing or discouraging rural migration, to encouraging and being more supportive towards it, and whilst the actual situation of migrant workers has slowly improved, it will take a long time for the government to change the migrants' situation completely and provide them with opportunities and rights equal to those of local urban people in the areas of employment, payment, work conditions, social security, access to housing, and political rights.

References

- Bai, N.; Song, H. 2002. "Huixiang, haishi jincheng? (Research on China's Migrant Workers Flowing back to the Countryside)." (Beijing, China Financial & Economic Publishing House).
- Cai, F. 2004. Zhongguo renkou yu laodong wenti baogao 2004(5) (China Population and Labor Report 2004(5)). (Beijing, Social Sciences Academic Press).
- CDRF and UNDP. 2006. China Human Development Report 2005 (Beijing: CDRF and UNDP).
- Chen, S.; Ravallion, M. 2004. "How have the world's poorest fared since the early 1980s?" Discussion Paper, WPS3341. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Chen, X. (eds.). 2003. Zhongguo xianxiang caizheng yu nongmin zengshou wenti yanjiu (Finance of Counties and Villages and Peasant Income Growth in China, 2003). (Taiyuan: Shanxi Economic Press).
- Cook, S. 1999. "Surplus Labor and Productivity in Chinese Agriculture: Evidence from Household Survey Data." *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 16-44.
- Han, J. 2001. "Beijing shi liudong ertong yiwu jiaoyu zhuangkuang diaocha baogao (Report on Compulsory Education of Migrant Children in Beijing)", Youth Studies, August, 2001.
- Khan, A.; Riskin, C. 2007. "Growth and Distribution of Household Income in China between 1995 and 2002", to be published in B. Gustafsson, S. Li and T. Sicular (eds.): *Inequality and Public Policy in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Knight, J.; Yueh, L. 2006. "Job Mobility of Residents and Migrants in Urban China", in S. Li and H. Sato (eds.): *Unemployment, Inequality and Poverty in Urban China* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Knight, J.; Song, L. 1999. The Rural-Urban Divide: Economic Disparities and Interactions in China (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Knight, J.; Song, L.; Jia, H. 1999. "Chinese Rural Migrants in Urban Enterprises: Three Perspectives." *Journal of Development Studies*, 35(3): pp. 73-104.
- Li, S. 2006. Rural Migration in China. A Conference paper presented to the Workshop on Understanding Rural Migrant Workers in China, Beijing, Aug. 2007.
- Li, S.; Deng, Q. 2004. Re-estimating unemployment rates in urban China. *Jingji Xue Dong Tai*, 2004.
- Li, S.; Luo, C.; Wei, Z.; Yue, X. 2007. Appendix: The 1995 and 2002 Household Surveys: Sampling Methods and Data Description, to be published in B. Gustafsson, S. Li and T. Sicular (eds.): *Inequality and Public Policy in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Liu, S.; Li, X.; Zhang, M. 2003. "Scenario Analysis on Urbanization and Rural-Urban Migration in China". Interim Report, IR-03-036 (Laxenburg, Austria: International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis).
- Meng, X.; Zhang, J. 2001. "The Two-Tier Labor Market in Urban China: Occupational Segregation and Wage Differentials between Urban Residents and Rural Migrants in Shanghai." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 485-504.

-
- NBS. 2007. Continuing rise of rural out-migrant workers in 2006. Internal Report. Feb. 2007.
- NBS (Research Team). 2006. "Analysis of the Current Situation of Rural Out-migrating Workers". In Research Report on Rural Migrant Workers in China, edited by Research Office Project Team, State Council (China Yanshi Press).
- NBS. 1992. China Statistical Yearbook, 1991 (Beijing: China Statistical Press).
- Research Office Project Team, State Council, 2006. Research Report on Rural Migrant Workers in China (China Yanshi Press).
- Riskin, C.; Zhao, R.; Li, S. 2001. China's Retreat from Equality: Income Distribution and Economic Transition (New York: M.E. Sharpe).
- Wang, F.; Zuo, X. 1999. "History's Largest Labor Flow: Understanding China's Rural Migration inside China's Cities: Institutional Barriers and Opportunities for Urban Migrants." *AEA Papers and Proceedings*, Vol. 89, No. 2, pp. 276-80.
- Wang, G.; Ding, S. 2005. "How many surplus labourers in rural China?", *Social Sciences in China*, Issue 5, 2005.
- Wang, M. 2007. "Overall Earnings inequalities in Urban China and Earnings Differentials between Migrant Workers and Urban Local Workers". Mimeo.
- Xu Fangfang. 2007. Investigation on current situation of rural migrants in Chongqing, <http://www.snzg.cn/article/show.php?itemid-8192/page-1.html>.
- Yan, L. 2005. "A literature survey of migrant workers' shortage", (<http://www.sss.net.cn/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=1932&BigClassID=10&%20amp;SmallClassID=27&SpecialID=0&belong=sky>).
- Zhao, Y. 2000. "Rural-to-Urban Labor Migration in China: The Past and the Present." In L. West and Y. Zhao (eds.): *Rural Labor Flows in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 15-33.
- Zhao, Z. 2005. "Migration, Labor Market Flexibility, and Wage Determination in China: A Review", *Developing Economies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, June, 2005.

