Migration Networks and Migration Processes: The Case of China

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Abstract

The role of migration networks in the process of migration has been well established. The main goal of our paper is to examine the role of migration networks in the case of China, a country that has witnessed the largest migrant population in human history. Specifically, we focus on following issues that have received relatively less attention in the migration literature. One is to examine how the use of migration networks differs by individuals with different characteristics (such as education, gender, and hukou (household registration) status). Based on the migration literature, a set of hypotheses is generated. For example, we expect highly educated individuals do not use migration networks as much as people with limited education. We examine the use of migration networks for people with different characteristics both in the context of migration departure (initiation of migration) and destination choice. We use data from the 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey. Our results show that female migrants and migrants without hukou are more likely to rely on well-developed migration networks, whereas younger migrants and those with higher level of education are less likely to depend on migration networks.

Introduction

One of the most important demographic events of the late 20th and early 21st century in the world is the rise of migrant population in China. Indeed even by some conservative account, China's inter-county migrant population reached at least 80 million in 2000 and the total migrant population reached 140 million if intra-county migrants are included (Liang and Ma, 2004). This steady and dramatic increase in migration population reflects China's economic transformations in both rural and urban areas and increasing globalization of the Chinese economy. A recent popular metaphor characterizes China as the "World Factory." Of course people who fill jobs in those factories are countless migrants from different parts of country. This new demographic reality in China provides a unique opportunity for social scientists to study migration on such a large scale in a fast-changing society. In this paper, we take advantage of the recent data on migration in China to study how migration networks affect migration processes.

The current migration literature has documented the important role of migration networks in facilitation of migration of others in the migrant-sending communities (Tilly and Brown, 1967; Massey et al. 1998). Perhaps the role of migration networks in the initiation of migration process is most effectively documented by Massey and his associates in the case of Mexican migration to the United States (Massey et al., 1994). However, other aspects of migration networks on the migration process are less well understood (see recent exception of Hagan (1998) and Cerrutti and Massey (2001) on the use of migration networks and gender). The first question motivating our paper is to what extent do individuals with different characterizes use migration networks differently? The individual characteristics that interest us the most are gender, education, and hukou (household registration) status. Specifically, we will examine whether men and women use migration networks differently in the decision to migration and (once migrate) in

selecting migrant destinations. Likewise, we are interested in examining whether people with differential education levels use migration networks differently.

The second major question that motivating our paper is how migration networks affect migrant destination choices. Although students of migration have long argued that migration networks shape migration destinations, the evidence in this regard is documented in a more circumstantial and qualitative fashion than systematic and quantitative. Our paper will carefully model this process of migration destination choice using most recent statistical techniques. The application of this technique also relies on the fact that we have information on destination choices at two points in time so that patterns of association between destination patterns in earlier period can be systematically linked to the destination choice patterns in a later year.

Finally, we view migration networks as a characteristic of community level that is accessible to residents in these communities. Thus aside from migration networks variable, we also include other community level variables in our multi-level models of migration. The use of multilevel model in our study improves earlier research in this area. Earlier studies usually incorporate community level variables as part of individual level statistical models. Such an approach suffers from under-estimation of standard errors, which leads to biased estimates (Guo and Zhao, 2000).

Recent Destination Selectivity Patterns of Internal Migration in China

There has been a significant growth in long distance and/or internal migration in China since the late 1980's. However, in Chinese societal system, the possession of local *hukou* makes quite a big difference when it comes to internal migration. A large proportion of interprovincial migrants from rural areas have a propensity to choose a large city in coastal provinces as their destination (Liang and White, 1997; Liang, 2001). Ever since the establishment in 1958 of the

household registration system called *hukou*, the settlement and occupational opportunities for individuals has been controlled. As a result, the strict enforcement of hukou has been a major drawback in internal migration, especially from rural areas to urban areas throughout the country (Chan and Zhang, 1999). Internal migrants who possess local *hukou* of their destination are designated as "permanent migrants" (migrants who possess local *hukou*), while those who do not are referred to as "floating migrants."

Although the government has been loosened their control by issuing temporary registration cards available since the early 1990's due to the high volume of current migration flow (Liang, 2001), living in a city without local *hukou* still put migrants at a disadvantage in job allocation, and worst of all, suffer from a lack of basic social services, such as affordable housing and education for their children. It prevents migrants from achieving establishing permanent residency in a city. Under such existing conditions, marriage, home ownership and access to public education for children of migrants are also jeopardized (Liang, 2001; Feng, Zuo, and Ruan, 2002; Roberts, 2002; Solinger, 1999). Nevertheless, migrants can compensate for the deficit by making a full use of migration networks. Interprovincial migrants previously moved to the destination establish an enclave and invite potential interprovincial migrants from their origin community. Migration networks – interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants through relations of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin – enable prospective migrants to provide the movement at lower cost and risks and consequently increase the probability of migration as well as expected net returns to migration. For instance, migrants can easily find a position at a restaurant or in garment industry operated by migrants who left from their place of origin earlier. Specifically, a significant number of women from Anhui province are known for becoming a maid through networks (Liang, 2001).

