Spring 2017

Measuring Quality of Life for Internal Migrants Working Urban Renewal Sites in Shanghai, China

Jacob A. Watkins

Western Michigan University, jwatki22@vols.utk.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses

Part of the Human Geography Commons, and the International and Area Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

This Masters Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact maira.bundza@wmich.edu.
MEASURING QUALITY OF LIFE FOR INTERNAL MIGRANTS WORKING
URBAN RENEWAL SITES IN SHANGHAI, CHINA

by

Jacob A. Watkins

A thesis submitted to the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Science
Geography
Western Michigan University
April 2017

Thesis Committee:

Gregory Veeck, Ph.D., Chair
Benjamin Ofori-Amoah, Ph.D.
Lucius Hallett, IV, Ph.D.
Chinese internal migrants continue to struggle to obtain social and economic equity in some of China’s largest cities. Shanghai, China’s largest city, houses one of the largest floating populations in the country. As city officials and the Chinese Communist Party continue to spend on urban renewal sites in the city proper, new opportunities may be emerging for migrant workers. These sites contain hundreds on new commercial and service based businesses that could potentially provide stable employment for rural-to-urban migrants in Shanghai and influence migrant quality of life as well as provide the means for migrants to remain in the city long-term. This study examined migrant density and prosperity in two urban renewal sites in Shanghai as means of income and activities used by migrant workers to improve the lives of both themselves and their families. Questionnaires and in depth interviews were used to measure life satisfaction for migrants currently employed in service industries in Shanghai’s unique shikumen neighborhoods in order to add to the broad range of research previously conducted on the floating population and their struggles in urban China.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As the culmination of nearly two years of work comes to a close, I feel it is imperative to acknowledge the truly remarkable people that have guided me along this wonderful journey.

To say I am grateful for the guidance and wisdom relayed to me by Dr. Gregory Veeck is an understatement. It has been an absolute privilege working with you and learning from you. Without your support, I would be half the scholar and perhaps half the man I am today. I would additionally like to thank Dr. Benjamin Ofori-Amoah and Dr. Lucius Hallett IV for all of their assistance as committee members. Be it the countless edits or the casual soccer conversations, your help kept me motivated to succeed.

The implementation of this research would not have been possible if not for East China Normal University in Shanghai. I will forever be indebted to Fengtao Guo for arranging my cozy dorm and introducing me to so many people excited to help with this project. I owe a special thanks to my dear friends Hermoire Miao and Ken who kept me laughing in 110 degree heat and passed out surveys with an efficiency I previously thought impossible.

To my academic family back home at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Dr. Ron Kalafsky, Dr. Neil Conner, Dr. Erik Johandsome, and Dr. Tyler Sonnichsen, I will always be grateful for your continued support, even from afar.

As always, thank you Mom, Dad, Maddie, Aubree, Leona, David, Terri, and Madeleine. I love you all and would be nowhere without you.

Jacob A. Watkins
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS** ........................................................................................................ ii

**LIST OF TABLES** .................................................................................................................. vi

**LIST OF FIGURES** ................................................................................................................ vii

**CHAPTER**

I. **INTRODUCTION** .................................................................................................................. 1

   Statement of Problem .................................................................................................................. 2

   Organization of Thesis .............................................................................................................. 3

II. **BACKGROUND** ................................................................................................................... 4

   Migration in the Era of Reform .............................................................................................. 4

   The History of Hukou ............................................................................................................... 7

   Migration and Shanghai .......................................................................................................... 8

   Successes and Failures of New Urban Shanghai ................................................................... 9

III. **REVIEW OF LITERATURE** ............................................................................................ 12

   Shifting Trends and Characteristics for Migrant Laborers ...................................................... 12

   Gender and Migration ............................................................................................................ 15

   Shifts in Power Balance ......................................................................................................... 16

   Effects of Migration on Rural Areas ..................................................................................... 17

   Nongzhuanfei and Implications ............................................................................................. 17

   Effects of Migration on Urban Settings .................................................................................. 18

   Housing Issues and Migration .............................................................................................. 18

   Shanghai as a Migrant Destination ....................................................................................... 20
**Table of Contents—Continued**

**CHAPTER**

Shanghai’s Barriers to Permanent Settlement for Migrants ............................ 21

Urban Renewal Projects and the Success of Shikumen Redevelopment .. 23

**IV. METHODOLOGY** .................................................................................. 31

Data Collection ................................................................................................. 31

Surveys ............................................................................................................... 32

Compilation of Data and Analysis ................................................................. 33

Qualitative Research Methods ......................................................................... 34

**V. DATA AND ANALYSIS** ........................................................................... 36

Demographics and Employment Details .......................................................... 36

Descriptive Statistics for Likert-scale Data ...................................................... 38

Variations in Satisfaction and Income Based on Hukou Status....................... 39

Mean Variations in Satisfaction, Longevity, and Income Amongst Job Positions ........................................................................................................... 40

Regression Analysis .......................................................................................... 42

Qualitative Analysis .......................................................................................... 43

**VI. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS** ............................ 47

Discussion of Descriptive Statistics ................................................................ 47

Employment Categories and Positions ............................................................ 48

Variable Mean Responses Amongst Job Positions ........................................ 51

Factors Associated with Positive Perception of Overall Quality of Life in Shanghai .......................................................................................................... 52
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of Contents—Continued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews and Qualitative Analyses .......................................................... 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions ............................................. ........................................ 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Questionnaire ............................................. .................................... 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. HSIRB Approval .......................... ......................................................... 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES .......................... ................................................................. 68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

5.1: Respondent demographics .................................................................................. 37
5.2: Employment details............................................................................................. 38
5.3: Descriptive statistics for Likert-scale satisfaction rankings............................... 39
5.4: ANOVA results of satisfaction responses amongst job positions...................... 41
5.5: Regression Results.............................................................................................. 43
LIST OF FIGURES

2.1: Foreign Direct Investment, 2004............................................................... 5
2.2: Foreign Direct Investment, 2014............................................................... 6
2.3: Volume of migrant flows by province ..................................................... 7
2.4: The stone doorway from which the term *shikumen* is derived.................. 10
2.5: A series of *shikumen* style storefronts and homes in *Xintiandi*.............. 11
3.1: Study sites *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* in Huangpu district ..................... 24
3.2: A British style tearoom in *Tianzifang*, Shanghai .................................. 25
3.3: *Tianzifang*’s façade of redeveloped storefronts........................................ 26
3.4: Participant’s working in a small restaurant in *Xintiadi*.......................... 27
3.5: *Xintiandi*’s major mall connected to Shanghai subway lines 10 & 13 .......... 28
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

When analyzing factors related to the growth and success of China since the rise of Deng Xiaoping in 1978 and the subsequent reform era, one would be remised to exclude the colossal impact changes in the Chinese hukou system have had on the transfer, temporary or otherwise, of a significant portion of the Chinese workforce from rural to urban settings.

The hukou system is a government registration system meant to organize the Chinese population by residency status (urban or rural). Initially implemented under Mao Zedong in 1951, the system was designed to limit the movement of population under the Chinese command economy in order to allocate resources and labor to both specific functions and locations. Under this system, residents registered under a rural hukou were forbidden from living and working in urban settings. Maoist and Chinese Communist Party strategy during the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) was to keep Chinese citizens in their respective danwei (work unit) in order to maintain even production under the communist system (Guo, 2013). Since enforcement of the system has been lightened in terms of preventative enforcement, hukou registration has instead kept a large number of rural Chinese residents from finding prosperity in their destination cities on a level comparable to residents holding urban hukou registrations (Wang, 2004; Zhang & Treiman, 2013).
Statement of Problem

The effects of the household registration system (hukou) have been studied and analyzed by academics for over three decades (Chan & Xu, 1985; Cheng & Selden, 1994; Song, 2015; Wu, 1994). Issues related to uneven distribution of wealth created by the hukou system have taken on the characteristics of political, economic and cultural turmoil as time has passed. Migrant research has largely concluded that residents lacking urban hukou registration are generally impoverished, live in low quality housing and work in low wage positions within the suburbs and periphery of Chinese urban manufacturing (Chen, et al. 2006; Delang & Ho, 2010; Feng & Zhou, 2005; Hui et al. 2014). Song (2015) additionally reveals heavy discrimination against workers holding rural hukou status by state-owned enterprises due to the protection these firms and their managers are afforded by close working ties with the central government.