Appendix Table A: Distribution of Households and Individuals in the 2002 Rural Migrant Survey, by Gender, Household Size, and Province

Province	Sample size		Gender		Household size					
	Households	Individuals	Male	Female	1	2	3	4	5	6
Beijing	100	267	139	128	1	49	37	8	5	0
Shanxi	151	316	178	136	66	29	36	16	4	0
Liaoning	201	552	276	274	2	78	95	21	5	0
Jiangsu	201	510	262	247	32	54	94	18	2	1
Anhui	200	547	292	255	11	69	86	30	4	0
Henan	201	521	274	245	31	63	68	35	4	0
Hubei	201	619	322	295	4	45	91	54	6	1
Guangdong	200	554	291	263	6	82	78	22	10	2
Chongqing	100	268	131	137	0	46	42	11	0	1
Sichuan	150	398	212	186	9	59	57	25	0	0
Yunnan	150	406	211	195	19	43	55	30	2	1
Gansu	150	369	198	171	32	50	42	20	5	1
Total	2,005	5,327	2,786	2,532	213	667	781	290	47	7

Source: Li et al., 2007.

Policy Integration and Statistics Department

Working Papers*

- No. 1 ILO activities on the social dimension of globalization: Synthesis report
- No. 2 Measuring decent work with statistical indicators – *Richard Anker, Igor Chernyshev, Philippe Egger, Farhad Mehran and Joseph Ritter*
- No. 3 Globalization and decent work: Options for Panama – *Philippe Egger*
- No. 4 Globalización y trabajo decente: Opciones para Panamá – *Philippe Egger*
- No. 5 Indicators of social dialogue: Concepts and measurements – *Lane Kenworthy and Bernhard Kittel*
- No. 6 Assessing the impact of the attacks of 11 September 2001 on women's employment in the United States – *Gertrude Schaffner Goldberg and Helen Lachs Ginsburg*
- No. 7 Decent work and the informal economy in Central America – *Juan Diego Trejos Solórzano and Miguel Del Cid*
- No. 8 Poverty initiatives in the ILO: A review of past and present approaches – *Pat Holden and Dagmar Walter*
- No. 9 Whither the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88)? – *Debbie Budlender*
- No. 10 Improving occupational classifications as tools for describing labour markets: A summary of recent national experiences – *Debbie Budlender*
- No. 11 Recent developments in China's labour economy – *Thomas G. Rawski*
- No. 12 The Impact of economic liberalization on employment and wages in India – *Sonia Bhalotra*
- No. 13 The impact of trade liberalization upon inequality in developing countries – *Donald J. Robbins*
- No. 14 The impact of liberalization and globalization on income inequality in developing and transitional economies – *Giovanni Andrea Cornia*
- No. 15 The impact of technology transfer on employment and income distribution in developing countries: A survey of theoretical models and empirical studies – *Mariacristina Piva*
- No. 16 International finance: Meeting the needs of people in developing countries – *José Guilherme Almeida dos Reis*
- No. 17 The gender dimensions of globalization of production – *Stephanie Barrientos, Naila Kabeer and Naomi Hossain*
- No. 18 Social exclusion in the context of globalization – *Jan Breman*
- No. 19 Gender and globalization: A macroeconomic perspective – *Çağatay Nilüfer and Ertük Korkurt*
- No. 20 Globalization, social exclusion, and work: With special reference to informal employment and gender – *Marilyn Carr and Martha Chen*
- No. 21 Resources for social development – *Antony Clunies Ross*
- No. 22 Does the new international trade regime leave room for industrialization policies in the middle-income countries? – *Alisa DiCaprio and Alice Amsden*
- No. 23 Social dimension of globalization in Latin America: Lessons from Bolivia and Chile – *Ivaro García Hurtado*
- No. 24 The social dimension of globalization: A review of the literature – *Bernhard Gunter and Rolph van der Hoeven*
- No. 25 The social dimension of global production systems: A review of the issues – *Susan Hayter*
- No. 26 Reforming global economic and social governance: A critical review of recent programmatic thinking – *Jeremy Heimans*
- No. 27 Corporate social responsibility: An issues paper – *Michael Hopkins*
- No. 28 Upgrading in global value chains – *John Humphrey*