The transition of market economy has generated a strong demand for labors and economic opportunities for migrants. Economic opportunities certainly attract people. As a result, the migrant population tends to concentrate where more economic opportunities exist. A business/factory work comprised the largest proportion, almost 30 percent, of reasons for migration occurred in 1990, which was a significant jump from 10 percent in 1987 (Liang, 2001), which implies migration caused by economic opportunities. As for migration among women, migration due to marriage can be included.

As internal migration is a selective process, traditional migrants tend to possess somewhat higher levels of socio-economic profiles such as high educational attainment level, high occupational status, and etc. Migrants with high educational attainment do not need to depend on migration networks in choosing a destination, as their migration is more likely to be associated with job transfer, and they normally move with *hukou*. We speculate that migrants with a local *hukou* are less likely to experience any disadvantages associated with an event of migration; thus, they have no special necessity to form a niche for solidarity. We hypothesize that the role of education diminishes in places with high quality migrant networks, which furthers migrants with lower level of educational attainment would heavily take advantage of the networks. As for young migrants, they are more adventurous and aggressive, in general. They are willing to take risks to travel a long distance whether or not they possess local hukou. If not, they have a great potential to become pioneers who could later create migration networks to connect with their place of origin. Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3 provide visual aids of selected socio-demographic factors (educational attainment level, place of residence prior to migration, and age groups, respectively) of permanent migrants, floating migrants, and non-movers.

The primary focus of this study is to examine the destination selectivity patterns and the determinants among internal migrants within China who move to a province that differs from

their origin. What makes this study unique is that there is no existing study whose perspectives are exclusively corroborated by pieces of evidence combined with such elements as migration networks, *hukou* status, and destination choices. Few studies of Chinese internal migration even mention the effect of networks among migrants. Some previous studies utilize surveys conducted on the selected provinces, regions, and areas as well as having small number of cases, which raises concern about difficulty in generalization as nation-wide trends. Zhao (2003) closely looked into the importance of the networks in labor migration for their decision to move. We will improve upon Zhao's work by distinguishing *hukou* vs. non-*hukou* status. Also, we will investigate the migration selectivity patterns from all the 30 provinces of China based on both individual- and province-level data.

Data and Methods

Data for this study are drawn from the 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey (China Population Sample Survey Office, 1997) and the 1990 and 1995 editions of the China Population Statistics (State Statistical Bureau, 1991; 1995) to capture the destination choices and dynamics of interprovincial migrants from 1985 to 1990 as well as from 1990 to 1995. The China 1% Population Sample Survey and the China Population Statistics enable to provide us more empirical-oriented information that transcend existing studies related to internal migration in China. As our primary interest is to find out what kind of characteristics greatly influence migrants on their decision to move to another province along with the recent pattern of interprovincial migration, the combination of such unique data contents in the sources allows us to extract the destination selectivity among interprovincial migrants so as to measure a possible production of migration network along with a difference in choice between migrants who and who do not possess local *hukou.*

We consider both individual- and province-level variables in the analysis. A source of individual-level data is the 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey. For mixed conditional logit models, the individual-level socio-demographic factors introduced include *hukou* status, gender, age groups, and educational attainment levels of interprovincial migrants. Province-level data come from the China Population Statistics. The province-level factors incorporated are per-capital industrial output of a destination province as well as total population and land area of their origin province. Our dependent variable is dichotomous with a choice made to migrate to the certain province over the others. The data contain information regarding household registration status of migrants; therefore, we can conveniently detect whether or not a migrants possesses local *hukou*. Interprovincial migrants who arrived at their destination after September 30, 1990 are selected. Imposing this condition, 22,514 interprovincial migrants are considered for this study.

Discrete choice analysis is utilized to evaluate what sort of socio-demographic factors practically exerts an influence on the decision of destination selectivity among interprovincial migrants within China. A series of mixed conditional logit models are estimated. To comply with the way data should be prepared for the analysis, person-province data with the Origin-Destination linked migration measure for the period of 1985-1990 at province-level for all 30 provinces are constructed in a 30 x 30 matrix. Specifically, because we do not consider intraprovincial migration in this study, each individual has 29 destinations to choose from for interprovincial migration in China by excluding their province of origin. The 29 observations for each interprovincial migrant contain various characteristics that represent each province. For example, the first observation of person #1 represents characteristics of Beijing, the second observation of person #1 represents those of province Tianjin, the third observation of person #1 represents those of Hebei, and so on. Among the 29 observations, we detect a province that an

interprovincial migrant arrived and designate it as his or her destination province. Also, product terms between each of the individual-level factors and destination choice rate of each province are created so that individual-level data can be included in our models. Otherwise, we would have the 29 counts of repetitious individual-level information for an individual.