Shanghai has emerged as one of China’s most important cities and a creative hub for the developing service economy (Olds, 1997; Zheng, 2011). The city’s leaders continue to rebuild and renew the urban setting while creating an environment of opportunity for migrants. This unique role explains why Shanghai is the city of choice for this proposed research. Previous research has yet to look at new urban renewal sites in Shanghai as possible places for migrant concentrations, employment and upward mobility.

This study will address three general questions: 1) Is there a concentration of migrant workers in two of Shanghai’s renewed urban commercial districts? 2) Have migrants working in Shanghai’s urban renewal sites experienced any form of upward mobility? This includes wage satisfaction, work place safety satisfaction and satisfaction
with the length of the workday. 3) What are the self-reported perceptions of overall quality of life for laborers in Shanghai’s urban renewal sites?

A mixed methods approach will demonstrate the value in making direct contact with migrants and examining issues based on personal responses to survey questions formulated specifically for this research as opposed to exclusively using archived provincial or metropolitan census data. All three of these questions will be examined by using a questionnaire derived from Flanagan’s Quality of Life Scale (1978) conducted in conjunction with in-depth interviews of migrant employees. The methods and location of this research will support previous studies that have shown migrants to be successful and important residents in complex Chinese urban settings. By looking to recently renovated urban districts for these successes, a fuller understanding of the diverse experiences of domestic migrants lives in China can be developed.

Organization of Thesis

The following thesis consists of five additional sections (II-VI). Chapter II will provide further background on the evolution of the hukou system and the history of Shanghai. Chapter III will provide a discussion of literature pertaining to Chinese migration and Shanghai’s role in creating opportunity for migrants. Chapter IV will detail the methods used in this research. Chapter V will reveal the results of this study. Chapter VI, the final chapter, will conclude with a discussion of the results and some additional observations that could be drawn from data and interviews.
CHAPTER II
BACKGROUND

Migration in the Era of Reform

Since the rise of Deng Xiaoping to the seat of General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party in 1978, a massive economic shift has occurred across the nation. Deng’s economic reforms led to the emergence of China as a major actor within the global economy. As a portion of these reforms, a series of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) were established through central planning during the early and mid-1980’s to open the country up to global trade and promote technology transfer and exports on the largest scale in China’s history. This reform was most successful when domestic firms adapted foreign technologies and manufacturing systems. China’s reopening brought about massive foreign direct investment. The investment however has been incredibly uneven across the nation with East China receiving a bulk of the funds (Figures 2.1 and 2.2)

With the rise of the SEZs, mainly concentrated in the Pearl River Delta and along China’s eastern coast, an ever-growing flow of internal migrants from the central and western provinces shifted eastward searching for work. While the work available to migrants has diversified from manufacturing to the rapidly expanding service sector, this movement has continued to the present day creating the largest internal migration stream in world history.
Figure 2.1: Foreign Direct Investment, 2004.

As shown in Figure 2.3, the same provinces that have received the most FDI have additionally been the destinations for the heaviest migration streams. It is through the geographical dominance of wealth, infrastructure and labor that Eastern China remains the economic hub of the Chinese system. This dominance has not only caused a stratification of wealth between the east and the west, but often within the provinces themselves.
The History of Hukou

The Chinese hukou system can be traced back to the baojia system of localized population control during the Song dynasty (900-1279 CE) (Mote, 2003), although it is often thought to be closer related to the Soviet propiska internal passport system (Dutton 1992). China’s urban population grew drastically between 1950 and 1960 due mostly to internal, rural-to-urban migration outlasting the initial implementation of the Mao’s hukou system in 1951. Internal migration topped out at 14.5 million people moving into cities by 1959 (Chan, 1988). However, by the 1960’s the full effects of communization...
movements such as the Movement of Socialist Transformation, the Nationalization of the Means of Production, and most famously the Great Leap Forward, had taken full effect, forcing Chinese citizens into rigid work units in order to ensure that production of resources was optimal (Guo, 2013). This period was followed by the Cultural Revolution during which time urban migration remained low.

The Chinese Communist Party slowly began to reform the *hukou* system starting in 1980 under Deng Xiaoping allowing for select families (those with political ties, generally speaking) to change their *hukou* status (Chan, 1999). Contemporary reforms have given further hope to rural Chinese residents that the *hukou* system will eventually be abolished all together (Chan & Buckingham, 2008; Cui & Cohen, 2015).

**Migration and Shanghai**

Shanghai has been one of China’s most important cities for much of the country’s recorded history. As a port city nestled at the mouth of the Changjiang River, Shanghai was key to trade in China before the arrival of western powers and became all the more important after as the city rapidly advanced in manufacturing during the unequal treaties era (Orchard, 1936). Today, Shanghai is the financial capital of China supplying 12% of municipal derived revenues to the country. Over 25% of trade passes through the city (Shepard, 2015).

At 6,340 km², Shanghai is the smallest provincial-order region in China proper. However, as the political region is made up entirely of the Shanghai municipality, Shanghai is the largest city in China by area and has the largest population (24,000,000 people) of a city proper globally. Shanghai’s internal migrants have continued to increase in number vis-à-vis the total population. This floating population jumped from 26.6% of
the total population in 2001 to 40% of all residents in 2012 (Wang et al. 2010; Schulz, 2012).

**Successes and Failures of New Urban Shanghai**

Shanghai’s dominance in the domestic and regional financial sector has allowed the city’s economic planners to focus on renewing the urban core of the city and build new towns surrounding it. Shepard (2015) provides ample examples of Shanghai’s attempts via the 1-9-6-6 plan to build new towns and villages around the city’s downtown in a style that compliments Shanghai’s global appeal. Thames town, German town and Dutch town have all been built within Shanghai’s peri-urban districts but remain remarkably empty. Shanghai’s successful development and redevelopment projects have instead come from within the traditional urban core and urban expansions made in the 1980’s.

Traditional *shikumen* housing neighborhoods have been targeted over the past decade by Shanghai district governments and private investors alike for renewal efforts to enhance commercial accessibility. The term *shikumen* refers to an architectural style of urban housing delineated by carved stone pillars and an arched doorway (Figures 2.4 & 2.5). These structures were once home to wealthy residents during Qing and Republic of China eras. *Shikumen* renewal sites have made successes of the international feel Shanghai attempted in its 1-9-6-6 plan and some of its suburbs while retaining Shanghainese identity. The low rise residences along the streets of old Shanghainese neighborhoods have been converted to pubs and storefronts along with high-end hotels. These sites include popular tourist destinations such as Xintiandi and Tianzifang, which are located in the central Huangpu district of Shanghai’s urban core. With the renewal of
the core comes an opportunity to alter the dynamics of migrant employment and the quality of life for these migrants. The following section will discuss past research on migration in China and more specifically Shanghai as well as point to the attractions of Shanghai as a migrant destination and the potential for the improvement of quality of life for these workers.

Figure 2.4: The stone doorway from which the term *shikumen* is derived.
Photographed by author, 2016.
Figure 2.5: A series of *shikumen* style storefronts and homes in *Xintiandi*.