* Working Papers 16-38 prepared for the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization.

-
- No. 29 Implications of globalization and economic restructuring for skills development in Sub-Saharan Africa – *Richard K. Johanson*
- No. 30 The outcome and impact of the main international commissions on development issues – *Frédéric Lapeyre*
- No. 31 Globalization and structural adjustment as a development tool – *Frédéric Lapeyre*
- No. 32 Globalization and perceptions of social inequality – *Malte Lübker*
- No. 33 The changing structure of international trade linked to global production systems: what are the policy implications? – *William Milberg*
- No. 34 Corporate social responsibility: An overview of principles and practice – *Jill Murray*
- No. 35 Inclusive development strategy in an era of globalization – *Ignacy Sachs*
- No. 36 Social consequences of the globalization of the media and communication sector: some strategic considerations – *Seán Ó. Siochrú*
- No. 37 Globalization, history and international migration: A view from Latin America – *Andrés Solimano*
- No. 38 Towards a different kind of globalization, or how the anti-globalists view the world – *Gijsbert van Liemt*
- No. 39 How do trade union rights affect trade competitiveness? – *David Kucera and Ritash Sarna*
- No. 40 Statistics on the employment situation of people with disabilities: A compendium of national methodologies – *ILO Bureau of Statistics in collaboration with the In Focus Programme on Skills, Knowledge and Employability*
- No. 41 Employment in the informal economy in the Republic of Moldova – *ILO Bureau of Statistics in collaboration with the Department for Statistics and Sociology of the Republic of Moldova*
- No. 42 Decent work in a least developed country: A critical assessment of the Ethiopia PRSP – *Graeme J. Buckley*
- No. 43 Unemployment and labour market institutions: The failure of the empirical case for deregulation – *Dean Baker, Andrew Glyn, David Howell and John Schmitt*
- No. 44 Women's access to occupations with authority, influence and decision-making power: Women as legislators, senior officials and managers around the world – *Richard Anker*
- No. 45 The world of work in the context of economic integration and trade liberalization – *Daniel Martínez*
- No. 46 Poverty reduction in Pakistan: The strategic impact of macro and employment policies – *Moazam Mahmood*
- No. 47 Trends in work stoppages: A global perspective – *L. J. Perry and Patrick J. Wilson*
- No. 48 Generating decent work for poverty reduction in Cambodia: The voice of workers, employers and the Government – *Moazam Mahmood*
- No. 49 The social dimension of regional integration in ECOWAS – *René Robert*
- No. 50 Measuring trade union rights: A country-level indicator constructed from coding violations recorded in textual sources – *David Kucera*
- No. 51 Patterns of job quality attributes in European Union – *Joseph A. Ritter*
- No. 52 Child labour, education and export performance – *David Kucera and Ritash Sarna*
- No. 53 Measuring the informal economy: From employment in the informal sector to informal employment – *Ralf Hussmanns*
- No. 54 Indicators of labour standards: An overview and comparison – *Richard N. Block*
- No. 55 The pattern of globalization and some implications for the pursuit of social goals – *Gerry Rodgers*
- No. 56 Statistical indicators of social dialogue: A compilation of multiple country databases – *Anne Chataigner*
- No. 57 Trade unions and informal workers' associations in the urban informal economy of Ecuador – *Catherine Vaillancourt-Laflamme*
- No. 58 Decent work, standards and indicators – *Monique Zarka-Martres and Monique Guichard-Kelly*
- No. 59 Social dialogue indicators: Trade union membership and collective bargaining coverage. Statistical concepts, methods and findings – *Sophia Lawrence and Junko Ishikawa*
- No. 60 Informality and gender in Latin America – *María Elena Valenzuela*
- No. 61 Labour developments in dynamic Asia: What do the data show? – *David Kucera and Anne Chataigner*