We also perform multinomial multilevel models to estimate migration networks in China at province level by migrant's *hukou* status. For multilevel models, we include such individual-level attributes as marital status and migrants' place of origin in addition to those we consider in the conditional logit models. For province-level, as one of measures of migration networks, we added out-migration proportion rate for each province during the period of 1985-1990 using 1990 census data. It is similar to the idea of "migration prevalence ratio" (Massey et al. 1994). Dependent variable consists of three categories by individual's migration status: (1) permanent migrants (migrants with local *hukou*), (2) floating migrants (migrants without local *hukou*), and (3) people who did not move.

In the subsequent version of this paper, we plan to include distance factors in order to predict longitudinal spatial correlations in the destination selectivity patterns between the 1985-1990 and the 1990-1995 migrant groups in addition to the research questions described in preceding lines.

Findings

Table 1 illustrates the distribution of three most popular destination provinces for interprovincial migrants from each province throughout China. The popular destinations for interprovincial migrants seem to be provinces with high per-capita industrial output located near their province of origin, generally within the region or in the neighboring region. The propensity

supports the argument that the vigorousness of economic activity in a destination province attracts migrants and facilitates a strong dynamic of interprovincial migration.

(TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Tables 2 presents the ranking of the top 10 provinces that produce high number of migrants having moved to other provinces in the periods of 1985-1990 and 1990-1995. Sichuan has consistently been documented as number-one migrant sending province among all the 30 provinces. Anhui, Henan, and Hunan provinces show dramatic increase in percentage of share in interprovincial migrants in the latter five years. Sichuan, Anhui, Henan, and Hunan are the top 4 emigrant sending provinces. With these four provinces combined, it consists of approximately 34 percent of all interprovincial migrants throughout China. Geographically, the four are land-locked province located in either southwest or central region of China. The most popular destination for migrants from the four provinces is Guangdong, which is considered within the purview of neighboring province in the region.

(TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE)

We list the top 10 provinces that received high number of interprovincial migrants in the periods of 1985-1990 and 1990-1995 and present in Table 3. Guangdong province, located in the southern region, has consistently outnumbered the other 29 provinces in terms of hosting interprovincial migrants. Jiangsu province in the eastern region has been ranked in the second place. Guangdong and Jiangsu provinces seem to be considered ideal destinations among interprovincial migrants coming from such regions as central and south, southwest, and east. The percentage headed to those two popular destination provinces continue to surpass other provinces can infer that the development of migration networks over time has created a momentum of an influx of interprovincial migrants.

(TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

Table 4 represents the output that results in conditional logit models. Our findings reveal that migrants with hukou are less likely to rely on the network. In fact, the odds of selecting province with stronger ties are reduced to almost one-ninth compared to those of migrants without local *hukou*. Moreover, migrants who belong to younger age groups are generally less likely to depend on the network. Likewise, as the level of educational attainment increases, a migrant is less likely to rely on the network. The odds become categorically lower as a targeted group being younger and achieving higher level of education compared to the reference group. They are reduced up to 53 percent and 88 percent, respectively. Migrants from a province with a large population are 3 percent less likely to move.

On the other hand, the factors that promote the likelihood of interprovincial migration are female, migrants who do not possess local *hukou*, coming from a province that contains larger land area, and being bound for a province with high per-capita industrial output. The propensity is shown among them to rely on the developed migrant network. Female are more likely to move to a province where a strong migration network has been established. The odds increase by 1.77 times over male. The odds increase approximately 30 percent as one-unit increase in land area of origin province and industrial output of receiving province. Interprovincial migrants are confirmed to head to a province with high per-capita industrial output. Overall, the preliminary results are consistent with our initial expectations.

(TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE)

Estimates generated from multinomial multilevel models for migration networks at province-level to test our migration departure hypotheses are presented in Table 5. Permanent migrants, all province-level variables show no statistical significance. On the other hand, we have some significant findings for floating migrants. Out-migration proportion rate and population size indicate the positive association, while industrial output and land area show the

negative association with the province-level migration networks. That is, people from provinces with large population size with high out-migration proportion rate have a high likelihood of moving from province to province without local hukou as floating migrants. Female is more likely to rely on migration networks. It is evident that migrants from city are less likely to move out of province without hukou. Unlike results from the destination choice models, educational attainment level diminishes its statistical significance for floating migrants. We observe that out-migration proportion rate highlights its role as an important determinant to explain an existence of good migration networks among floating migrants. Out-migration proportion rate of floating migrants' origin province greatly contributes to facilitating their decision to execute interprovincial migration.

(TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE)

Also, we intend to predict the longitudinal spatial correlations in the destination selectivity patterns. We expect that the longitudinal spatial correlations in the destination selectivity patterns for 1990 to 1995 should be stronger than for the period of 1985 to 1990. The assumption is based on the rapid increase in interprovincial migration as well as higher proportion of non-hukou business-related temporary migration during the periods.

Summary and Conclusion

Here we highlight the main findings in our study. We show that there is the significant influence of the existing migration networks and household registration status (*hukou*) on initiation of interprovincial migration as well as the selection of their destination. First, floating migrants without local *hukou* rely on migration network, but permanent migrants with local *hukou* do not. Second, floating migrants also depend more on migration networks for destination choice than permanent migrants. Third, educated migrants rely less on migration networks for

destination choice than their counterpart. Gender difference in the use of migration networks is also evident in our study. Female migrant rely more on migration networks in initiation of migration and in destination choice. This reflects the typical pattern of migration found in other countries: men migrate first and then women follow.

The above results from our empirical analysis are further substantiated by qualitative and ethnographic evidence from our fieldwork in migrant origin and destination communities. From our fieldwork experiences in Sichuan (migrant-sending province) and Guangdong provinces (migrant-receiving province), intermediary services has been established to help find a job for prospective migrant workers in Sichuan and seem to attract the interested crowd. With the consequence that migrants become as agent of social change, highly developed transportation networks and housing for migrant workers have been generated in the context of solid infrastructures for migrant workers.

Finally, once migration networks linking origin and destination communities are firmly in place, we can surely expect migration will continue to flow. One policy implication is that knowing the power of migration networks has the potential for policy makers to design strategies to alleviate poverty. In China's vast western regions, a large number of peasants still live below the poverty line. Migration may hold some potential for the reduction of poverty in this part of China. This is because what government can do is to simply help with some "seed migrants," making sure they settle in certain destination places. Once the process begins, migrants can pretty much take care of themselves and eventually contribute to the development of the migrant-sending communities.

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Table 1. Distribution of Top 3 Popular Destinations by Province, China, 1990-1995

Origin Province		Destination Province					
	Total	First	%	Second	%	Third	%
North							
Beijing	1,171	Hebei	18.7	Jiangsu	12.6	Shandong	9.8
Tianjin	619	Beijing	30.0	Hebei	25.0	Shandong	7.8
Hebei	4,165	Beijing	39.5	Tianjin	12.7	Shandong	6.7
Shanxi	1,402	Beijing	23.0	Hebei	16.8	Henan	9.6
Inner Mongolia	2,485	Hebei	22.7	Liaoning	17.4	Shanxi	11.0
Northeast							
Liaoning	1,965	Jilin	15.7	Heilongjiang	15.1	Shandong	11.1
Jilin	2,948	Liaoning	28.9	Heilongjiang	19.3	Shandong	17.3
Heilongjiang	6,136	Shandong	21.4	Liaoning	19.4	Inner Mongolia	15.7
East							
Shanghai	1,221	Jiangsu	42.2	Zhejiang	20.1	Guangdong	6.8
Jiangsu	4,495	Shanghai	35.9	Beijing	9.5	Anhui	7.4
Zhejiang	5,142	Shanghai	18.9	Jiangsu	13.0	Liaoning	6.6
Anhui	7,443	Jiangsu	35.8	Shanghai	21.6	Zhejiang	6.8
Fujian	2,196	Guangdong	20.5	Zhejiang	14.1	Jiangsu	11.7
Jiangxi	5,126	Guangdong	38.0	Zhejiang	16.5	Fujian	14.2
Shandong	3,816	Heilongjiang	14.5	Liaoning	13.5	Beijing	11.1
Central and South							
Henan	7,401	Xianjiang Uighur	21.8	Guangdong	13.4	Beijing	11.0
Hubei	3,816	Guangdong	21.3	Hunan	11.1	Jiangsu	9.5
Hunan	7,039	Guangdong	63.0	Zhejiang	3.8	Jiangsu	3.5
Guangdong	2,209	Sichuan	20.0	Hunan	9.1	Guangxi Zhuang	8.6
Guangxi Zhuang	5,538	Guangdong	79.4	Hainan	4.4	Hunan	2.5
Hainan	1,020	Guangdong	68.7	Fujian	7.1	Guangxi Zhuang	5.8
Southwest							
Sichuan	14,571	Guangdong	24.1	Xianjiang Uighur	11.4	Yunnan	7.0
Guizhou	4,015	Guangdong	16.5	Jiangsu	13.3	Zhejiang	13.0
Yunnan	2,416	Sichuan	27.5	Jiangsu	14.1	Shandong	13.0
Tibet	280	Sichuan	52.1	Yunnan	8.2	Qinghai	6.8
Northwest							
Shaanxi	2,645	Henan	10.8	Gansu	9.6	Xianjiang Uighur	8.0
Gansu	2,511	Xianjiang Uighur	32.3	Inner Mongolia	10.7	Qinghai	7.6
Qinghai	765	Jiangsu	27.2	Gansu	12.3	Shandong	7.6
Ningxia Hui	544	Xianjiang Uighur	26.3	Gansu	22.2	Inner Mongolia	12.3
Xianjiang Uighur	1,498	Sichuan	16.8	Jiangsu	15.6	Shanghai	13.3