Photographed by author, 2016.
CHAPTER III
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Shifting Trends and Characteristics for Migrant Laborers

The characteristics of Chinese internal migration are in many ways entirely unique, thus rendering most established international models of migration inapplicable. While insight and comparisons of Chinese internal migration can be drawn from works on international urban bias (Tolley, 1987) and socialist central planning (Ronnås & Sjöberg, 1993) the rigid barriers of the Chinese hukou system are relevant only to China.

The hukou system is a government registration system meant to organize the Chinese population by residency status (urban or rural) in order to allocate resources and enforce roles for labor while preventing uncontrolled migration. Under this system, residents registered under a rural hukou were forbidden from living and working in urban settings. Maoist and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) strategy was to assure Chinese citizens remained in their respective danwei (work units) in order to maintain even production under the communist system (Guo, 2013).

Since enforcement of the system has been lightened in terms of preventative enforcement, hukou registration has instead kept a large number of rural Chinese residents from finding prosperity in their destination cities on a level comparable to residents holding urban hukou registrations (Wang, 2004; Zhang & Treiman, 2013). With this in mind, the importance of understanding who is migrating and why they are migrating is paramount to the understanding of China-specific migrant studies. Still for most people living in China, the hukou system remains central to the decisions made, and the steps taken for economic betterment.
The new economic theory of labor migration, as described by Massey et al. (1993), provides relevant insight to a specific (and perhaps the most important) causal factor for Chinese internal migration. The theory states that migrants make the decision to move largely based on the needs of the family unit as opposed to choices made at an individual level for the fulfillment of personal goals. The wellbeing and support of the entire family unit has been consistently pointed out in many research projects as a primary factor in decisions to migrate (Wang et al. 2011; Mullan et al. 2011; Lu & Qin, 2014). Fan (1999) outlines numerous pull factors for migrants including job transfers, job assignments, training, joining family, joining of particular businesses or industries or marriage. Of these pull factors joining businesses and industries by far outweighed the others both nationwide and specifically in Guangdong province.

By 2008 over 310 million rural laborers had “off the farm” jobs (Wang et al. 2011). Of these 310 million laborers, 200 million constitute the urban “floating population” (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016). The rural migrants leaving their hometowns or villages for work in urban settings are often younger, more educated and generate greater income for their households than rural off-farm employees remaining in their places of origin. Zhang et al. (2015) discuss how these characteristics play out in area surrounding the Three Gorges Reservoir. In their findings, migrants leaving agricultural work to find employment in urban settings were around a decade younger than the workers remaining in their hometowns, villages and counties when migrating within their home province and around eight years younger when migrating out of their home provinces. Migrants that moved for employment within their home provinces had nearly two additional years of education as well. Interprovincial migrants have also been
found to be healthier than residents of their destination cities, thus increasing the probability of long-term residency (Lu & Qin, 2014).

Lu and Wang (2013) give insight into numerous shifting migrant characteristics in Shanghai based on comparisons of two sets of data from 1995 and 2005. Typically, migrants in China’s largest city have shifted from young, male and less educated workers to older, gender diverse and more educated participants in the Shanghai work force. These attributes are more often associated with permanent migrants in urban cores (Hu et al. 2011). Sun and Fan (2011) support the shift in educational attainment for rural-to-urban migrants and a degree of increased selectivity when compared to international Chinese migrants during this time period (1995-2005). Marital status has additionally changed from largely single migrant workers to married couples moving together to Shanghai for work. Job tenure increased from 1.7 years in 1995 to 3.6 years in 2005 revealing a general desire to remain in the city for longer durations, a sentiment echoed in Shenzhen according to Ngai and Lu (2010). Income has also increased 2.6 times for migrants with income increasing only 2.2 times for local Shanghai residents over the course of the decade. However, hourly wages have not significantly increased, signifying instead an increase in hours worked. This may partially be explained by the rising number of migrants in Shanghai, which typically depresses wage rates. Migrant laborers have also remained heavily concentrated in Shanghai’s private sector (43% are employed in private sector businesses as opposed to only 7% in state-owned sectors).

While these results provide a snapshot of the shifting attributes associated with the floating population, additional findings, such as the concentration of migrant laborers in the private sector, are proof of the prevailing struggles faced by workers during the
process of settling urban areas by migrant populations. These discouraging trends have been well documented by numerous scholars, most notably Kam-Wing Chan whose numerous articles over the years provide key insights into post-reform migrant struggles that still remain to this day (Chan, 1996, Chan 1999, Chan 2010).

**Gender and Migration**

Gender has consistently been an issue for Chinese internal migration. Female migrants have always constituted a significant portion of the migrant community, but it seems their participation is growing and their roles are shifting. Liu (2012) reveals the motivations for migrating women apart from following spouses to destination urban centers. Liu found women in Guangdong and Hunan are migrating to support their extended families remaining in rural home places financially or to gain financial independence or to *leave* their spouse. Changes in employment have been linked to career-oriented shifts more so than familial obligations (Cao & Hu, 2007). However women have consistently sought unskilled private employment as self-employed laborers as opposed to skilled occupations with opportunities to advance. The latter opportunities and positions are more likely to be occupied by male migrants (Zhang & Pan, 2012). Women are additionally more heavily recruited for factory work as well as obtaining factory jobs (Guo & Shen, 2016). While the new economic theory of labor migration’s framework in regards to the importance of familial decisions before migrating is hard to dispute, especially over longer periods, the previously cited studies provide a glimpse of a complex gender dynamic that will be later shown to be quite significant in this research.
Shifts in Power Balance

It has also been the members of the unskilled labor sector, often dominated by female migrants, that have continued to shift the balance of migrant power in China. As reported by the China Economic Review (2016) collectivizing efforts are believed to have increased as China’s need for urban laborers becomes more apparent, especially in light of a slipping GDP. The International Business Times (2015) goes as far as to point to a trend of exodus, where some migrant workers are leaving cities, including Beijing, due to unacceptable wages. This level of mobility additionally represents unimaginable flexibility for migrant communities when compared to even 15 years earlier.

The Lewis Turning Point Labor Model focuses on the point when supplies of rural labor “bottom out” causing unskilled wage rates to rise. Based on the Lewis Turning Point Labor Model, China may be close to maximizing the available supply of rural migrant labor in export-related manufacturing industries as well. Many factors, including an unwillingness to work in low wage manufacturing jobs and young migrants’ awareness of labor rights have heavily contributed to this situation (Chan, 2010).

Within the last decades, migrants have additionally taken a stand against localized policies that hinder their access to non-manufacturing sources of employment. Street vendors in Guangzhou have found means of resisting revanchist urban policies and have forced a hands-off approach by the local government in regard to vending practices and locations. This conclusion was drawn based on a series of interviews with street vendors in Guangzhou conducted to compare new and old policies enacted to limit street vending in specific locations for urban planning purposes (Huang et al. 2014).
Effects of Migration on Rural Areas

Though the implications of 200 million people arriving into urban settings has widely been the focus of Chinese migration research over the years, it is also important to consider that this number means additionally 200 million people have left the rural workforce either temporarily or permanently. With large numbers of productive workers leaving the countryside for the city, it is not hard to imagine the effects such a trend is having on the quality and composition of the rural labor force.

As of 2005, 51% to 59% of rural households in Guizhou and Ningxia provinces had at least one person working outside of the village (Mullan et al. 2011). Rural areas are losing some of the most productive members of their workforce to Yangzi and Pearl River Delta metropolitan regions. While the elderly do migrate, most often it is young, healthy rural residents leaving their home villages for greater opportunity (Lu & Qin, 2014). Many of these migrants do not wish to return home due to a scarcity of available farmland, a lack of farming experience and few start-up opportunities (Chan, 2010). Zhang et al. (2015) once again point out that migrants are often more educated than those remaining in their places of origin, while Chen (2011) suggests that sufficient educational obtainment diminishes entry barriers and often opens the door for permanent migration lending credence to the idea of a “brain drain” occurring in China’s rural area.

