

## Migrant Settlement and Spatial Transformation in Urban China: The Case of Shanghai

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### Research questions

- How is migrant residence distributed geographically across Shanghai?
- How does this spatial pattern compare to distribution patterns of the local population and employment activities?
- What are some key geographic factors underlying the spatial distribution of migrants?
- The focus of the paper is temporary migrants without official changes of household registration (*hukou*). Local population refers to registered permanent residents and permanent migrants with formal changes of *hukou*.

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#### Data sources

- 2000 Population Census (aggregate subdistrict data)
- 1996 Basic Establishment Census
- Housing survey of 1,789 migrants in 1999
- Administrative geography – 19 districts & 319 subdistricts



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#### New trends in urban spatial development

- Four major types of neighborhood in urban China:
  - Traditional ones in the old -city area developed before 1949.
  - Work-unit compounds, largely associated with industrial development, developed between 1949 and 1978.
  - Mixed-use suburban communities or satellite towns, developed from the late 1970s onward.
  - Rural-urban fringe or peri-urban villages formed after the late 1970s (F. Wu 2002a).
- Increasing concentration of economic functions on outskirts of built-up city proper or inner suburb.
- Recent housing reforms have allowed housing to be commodified, giving rise to a variety of residential spaces that are replacing the cellular-type of housing structure built around work units.

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#### Evolving spatial patterns of population in Shanghai

- Housing commodification and socioeconomic differentiation appears to lead to resurgence of spatial division similar to pre-1949 patterns.
  - Pre-1949 urban space was differentiated into upper and lower ends in the central city.
  - Residential differentiation had been reduced markedly with many years of building public housing and accelerated efforts to redevelop shanty areas.
  - But in the central core, some residential areas with extreme dilapidation and high density have been left out of recent redevelopment because of high costs associated with resettlement.
- With combined effect of residential resettlement, new housing construction, central-city redevelopment and satellite-town program, residential patterns have changed steadily since 1980s.

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### Spatial patterns of local population

- Core central city has lost substantial amount of local residents.
- Periphery of central city has seen some gains.
- Inner suburban subdistricts immediately outside of central city are housing a large number of local residents.



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### Evolving spatial patterns of employment activities

- Mixed land use and industrial fragmentation characterized central city in the pre-1949 period. To solve associate problems, Shanghai has been relocating central-city factories to new districts.
- Seven industrial satellites continue to accommodate a large number of industrial establishments.
- While a set of service cores scatter throughout the city's old and newly developing districts, commercial and service establishments tend to be more concentrated in the central city.

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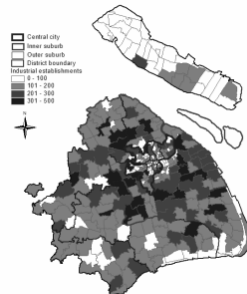
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### Spatial patterns of industrial establishments

- Metropolitan industrial fragmentation remains, aggravated by TVEs' chaotic location. About 27 percent of land is for industrial use, a level much higher than average for other large Chinese cities (15 percent) and comparable cities in the world.



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#### Migrant access to urban housing

- Conditioned by the double divide – rural v. urban and nonlocal v. local.

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#### Migrant housing choices

- A local urban *hukou* continues to be an important qualification for accessing several types of urban housing, particularly those that are more affordable.
- Commodity housing, the only real property sector open for migrant ownership, is not affordable for most migrants. In addition, a local urban *hukou* is required to qualify for bank mortgages for new commodity housing
- Renting represents the best choice for migrants. When migrants find jobs in state and some collective enterprises, many of them also obtain the access to dormitory housing provided by enterprises.

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#### Migrant housing conditions and mobility

- Migrant housing overall is temporary, overcrowded, with few facilities, and in poor environment.
- For migrants, by virtue of needing to minimize their costs while in the city, low cost and proximity to workplace take a far higher priority ranking than physical quality and space.
- Once in the city, migrants continue to be on the move. With substantially higher mobility rates than local residents, they experience much more residential instability.
- Few migrants make the transition from renting to selfhelp housing after years of living in the city, contrary to trends seen elsewhere in other developing countries.

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### Spatial patterns of migrant population

- Distribution of migrant residence has seen a marked shift in the last two decades. With continuing urban expansion and downtown redevelopment, the inner suburb has become the primary receiving area for migrants since the early 1990s.
- With the exception of a few subdistricts within the central city, the largest amount of migrants now seems to concentrate exclusively in the inner suburb.
- It appears that a number of subdistricts immediately flanking the central-city boundary are now residential centers for both migrants and, to some extent, the locals.

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### Residential distribution of migrant population

- Migrant concentration occurs in a ring area situated at the edge of the city property or built-up area.
- This ring area can be characterized the urban periphery or rural-urban transitional area (or China's equivalent of *Desakota*).




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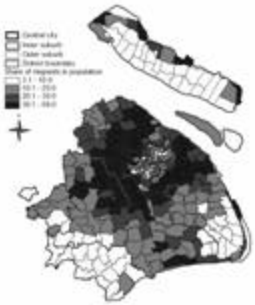
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### Residential distribution of migrant population

- Along this ring, migrants make up large proportions of total population.
- These areas tend to be suburban towns where the ratio of employment to local population is much higher, industrial establishments more numerous, and density of local population much lower.




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### Geographic factors underlying migrant distribution

- A linear regression model uses the share of migrants in total population as the dependent variable, and is run on a data set for Shanghai's 319 subdistricts.
- Employment opportunities are the most important determinants of migrant residential patterns. In particular, there is a strong positive relationship between the number of industrial establishments and the level of migrant concentration.
- Another indicator of employment opportunities, ratio of employment to local population, is another good predictor of where migrants concentrate.
- Per capita housing area, a proxy for housing availability, is negatively related to migrant concentration. Housing availability is a secondary consideration to migrants in their locational behavior.

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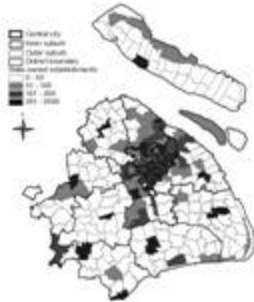
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### Geographic factors underlying migrant distribution

- There is a strong negative association between state-owned establishments and migrant concentration. The state-owned sector is least receptive to migrant employment and still concentrates in the central city.




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### Conclusion

- Shanghai's spatial structure has been undergoing substantial change as housing and land markets develop and socioeconomic stratification rises.
- In the central city there is often awkward juxtaposition of flashy commercial or residential high-rises and aging neighborhoods with dilapidated dwellings. In the urban periphery there is an increasing mixture of rural towns, resettlement housing, new commodity housing projects, high-tech development zones, and industrial parks.
- Migrant residential distribution appears to coincide with the trend of local population decentralization. The overall migrant distribution resembles an inverted U shape, with concentration peaking in the urban periphery.

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