Note: Based on 1% sample.

Source: The 1995 China Population Statistics.

Table 2. Distribution of Top 10 Migrant Sending Provinces, China, 1985-1990 and 1990-1995

	1985-1990			1990-1995		
	Province	Number	Percent	Province	Number	Percent
1	Sichuan	128,735	11.9	Sichuan	14,571	13.7
2	Hebei	66,516	6.2	Anhui	7,443	7.0
3	Zhejiang	62,627	5.8	Henan	7,401	6.9
4	Heilongjiang	59,427	5.5	Hunan	7,039	6.6
5	Jiangsu	58,848	5.4	Heilongjiang	6,136	5.8
6	Henan	57,757	5.3	Guangxi Zhuang	5,538	5.2
7	Guangxi Zhuang	54,877	5.1	Zhejiang	5,142	4.8
8	Anhui	53,822	5.0	Jiangxi	5,126	4.8
9	Shandong	52,332	4.8	Jiangsu	4,495	4.2
10	Hunan	50,352	4.7	Hebei	4,165	3.9
Total		1,080,879			106,598	

Note: For 1985-1990, it is based on a 10% sample. For 1990-1995, based on a 1% sample.

Sources: 1990 and 1995 China Population Statistics.

Table 3. Distribution of Top 10 Migrant Receiving Provinces, China, 1985-1990 and 1990-1995

	1985-1990			1990-1995		
	Province	Number	Percent	Province	Number	Percent
1	Guangdong	116,177	10.7	Guangdong	19,472	18.3
2	Jiangsu	83,806	7.8	Jiangsu	9,688	9.1
3	Beijing	66,313	6.1	Shanghai	7,260	6.8
4	Shanghai	65,580	6.1	Beijing	6,944	6.5
5	Shandong	61,043	5.6	Xianjiang Uighur	5,659	5.3
6	Liaoning	51,672	4.8	Shandong	5,269	4.9
7	Henan	49,494	4.6	Hebei	5,031	4.7
8	Hebei	46,901	4.3	Zhejiang	4,656	4.4
9	Sichuan	44,054	4.1	Liaoning	4,350	4.1
10	Hubei	41,182	3.8	Sichuan	3,952	3.7
Total Number		1,080,879			106,598	

Note: Data for 1985-1990 are based on 10% sample.
Data for 1990-1995 are based on 1% sample.

Sources: 1990 and 1995 China Population Statistics.

Table 4. Conditional Logit Coefficients of Destination Choices, China

Variables	Model 1 b		Model 1 SE	Model 2 b		Model 2 SE
Hukou status x Destination choice rate --a				-2.27	***	0.14
Gender x Destination choice rate -- b				0.57	***	0.14
Age groups -- c						
Teen x Destination choice rate	-0.91	***	0.25	-0.75	**	0.26
Twenty x Destination choice rate	-0.84	***	0.24	-0.75	**	0.24
Thirty x Destination choice rate	-0.65	*	0.28	-0.48		0.28
Educational attainment -- d						
Elementary school x Destination choice rate	-1.11	***	0.30	-0.77	*	0.30
Junior high school x Destination choice rate	-1.29	***	0.30	-0.90	**	0.30
High school x Destination choice rate	-2.12	***	0.33	-1.46	***	0.33
College x Destination choice rate	-3.23	***	0.37	-2.09	***	0.38
Destination choice rate	10.87	***	0.32	11.10	***	0.33
Per-capita industrial output -- e	0.28	***	0.01	0.27	***	0.01
Total population	-0.03	***	0.003	-0.03	***	0.003
Land area	0.27	***	0.02	0.26	***	0.02
(Total number of cases = 22,514)						

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

a: Non-*hukou* serves as the reference category.

b: Male serves as the reference category.

c: 40 years old and over serves as the reference category.

d: No formal education serves as the reference category.

e: Figures are logged.