Nongzhuanfei and Implications

Opportunities to change hukou status from rural-to-urban (known as nongzhuanfei) are not necessarily common for the floating population, but it is possible and happens regularly on a small scale. However, with the addition of new land laws, such as 2002’s Rural Land Contracting Law, quasi-privatization of farmland has become a reality. With 30-year (or more) land contracts comes the ability of migrant laborers to
keep their land in their places of origin and rent to neighboring farmers while also migrating into the city. Mullan et al. (2011) found positive correlations between rural residents with land tenure contracts and the tendency to migrate. As long as migrants do not go through the process of *nongzhuanfei* then the land remains under the migrant’s control due to the Rural Responsibility Program introduced in the 1980’s. What is left is a disproportionate amount of land compared to actual year-round rural residents.

*Effects of Migration on Urban Settings*

Between inter and intra-provincial migrants, around 200 million people have been added to the urban labor force. Through the substitutability of local human capital and migrating human capital is not equal (mostly due to education constraint), internal migrants have been found to play a significant role in city-level productivity and per-capita output (Yu et al. 2015).

Occupation has been shown to be heavily dependent on registration status. Rural migrants in Shanghai’s manufacturing sector were largely employed as production-line laborers (79%), where as urban migrants and permanent migrants took positions in management (54.1% & 63.4% respectively) (Chen, 2011). Both urban migrants and permanent migrants held management positions in higher concentration than locals. Skilled migrants have been found in heavy concentrations in the urban cores of both Shanghai and Nanjing when compared to total migrant populations contributing to the professional labor pool (Cui et al. 2014).

*Housing Issues and Migration*

With the largest migration in human history comes a great dilemma regarding affordable housing. Because migrants either chose to maintain, or cannot change, their
hukou status, low-cost public housing becomes difficult to obtain. Migrants are often forced into the urban periphery in order to find affordable private housing. This of course, extends commute times and lowers quality of life for workers and their families.

Surveys and Minimum Standard Living Program (MLSP) data show residents lacking urban hukou in Nanjing to be concentrated in the south, southwest and northwest of the city distant from the city’s center. Job availability plays a large part in this trend (Chen, et al. 2006). Based on MSLP recipient data, the Nanjing Civil Affair Bureau additionally shows poverty to be concentrated in specific neighborhood types that include the aforementioned migrant enclaves (Liu & Wu, 2006). On the other hand Chinese census data from 2000 shows a movement of rural migrants to the inner suburban core of Hangzhou, in Zhejiang province. This trend follows the shifting spatial patterns of resettlement of the old industrial districts (Feng & Zhou, 2005). Workers participating in a study by Ngai and Lu (2010) were largely clustered in low wage export manufacturing firms in Shenzhen and Dongguan. However, survey results show rural hukou holding residents in Shenzhen were once concentrated outside the SEZ. Recent work shows these residents are moving into the SEZ when public housing options become available. Respondents also note a desire to permanently settle in Shenzhen if housing and employment opportunities are available (Hui et al. 2014).

This trend goes beyond cities in mainland China. Using data from the Hong Kong Census and Statistic Department’s Tertiary Planning Units, Delang and Ho (2010) also show poverty to be concentrated in public housing blocks on the outskirts of urban Hong Kong.
Shanghai as a Migrant Destination


By 2010, the Yangzi River Delta had supplanted the Pearl River Delta as the most important migrant urban destination. The region claimed 22.1% of the floating population in 2000 to 33% of the floating population over the course of the next decade (Liang, 2016). There is little evidence to show migrants are reaching equity with non-migrant residents in terms of income and status in major Chinese cities, however there are signs of progress occurring much faster due to both grassroots agency and city planning. Shanghai is an exemplary city for studying changing trends in migrant status and aspirations.

While overcrowding remains a problem, Shanghai's peri-urban settlements have been found to represent significant improvement as compared to squatter settlements or slums. Private ownership has created livable environments for migrants residing in these homes dating back to the 1990’s (Irwin, 1999). In 2010 the China Daily reported a new policy in Shanghai aimed at offering free education to all migrant children. As a consequence of this program Shanghai is providing more funding to public and private schools that enroll migrant children. This new policy also placed some twenty-two unlicensed schools into the hands of officials to ensure higher educational standards, food safety, and security. Continuation of this program will open up more opportunities for rural residents to migrate as a whole family unit as opposed to singularly and provide state-backed public education for children.
Recent tax reforms have also allocated more funding for Shanghai’s local government to invest in maintaining low cost rental housing. At the same time that Shanghai’s leadership is working to address migrant issues, experimentation with a property tax has provided new funds for low-cost housing maintenance (Huang, 2012). Data from the Fifth Sampling Survey of the Floating Population from the Shanghai Bureau of Statistics in 1993 revealed that a significant number of female rural migrants are choosing to remain in Shanghai. These female migrants are either bringing or joining their migrant husbands and seem to be prepared to settle in the city (Roberts, 2002). This reflects an increasingly common trend (Fan, 2009) because Shanghai’s policy reforms have created an environment more conducive to raising a family, which encourages permanent residency.

Local connection networks among rural migrants are strong in the city. This helps those migrants with strong networks find employment faster than those lacking connections. Based on survey data collected in 1995, 74% of internal migrants arrive in Shanghai with employment already guaranteed (Feng et al. 2002).

*Shanghai’s Barriers to Permanent Settlement for Migrants*

While reforms look to reshape urban life in Shanghai, barriers still exist. Increased marketization has led to typically wider housing inequalities. Shanghai, while offering improved access to employment opportunities, still remains a costly city. Based on 2010 census data, Shanghai’s major stresses generally come from the cost of owning a home. Homeownership is as low as 60% in Shanghai as opposed to a reported 90%
nationally (Yi & Huang, 2014) and only in the past decade have localized policies aimed at improving low-income housing started to include migrant workers (Shen, 2015).

Rural migrants additionally face housing overcrowding in the city as Shanghai maintains lower than average per capita housing space as compared to the national value as of 2010 (21.52 m² compared to 22.36 m²) (Zhang & Chen, 2014). Mean household space drops even lower when comparing Shanghai’s migrants to permanent residents. Zhang & Chen (2015) point out a disparity of around 15 m² (14.68 m² for migrants vis a vis 29.44 m² for residents) of mean housing space per person between the two groups. Additionally, 39.25% of migrants are considered officially living in “poverty housing” with 8 m² or less of space per person. Nationally, only 8.4% of China’s population would fall under the same category.

Shanghai’s elderly migrant population has been pushed to the urban fringe as well. Liu et al. (2015) note that migrating seniors have been largely relocated to the Pudong area developed from farmland in the 1990’s, away from the traditional neighborhoods of Shanghai.

Wang et al. (2010) concluded numerous obstacles including lower wages for migrants when compared to urban residents. They also cite a lack of personal support and that linguistic discrimination still stood in the way of the potential upward and socio-economic mobility of Shanghai’s floating population. The research by Wang et al. (2010), however, focused on traditional migrant employment areas such as electronics manufacturing and food markets. Shanghai has continued to renew its urban core and now offers a wider variety of spaces and opportunities for migrants to search out employment. Recalling Lu and Wang’s (2013) holistic analysis of migration in Shanghai,
it seems clear that conditions for migrants have improved to some extent. This can be derived from the reported increase in migrant income over a decade and the tendency for migrant workers to prolong their tenure in a city despite an ever-increasing cost of living.