-
- No. 62 Sources and Methods: Labour Statistics – Volume 5: Total and economically active population, employment and unemployment (Population censuses), Third edition
- No. 63 Desarrollo local en América Latina: Oportunidades y desafíos para el trabajo decente – *Francisco Alburquerque*
- No. 64 Bangladesh decent work statistical indicators: A fact-finding study – *Mustafa K. Mujeri*
- No. 65 The impact of globalization on poverty in Bangladesh – *S. R. Osmani*
- No. 66 International labour migration from Bangladesh: A decent work perspective – *Tasneem Siddiqui*
- No. 67 Globalization and decent work: A report for the Decent Work Pilot Programme in Bangladesh – *Sukti Dasgupta and Amelita King Dejardin*
- No. 68 East Africa reduction poverty and gender inequality: Selected strategies and issues
- No. 69 Sources et méthodes: statistiques du travail – Volume 5: Population totale et active, emploi et chômage (Recensements de population), Troisième édition
- No. 70 Fuentes y Métodos: Estadísticas del Trabajo – Volumen 5: Población total y económicamente activa, empleo y desempleo (Censos de población), Tercera edición
- No. 71 The quantification of respect for selected core labour standards: Towards a social development index? – *Ludo Cuyvers and Daniel van den Bulcke*
- No. 72 A new methodology for estimating internationally comparable poverty lines and living wage rates – *Richard Anker*
- No. 73 Issues in macroeconomic and financial policies, stability and growth – *Yilmaz Akyüz*
- No. 74 From liberalization to investment and jobs: Lost in translation – *Yilmaz Akyüz*
- No. 75 Financial openness and employment: The need for coherent international and national policies – *Rolph van der Hoeven and Malte Lübker*
- No. 76 Socio-economic security and decent work in Ukraine: a comparative view and statistical findings *Igor Chernyshev*
- No. 77 Global Production Systems and Decent Work – *Stephanie Barrientos*
- No. 78 Globalization and the illicit market for human trafficking: an empirical analysis of supply and demand – *Gergana Danailova-Trainor and Patrick Belser*
- No. 79 Employment Creation, Real Wages and Job Quality: How Much Aggregate Economic Growth Delivers? The Case of Chile – *Andrés Solimano*
- No. 80 Growth, Investment and Employment in Ghana – *Ernest Aryeetey and William Baah-Boateng*
- No. 81 Globalisation, Industrial Revolutions in India and China and Labour Markets in Advanced Countries: Implications for National and International Economic Policy – *Ajit Singh*
- No. 82 Growth and Employment Dynamics in Botswana: A Case Study of Policy Coherence – *Happy K. Siphambe*
- No. 83 Beyond the Employment/Unemployment Dichotomy: Measuring the Quality of Employment in Low Income Countries – *Sabina Dewan and Peter Peek*
- No. 84 The Impact of Institutions and Policy on Informal Economy in Developing Countries: An econometric exploration – *Diego Rei and Manas Bhattacharya*
- No. 85 Gender, Informality and Employment Adjustment in Latin America – *Rossana Galli and David Kucera*
- No. 86 The Unpaid Care Work- Paid Work Connection – *Rania Antonopoulos*
- No. 87 Global Rules and Markets: Constraints Over Policy Autonomy in Developing Countries – *Yilmaz Akyüz*
- No. 88 Value Chains and Decent Work for Women: What Is To Be Done? – *Ann Zammit*
- No. 89 Rural Migrant Workers in China: Scenario, Challenges and Public Policy – *Li Shi*

Regional and Country Policy Coherence Reports

- No. 1 Implementing the GPRGS in Vietnam through Decent Work – *Moazam Mahmood*
- No. 2 Policy Coherence and Sequencing for Post-Conflict Recovery in Liberia – *Moazam Mahmood*
- No. 3 Macro Policy Coherence for Decent Work in the Caribbean – *Moazam Mahmood*
- No. 4 Employment, Decent Work and Poverty Reduction in Urban China – *Zhang Junfeng and Moazam Mahmood*