Sources: 1995 China 1% Population Sample Survey;
1990 and 1995 China Population Statistics.

Table 5. Multinomial Multilevel Coefficients of Province-Level Migration Networks in China

	Permanent Migrants		Floating Migrants	
Variables	b	SE	b	SE
Individual-Level Characteristics				
Intercept	-8.41 ***	0.579	-7.731 ***	0.078
Gender				
Female	0.01	0.022	0.037 *	0.019
Male (Reference)	---	---	---	---
Age Groups				
15 - 19	2.24 ***	0.043	1.857 ***	0.035
20 - 29	1.37 ***	0.040	1.281 ***	0.031
30 - 39	0.46 ***	0.046	0.368 ***	0.036
40+ (Reference)	---	---	---	---
Marital Status				
Married	0.43 ***	0.031	0.471 ***	0.028
Not Married (Reference)	---	---	---	---
Education	0.06 ***	0.004	-0.00004	0.003
Place of Origin				
City	0.42 ***	0.029	-0.297 ***	0.029
Town	1.37 ***	0.028	1.047 ***	0.024
Rural (Reference)	---	---	---	---
Province-Level Characteristics				
Out-Migration Rate	-0.01	0.263	0.924 ***	0.031
Industrial Output	0.13	0.109	-0.106 ***	0.016
Population Size	0.01	0.004	0.017 ***	0.0003
Land Area	0.34	0.274	-0.743 ***	0.045
(Total Number of Cases = 1,757,274)				

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Sources: China 1% Population Sample Survey; 1990 and 1995 China Population Statistics.