*Urban Renewal Projects and the Success of Shikumen Redevelopment*

As Shanghai’s government agencies continue to experiment with numerous types of urban redevelopment projects, employment opportunities are developing in the fast growing service sector. Private investors in conjunction with the Shanghai local district government offices are collaborating to renew old *shikumen* neighborhoods, creating new commercial neighborhoods. Of these projects, *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* (Figure 3.1) appear to be the most successful. *Xintiandi*’s revitalization has doubled as a tourist attraction and a historic preservation site for the city (He & Wu, 2005). Grassroots neighborhood organizations in the *Tianzifang* neighborhood have also collaborated with the Shanghai city government to renew their neighborhood, as well as creating a combined residential and commercial district largely targeting tourists while providing new economic opportunities for residents, including migrants (Yung et al. 2014). These areas have formed boutique neighborhoods and commercial districts largely appealing to tourists (Figures 3.2-3.4).
Figure 3.1: Study sites *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* in Huangpu district.

Source: Author, 2016
Figure 3.2: A British style tearoom in Tianzifang, Shanghai.

Figure 3.3: *Tianzifang*'s façade of redeveloped storefronts.

Figure 3.4: Participants working in a small restaurant in Xintiandi. 
Photographed by Jacob A. Watkins (2016)
Recently, Special Development Districts (SDD) in Shanghai have reported some of the highest concentrations of FDI in the city. These districts, specifically Jing’an and Luwai, contain and surround new urban renewal sites (Wei & Leung, 2005). The Huangpu district of Shanghai, the location of both Xintiandi and Tianzifang, has high concentrations of skilled migrants as well (Cui et al. 2014). More specifically, Tianzifang is located in the Dapuqiao sub-district of Huangpu while Xintiandi is built around the transit station accessing subway lines 10 & 13 also in Huangpu (Figure 3.5).
These new commercial districts operate hundreds of highly accessible, commercialized small businesses. *Xintiandi’s* central plaza provides tourists and middle class Shanghainese with upscale restaurants and coffee shops such as Starbucks while *Tianzifang* has numerous knickknack shops and art galleries, as well as a wide variety of domestic and international dining options within the neighborhood. The success of these two projects in many ways symbolizes the meshing of local government efforts at urban improvement and the desire of private capital to invest in Shanghai’s service sector. Neither *Xintiandi* nor *Tianzifang* have been studied in depth in terms of the types of employees who compose the labor pool, but when considering accessibility to migrant skill levels, a fresh look may reveal opportunistic migrants have found these sites to be ideal locations for new sources of income.

Evidence of their importance as economic development strategies, Shanghai’s urban renewal projects, *Xintiandi* in particular, have been so successful that the model has been exported for adaptation elsewhere in the country. Due to the success of the reconstruction model, Shui On Land Corporation (the public development firm that collaborated with the Shanghai government to create Xintiandi) is renewing Lingnan heritage sites in Foshan, Guangdong province, in a style based on Shanghai’s *Xintiandi* commercial district. This model transforms historical neighborhoods into luxury living spaces and commercial districts (Li, 2008). Further projects based on this model are starting up elsewhere as well. The cities of Wuhan in Hubei and Chongqing have both selected similar historical renewal sites to be rebuilt as new housing and commercial districts.
*Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* cannot directly provide a complete solution to migrant housing issues in Shanghai. “New build” or “demolition-rebuild” projects, such as *Xintiandi* have forced many local residents out of their homes and into the suburbs (Shen, 2015), including a notable portion of the city’s elderly population (Liu et al., 2015). Apartment rentals in these newly developed areas range anywhere from $3,600 (¥24,000) per month for a two-bedroom apartment to $9,100 (¥60,000) per month for a full family rental based on current postings collected during fieldwork from real estate offices in *Xintiandi*. However, these locations provide new employment opportunities for migrant workers. These jobs are cleaner, exponentially safer than manufacturing jobs, and potentially a source of higher wages.

Previous literature suggests that the days when large portions of Chinese domestic migrants worked exclusively in low-wage manufacturing factories are numbered. Migrants are apparently not ready to pack up and return to their places of origin just yet or perhaps at all. Thus, Chinese migrant studies must incorporate research that recognizes new employment opportunities that offer potential benefits to migrants in order to understand internal migrant life in urban China in all its variety.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

HSIRB approval for this research was obtained in February of 2016 (Appendix A). Funding from the Milton E. and Ruth M. Scherer fellowship provided travel funds to Shanghai during June 2016. After a pretest of ten surveys used as a trial run, editorial changes were made and the questionnaires were translated into Chinese by a student in East China Normal University’s Chinese Language Department. Physical copies of surveys were distributed to employees in Xintiandi and Tianzifang throughout the summer of 2016 in collaboration with East China Normal University’s (ECNU) Department of Geographic Education.

During the weekdays, throughout my stay in Shanghai, I traveled to one of the two study sites with a translator from ECNU or Shanghai Jiao Tong University and distributed surveys to willing participants whose occupations ranged from maintenance and sanitary staff to shop managers and owners of clothing retail stores, art galleries and restaurants. After surveys were completed, respondents were given the opportunity to participate in an additional one-on-one interview. These interviews consisted of several open-ended questions regarding the participant’s contentment with working in the study site, hukou status, and their desire to remain in Shanghai. An assistant translated all formal interviews in real time. Some participants requested not to be recorded but agreed to answer further questions after completing the survey. All surveys were anonymous. Surveying concluded on June 29th. A total of 81 surveys were collected.
Surveys

The survey used in this research (Appendix B) was created based on a variation of Flanagan’s Quality of Life scale (Flanagan, 1978) in order to measure the respondent’s perception of the current quality of life experienced by employees in the research sites. The survey can be broken down into three main sections.

The first section of the survey collects data on general demographics including age, sex, marital status, children, and monthly income. Perhaps the most important question of this type, which related to the participant’s hukou status, was included in the last section of the survey based on advice from my colleagues at ECNU, though it would typically fall within the demographic section under most conditions.

The next section included a series of 7-point Likert-scale questions mirroring Flanagan’s Quality of Life Survey (1978) aimed at eliciting self-reported satisfaction associated with specific aspects of participants’ employment in either Xintiandi or Tianzifang. In Likert-type questions, a “1” represents the highest form of satisfaction while a “7” represents total dissatisfaction with the issue in question including monetary compensation, hours worked, commute time, and the safety of the job. Questions regarding satisfaction with aspects of the participant’s previous place of employment were included as well in order to identify any potential upward mobility or changes in opinion that occurred after being employed in the study sites. Access to improved income, on-the-job safety and work hours have been shown to be key aspects of upward mobility (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992).

The final section of the survey inquired about hukou status, overall satisfaction
with life in Shanghai, the length of time the participant desired to remain living and working in Shanghai, and the nonspecific location of the participant’s children (at home in rural China, migrating with the respondent, or others) if they had children.

All respondents were given the proper consent documentation before participating. Respondents had to be at least 18 years old in order to participate in this research. The survey was read to a small number of participants who were illiterate. This was done by request of the participant and the all consent documentation was explained thoroughly. Assistance was also given to participants whose first language was Shanghainese and therefore struggled reading standard Mandarin. If participation was declined, the person was thanked for their time and returned to work.

Compilation of Data and Analysis

Questionnaires were coded and the results were entered into a spreadsheet after returning to the United States. Specific codes were assigned to each location in order to distinguish between participants from Xintiandi or Tianzifang. The data were analyzed using IBM SPSS 24 (IBM SPSS, 2016). Both migrant and non-migrant (local) respondents are included in data analysis.

The first hypothesis (“Is there a concentration of migrant laborers in Shanghai’s urban renewal sites?”)(Chapter 1) was tested simply using descriptive statistics to analyze the concentration of migrant workers vis-à-vis all survey participants at both study sites.

The second hypothesis (Have migrants working in Shanghai’s urban renewal sites experienced any form of upward mobility?”)(Chapter 1) was tested using a Student’s independent samples t test to analyze changes in satisfaction with pay, hours worked, job
safety and commute time as well as overall satisfaction with life in Shanghai over time between local and non-local migrant employees. A one-way ANOVA test was also used to analyze the same variables across groups of respondents employed as (1) shop owners, (2) managers, or (3) customer service staff.

For the third hypothesis (“What is the overall quality of life for laborers in Shanghai’s urban renewal sites?”)(Chapter 1) multiple OLS linear regressions analysis was conducted to predict the overall satisfaction for life in Shanghai based on a set of variables including: age, satisfaction with commute time to place of employment, type hukou registration, number of hours worked in a week, and reported satisfaction with pay. Both the dependent variable and two of the independent variables (satisfaction with commute time and satisfaction with pay) are ordinal data from a seven-point Likert scale. Using Likert scale data in a regression model is a now widely accepted method for statistical analysis (Muuses et al. 2012, Cranney, 2013, Weir & Doty, 2016). All other variables are in ratio data format.

Qualitative Research Methods
In addition to completing the surveys, qualitative data was also collected. After the questionnaire was completed by the participant, the chance for either an in-depth interview or a simple, brief discussion of the participant’s experiences in Shanghai was offered. These interviews, discussions, and field observations are included in order to add context to the statistical results of each hypothesis.

Questions in the interviews and discussions were general and involved aspects of participants’ overall experience in Shanghai. Participants were asked about difficulties
face while living in Shanghai as well as their feelings toward *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang*.

This allowed them to both share their feelings in regards to their overall quality of life as well as speak on unique experiences and often the economic pursuits they were undertaking in Shanghai.

Field observations were used in order to provide insight into the spaces where these questionnaires and interviews were conducted. Additionally, these observations aim to analyze the interactions taking place in the respective neighborhoods without direct involvement from either my research team or myself.
CHAPTER V
DATA AND ANALYSIS

Demographics and Employment Details

Thirty-four convenience sample surveys were collected from Tianzifang and an additional 47 surveys were collected from Xintiandi for a total of 81 viable surveys used in this analysis (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter III). Table 5.1 summarizes the demographic details of survey respondents. Thirty-six percent of participants were male and 64 percent were female. Fifty-five percent of respondents were single, 44 percent were married, and one respondent reported being divorced. Reflecting the relative youth of the respondents, 57 percent of respondents did not have children, while 43 percent were parents. Only 15 percent of employees in the two study sites reported having local hukou registration, with 85 percent reporting a non-local (non-Shanghai) hukou. The majority of respondents (58 percent) reported living in Shanghai for four or more years; 18 percent have lived in Shanghai for two to three years, 14 percent lived in Shanghai for one year, and 10 percent for less than six months.
Table 5.1: Respondent demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 40</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not have</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hukou registration</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-local</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Lived in Shanghai</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Six months or less</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two to three years</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four or more years</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from surveys

In terms of employment, 72 percent of respondents self-identified as general retail or service employees, 21 percent were managers, and 7 percent were the owners of the business where they were working when surveyed (Table 5.2). Respondents were also asked to place themselves in more specific categories based the activities they completed during the workday. Nine percent classified their work as custodial or security-oriented, 53 percent worked as general retail service clerks, 13 percent worked as restaurant servers or general restaurant staff (hosts, hostesses, kitchen staff, etc.), 15 percent were
managers, and 6 percent were owners (Table 5.2). Four percent could not classify themselves in these categories and thus chose “other”.

Table 5.2: Employment details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Position</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General retail and services</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop owner</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Category</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Custodial staff, security</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail service</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servers, restaurant general staff</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from surveys

Descriptive Statistics for Likert-scale Data

In the 7-point Likert-scale format for the majority of questions included in section 2 of the survey, a “1” represents total satisfaction with a specific aspect of the respondent’s job and Shanghai in general while a “7” represents total dissatisfaction. The average level of satisfaction for pay (3.78/7.0, 3.66/7.0), hours worked (3.26/7.0), overall job satisfaction (3.09/7.0, 3.29/7.0), overall satisfaction with life in Shanghai (3.25/7.0), and commute time (3.06/7.0, 3.12/7.0) was between three and four (or “mostly satisfied” and “mixed satisfaction”) for both past and present jobs (Table 5.3). Mean satisfaction with the job safety was 2.47/7.0 for present employment and 2.7 for past employment (Table 5.3). These means suggest most employees are reasonably satisfied with key aspects of their jobs and feel that they experienced a certain degree of improvement or upward mobility since beginning to work in these areas.
Table 5.3: Descriptive statistics for Likert-scale satisfaction rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with safety</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>1.324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with safety at previous job</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>1.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly income</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>4968.35</td>
<td>1926.588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with pay</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>1.317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with pay at previous job</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>1.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours worked per week</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>1.600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with hours</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>1.321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with hours at previous job</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>1.370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall satisfaction with job</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>1.277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall satisfaction with previous job</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>1.519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall satisfaction with life in Shanghai</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily commute time</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>1.447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with daily commute time</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with daily commute time to previous job</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>1.433</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from surveys

Variations in Satisfaction and Income Based on Hukou Status

The sample was then divided into two subgroups: residents holding local *hukou* registration and residents with non-local *hukou* registration. Discussions of the *hukou* system can be found in both Chapter II and Chapter III of this thesis.

A Student’s independent samples *t* test was calculated to compare means of longevity of current employment, average monthly income, and respondents’ satisfaction with (1) compensation, (2) workplace safety, (3) hours worked in a week and (4)
commute time as well as (5) overall satisfaction with their current job and (6) life in Shanghai in general between workers with local *hukou* registration and non-local *hukou* registration. No significant differences were found between the means of the satisfaction indices for any variable with the exception of satisfaction with previous hours worked \( (t(74) = 1.023, p = .014) \) where employees with non-local *hukou* \( (\bar{x} = 3.31, sd = 1.446) \) were less satisfied than local residents \( (\bar{x} = 3, sd = .853) \). The results of the calculated student’s *t* test reveal no significant gap between migrant workers based on these variables. The only significant difference in means (satisfaction with previous hours worked) could possibly be explained by poor working conditions some migrants faced in their previous jobs, which also goes a long way in explaining why they left previous positions.

*Mean Variations in Satisfaction, Longevity, and Income Amongst Job Positions*

A one-way ANOVA analysis was conducted to compare longevity of current employment, average monthly income, and respondents’ satisfaction with compensation, workplace safety, hours worked in a week, commute time, and overall satisfaction with their current job and life in Shanghai in general. The dependent variable is the type of work, specifically the three different categories of job positions (general service employee, manager or owner).