Figure 1. Educational Attainment by Hukou Status

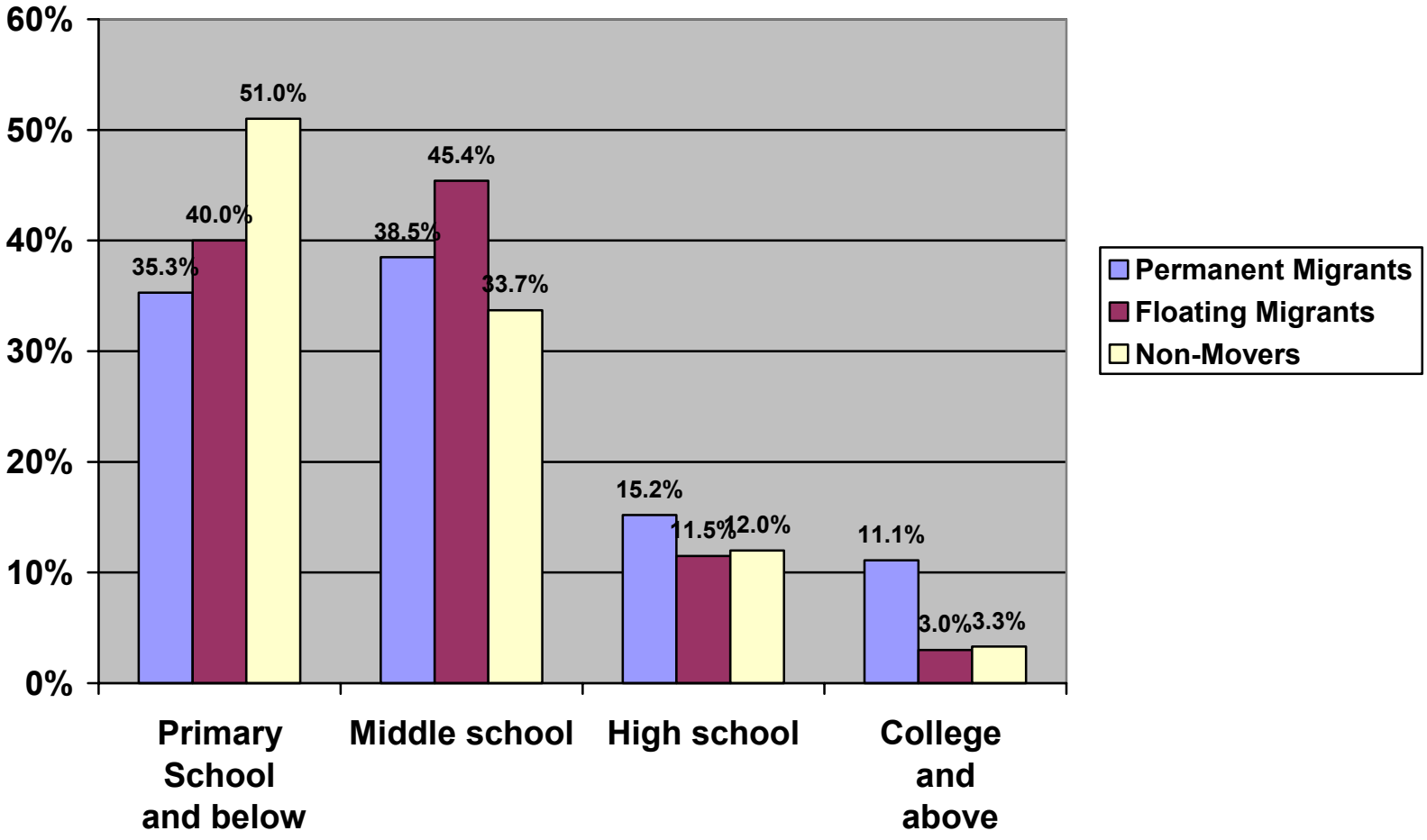


Figure 2. Residence Prior to Migration

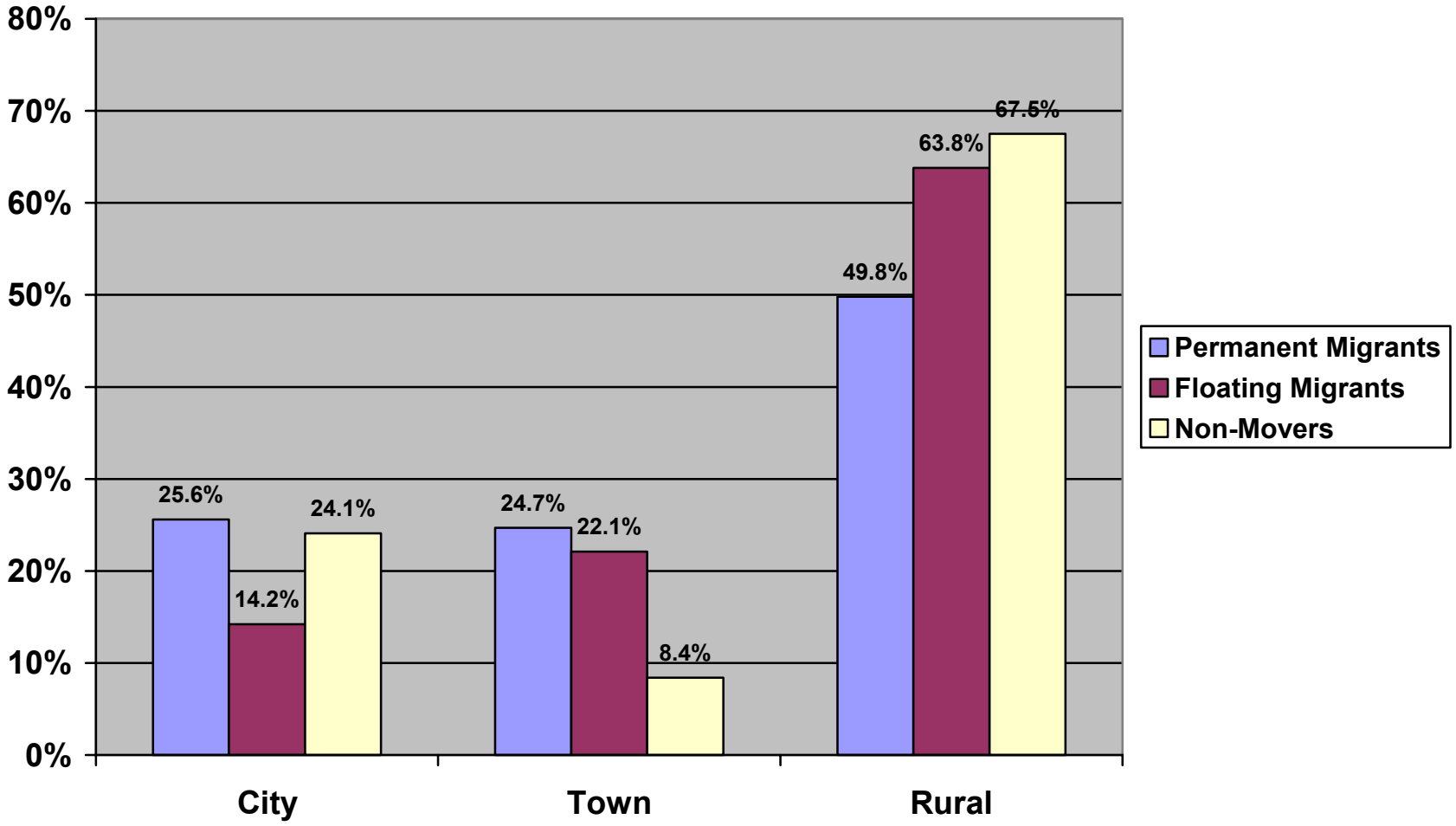
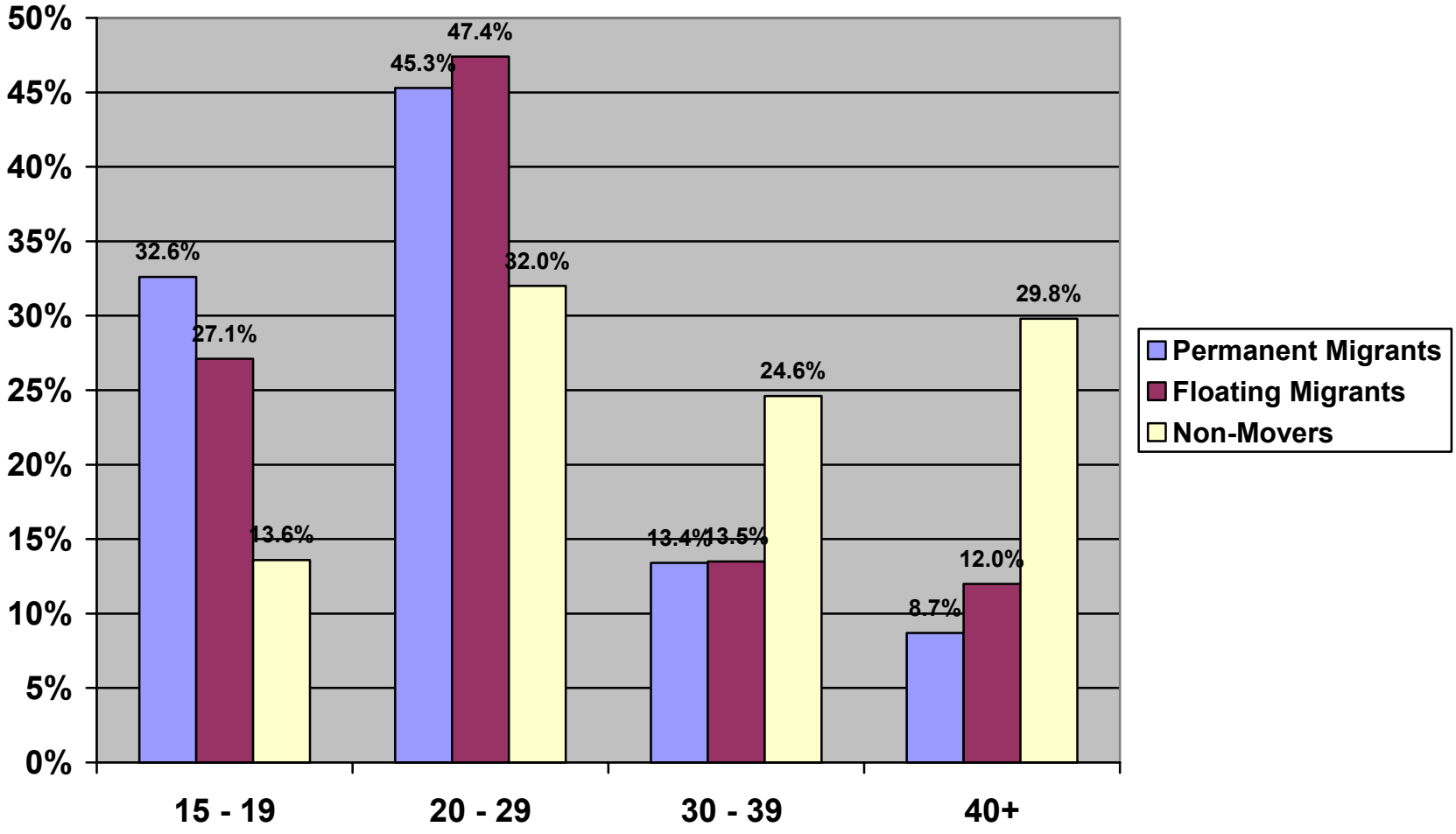


Figure 3. Age Group of Migrants by Hukou Status



Map of China


Hebei
Shanxi
Heilongjiang
Xinjiang Uighur
Jilin
Inner Mongolia
Liaoning
Beijing
Tianjin
Qinghai
Shandong
Tibet
Henan
Jiangsu
Sichuan
Shanghai
Anhui
Zhejiang
Ningxia Hui
Hubei
Shaanxi
Fujian
Gansu
Jiangxi
Guizhou
Guangdong
Yunnan
Hunan
Guangxi Zhuang
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