Significant differences were found amongst the three different job positions for longevity of current employment \( (F(2,73) = 3.155, p = .048) \), average monthly income \( (F(2,71) = 4.048, p = .022) \), overall satisfaction with their job \( (F(2,73) = 3.115 = .05) \) and satisfaction with daily commute time \( (F(2,73) = 3.045, p = .054) \) (Table 5.4).
Table 5.4: ANOVA results of satisfaction responses amongst job positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longevity of current employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>8.186</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.093</td>
<td>3.155</td>
<td>.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>94.695</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1.297</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102.882</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>27172352.116</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13586176.05</td>
<td>4.048</td>
<td>.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>238307783.019</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3356447.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>265480135.135</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall satisfaction with job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>9.647</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.823</td>
<td>3.115</td>
<td>.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>113.038</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1.548</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>122.684</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with daily commute time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>11.793</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.897</td>
<td>3.045</td>
<td>.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>141.365</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1.937</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>153.158</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from surveys

A post-hoc Fisher’s LSD revealed a significant difference between shop owners ($\bar{x} = 3.6$, $sd = .894$) and general service employees ($\bar{x} = 2.31$, $sd = 1.171$) in regards to longevity of current employment. A significant difference in means between shop owners ($\bar{x} = 6900$, $sd = 2966.48$) and general service employees ($\bar{x} = 4590.57$, $sd = 1824.57$) for average monthly income was found as well. Mean shop owner overall satisfaction with
their jobs (\( \bar{x} = 1.8, \text{sd} = .837 \)) varies significantly between responses of managers (\( \bar{x} = 3.31, \text{sd} = 1.302 \)) and general service employees overall satisfaction with their respective job (\( \bar{x} = 3.2, \text{sd} = 1.253 \)). Satisfaction with daily commute time additionally varied between shop owners (\( \bar{x} = 2, \text{sd} = 1.225 \)) and managers (\( \bar{x} = 3.69, \text{sd} = 1.352 \)). While it comes as little surprise that there are variations amongst shop owners, managers and general service employees, it should be noted that all respondents who identified as shop owners were also non-Shanghai *hukou* migrants.

*Regression Analysis*

Finally, a multiple OLS linear regression was calculated to predict the overall satisfaction for life in Shanghai based on age, satisfaction with commute time to place of employment, type of *hukou* registration, the absolute number of hours worked in a week, and satisfaction with pay. Both the dependent variable and two of the independent variables (satisfaction with commute time and satisfaction with pay) are ordinal data from a seven-point Likert scale. Using Likert scale data in a regression model is now a widely accepted method for statistical analysis (Muuses et al. 2012, Cranney, 2013, Weir & Doty, 2016).

The result of the multiple linear regression analysis shows an adjusted \( R^2 \) value of .511 as well as a significant F-value (\( F(5,70) = .511, p<.0001 \)). The model can be described as:

\[
\text{Participants’ overall satisfaction with life in Shanghai = } -1.85 + .033(\text{Age}) + .342(\text{Satisfaction with commute}) + 1.280(\text{Hukou}) + .071(\text{Hours}) + .092(\text{Satisfaction with pay}).
\]
Based on the standardized beta scores, satisfaction with pay was the most important predictor with satisfaction with commute, *hukou* registration and age following in that order. Model diagnostics including absolute and standaredized beta values are provided as Table 5.5. All variables are significant with logical signs with the exception of the “hours worked per week” variable, which was not a significant predictor. Sex and location (*Xiantiandi* or *Tianzifang*) were both found to be insignificant and were removed from the model during earlier estimations.

Table 5.5: Regression results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Standardized Beta</th>
<th>t-score</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>-1.85</td>
<td>.698</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.652</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>(4) .228</td>
<td>2.636</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with commute</td>
<td>.342</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>(2) .353</td>
<td>4.031</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hukou</em> registration</td>
<td>1.280</td>
<td>.343</td>
<td>(3) .311</td>
<td>3.736</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>.945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with pay</td>
<td>.522</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>(1) .485</td>
<td>5.696</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: Shanghai Overall Satisfaction. *Hukou* dummy where 0 represents local resident and 1 represents nonlocal resident

b. Source: Derived from survey

Qualitative Analysis

When given the opportunity to participate in further in-depth interviews the answer was frequently “I don’t have the time”, but conversations often continued. From the owner of a children’s clothing store in *Tianzifang* to the woman who was losing her *shikumen* style home to the sprawl of *Xintiandi* when asked why they chose to keep working in these neighborhoods, the answer remained “I like it here”.
My first interview was conducted in Xintiandi’s mall at the help desk. The participant was a Shanghai native who was in the process of losing her home of ten years to redevelopment projects. She was commuting in from the Hongkou district daily. When asked how she felt about losing her home and continuing to work in the place that was contributing to this, she said:

“One thing is that if the government arranged a new house for us in the suburban area, one choice is to sell after a few years and buy new one here. The other is that I will quit this job, if I really move to suburban area.

Working here is quite good, I feel happy because I get along well with colleagues… It is close to my home. I can leave at 9:15 or 9:10, then start my work here at 9:30 and the work is easy to do, the environment is also good…

This job, if we continue the contract, you know, we are employed by contract, I will still do. Because we get insurance. The insurance guarantee is for retirement. I am to retire in a few years”

The conversations and interviews all pointed to Xintiandi and Tianzifang’s stability and creative nature. I found myself in numerous coffee shops, health food stores, art galleries and artisan craft shops throughout the course of this research, with more being built throughout the month. It is perhaps a testament to the neighborhoods’ positions as “tastemakers” that creative minds from all over the country as well as marketing students from Shanghai’s universities are being drawn to these urban renewal sites.
A migrant fashion designer from Anhui province took a few moments to talk about the area after he finished his pitch for several different flavors of artisan wine coolers. While his current job was not necessarily his passion, he enjoyed the creativity of Tianzifang and related it to his desires to design clothing. This sentiment was echoed, albeit somewhat cynically, by a participant working in a retail clothing store in Xintiandi.

When asked if she wanted to participate in this research, she quickly shook her head saying, “Not again. I did three of these last week”. After the full description of the project was given, she clarified:

“Oh, sorry. Students from the universities are constantly coming in with surveys for their marketing classes. We get them all the time in clothing stores.”

The diversity in occupation found amongst respondents has been discussed numerous times throughout this chapter. The survey, however, could not provide insight into the barriers for nonlocal shop owners. I discussed this issue with a participant shop owner from Hunan province selling traditional children’s clothing in Tianzifang. When asked about the difficulty of opening a store in Shanghai without local registration she responded:

“No [it was not difficult]. In China, if you have a company or shop it is very easy. It is, for the Chinese government, convenient. Some years ago, you did not need a business license. It was okay, you could open a shop…In terms of hukou, it does not mean that much. Maybe some luxury brands want their stuff sold by people from Shanghai, but mostly it does not matter where you come from. It is difficult to get Shanghai I.D. card and I am not married, but I think I will follow my husband’s card.”
The migrants who were interviewed clearly felt no need to apply for local *hukou* status and were generally content pursuing their creative ambitions as members of the floating population. Several repeatedly stated they no longer felt that *hukou* status even mattered in Shanghai, a finding also reflected in the previous statistical analysis. The implications of this qualitative analysis as well as the statistical tests in this chapter will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter of this research.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of survey results reveals a wide array of details regarding Shanghai’s rural-to-urban migrants and their roles in the city’s rapidly expanding service sector. The following section will discuss the results of each statistical test and the implications of these findings for the floating population working in Xintiandi and Tianzifang.

Discussion of Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics derived from the 81 viable surveys provide an idea of the diversity found within migrant-dominated service industries in Shanghai. With a mean age of just under 30, Xintiandi and Tianzifang boast a relatively young workforce of people likely attracted by the creative industries and high fashion shops within both sites. The slightly skewed gender ratio, with females making up 64 percent of the sample, can perhaps be attributed to the concentration of retailers selling women’s luxury fashion brands in both sites, but especially Xintiandi. Vera Wang and Gucci both have storefronts in Xintiandi along with numerous smaller, if similar, domestic firms renting spaces in both neighborhoods as well.

Additionally, daily commute times were much shorter than I imagined before starting the field research. It took me around an hour and a half to reach one of the two study sites every day from my apartment in the Minhang Inner Suburban District. By comparison, most participants reported commute times under an hour with the largest percentage reporting commute times somewhere between 15 to 30 minutes. This suggests that survey participants have found housing in the urban core of Shanghai or live within short walking distance of Shanghai’s excellent subway system. This study does not,
however, reveal anything about the actual conditions of their housing which is beyond the scope of this study.

Most notable is the high concentration of migrants in this sample. Eighty five percent of survey respondents randomly intercepted in these service sector locations lacked local Shanghai hukou. Though the presence of migrants in a heavily service-based neighborhood is not surprising, having such a large majority certainly is. The migrant laborers in this sample hold positions ranging from maintenance and sanitation staff to shop owners.

The “years lived in Shanghai” variable reveals that most respondents have lived in the city for four or more years (x = 58). The longevity of respondent’s residencies could mean that a desirable quality of life is being maintained in Shanghai, which is related to Hypothesis 3 (this will be further evaluated later in this chapter).

Employment Categories and Positions

The majority of respondents were young, single and without children, which could perhaps be explained by analyzing the distribution of self-reported job categories. Over 53 percent of respondents described their job as general “retail service” or simply assisting customers at different storefronts. Younger workers provide an image of modernity for these shops, therefore decreasing the likelihood of both marriage and having children with age.

Comparing percentages for responses to questions regarding “job categories” with “job positions” show a small bit of disconnect. For example, 21 percent of respondents reported their position was best described as a manager, however only 15 percent responded as managers when asked to categorize their jobs. This is likely an
artifact of the survey design because the “job category” question provided more detailed options.

Shop owners, as expected, were the fewest in number. Seven percent of respondents classified their position as a shop owner and six percent placed themselves in the “owner” job category. What this data does not reveal, however, is that all respondents who reported being shop owners were nonlocal residents. While these shops were not massive retail chains, the fact that nonlocal residents have been able to move into the ownership class is credit to both the determination of new migrants in Shanghai as well as the opportunity for entrepreneurship promoted by Shanghai’s local government.

Discussion of Likert-scale Data and Student’s t-test Results

When analyzing the means for the Likert-scale variables, very little change over time was observed or rather, there was little change in satisfaction with income, hours worked, commute times, job safety, and overall job satisfaction when comparing responses for previous employment with current employment. This is not to suggest that firms in Xintiandi and Tianzifang fail in providing satisfactory working conditions. The mean Likert values for both past and present employment stayed within values that represented “reasonable satisfaction” with all aspects of the respondents’ jobs.

Monthly income remained concentrated around the ¥3,000 – ¥6,000 (USD $437-$874) range for the majority of respondents with a mean of ¥4968.35 (USD $724)(SD = ¥1926.58/USD $281). This is right around the average monthly income of new job openings in Shanghai (¥5,891/USD $859 as of January 2016 according to Shanghaiist.com). Given the marital status of the participant (53% were single, 46%
married and 1% divorce), for most this is a sustainable income for categorical inclusion in Shanghai’s middle class.

The results of the Student’s independent samples $t$ tests reveal no significant differences between the means of local and nonlocal residents’ satisfaction indices for any of the previous variables. More importantly, there was also no significant difference in actual monthly income between the two groups. Based on my analyses of these variables, there are few measurable gaps in quality of life between local and nonlocal residents working in Xintiandi and Tianzifang. The only significant difference in mean satisfaction, which came from the “satisfaction with previous hours worked”, could mean that some migrants were previously employed in certain economic sectors that required long working hours such as manufacturing or perhaps farm work in their original rural homes. This potential explanation, however, is somewhat weakened by the lack of difference in mean satisfaction with any other variable for both past and present jobs. The lack of difference is important, reflecting a significant measure of satisfaction for both groups.

Considering the high concentration of migrant laborers, a greater shift in satisfaction from past to present and a difference between local and nonlocal residents’ satisfaction was expected based on the possibility of migrants previously working in low wage, unsafe manufacturing jobs; this simply was not the case. When recalling the 58 percent of respondents who reported having lived in Shanghai for four or more years, it is likely that both local and nonlocal residents have been steadily employed in safe and fiscally fair jobs with reasonable work hours for some time now. It is possible that upward mobility occurred many years ago and living standards have not changed since.
Another possibility to consider is that the nonlocal residents simply have never worked under the poor conditions that were the lot of previous generations of migrants. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, many young Chinese workers are no longer willing to work for low pay in dangerous occupations. While it is not possible to derive a specific answer from this set of details, it is worth considering that younger migrants are indeed avoiding the low-wage sectors while pursuing better opportunities. Because it is not possible to comment on possible upward mobility with certainty, an interpretation of hypothesis two must remain inconclusive.

*Variable Mean Responses Amongst Job Positions*

The results of a one-way ANOVA indicate that there are significant variations in longevity of current employment, average monthly income, overall satisfaction with respondents’ jobs, and satisfaction with daily commute times amongst three categories of job positions (general service employees, managers, or owners). The results of a post-hoc Fisher’s LSD provide more detail about these variations. It comes as no surprise that shop owners have worked for longer durations at their current jobs, make significantly more money than general service employees, are more satisfied overall with their jobs than general service employees and managers, and have shorter commute times.

The variation in income can be explained by simple economics and thus informs other variations in these variables. Shop owners gain all profits after deducting operation costs. These profits are greater than the wages paid to service workers and managers. With an increase in income likely comes the opportunity to lease or purchase housing that is closer to Shanghai’s urban core or being able to afford improved means of transportation (like a personal drive or Uber services, for instance) thus making daily
commutes more efficient. Because of this increase in income, overall contentment with one’s job is high.

While the correlations are clear, it must once again be pointed out that all shop owners in this data set are random workers lacking local Shanghai hukou. Though the number of shop owners in this sample is small, they exclusively constitute the share of the respondents with the highest earnings in this sample. These migrant laborers make more money, have access to improved mobility around the city (via either spatially near housing or faster means of transportation) and enjoy overall higher contentment with their jobs all the while maintaining relatively stable employment through their entrepreneurial endeavors.

Factors Associated with Positive Perception of Overall Quality of Life in Shanghai

When analyzing the regression model, a mixture of results was found. Satisfaction with pay was (as expected) the most important influence for over-all satisfaction for this Shanghai sample. The prevalence of commute time, while not shocking, is interesting. With a city as large as Shanghai, daily commutes can be grueling. The increased availability and greater convenience of Shanghai’s public transportation has clearly had a positive impact on quality of life in the city for migrants as well as local residents. Shanghai’s metro system is the largest in the world by length, covering 365 miles and 13 of Shanghai’s municipal districts. The metro averages around ten million riders a day, with annual ridership in the billions. The convenience of the metro has undoubtedly shortened commute times and allowed for a more affordable commute into the core of the city.
The *hukou* dummy variable (1 = nonlocal *hukou*, 0 = local *hukou*) puts forth an additionally fascinating scenario. Based on the t-values for the beta values generated by the OLS regression analysis, being a migrant laborer in *Xintiandi* or *Tianzifang* predicts greater satisfaction with life in Shanghai as compared to that reported by a local resident. Perhaps this is due to local residents knowledge and capability (based on *hukou* status) to obtain more desirable occupations. Migrant laborers are undoubtedly aware of the restrictions to employment the *hukou* system may generate, so service sector jobs in the two neighborhoods may provide the best possible outcome for this migrant population.

Another possible factor involves the previously discussed positions held by migrant workers. Migrants have been shown to occupy a wide array of positions ranging from general service employees to shop owners. There is clearly opportunity for advancement and perhaps career-oriented training, which could be appealing to both migrant and local workers, thus influencing the overall satisfaction with quality of life in Shanghai.

Age, also a significant contributor to more positive perspectives, may provide an explanation as well. With an average age of 29, the workers in these two neighborhoods are certainly relatively young, but an *increase* in age serves as a predictor for over-all satisfaction in Shanghai. This is perhaps caused by experiences related to previous employment in manufacturing sectors (“push factors”) or the overall creative nature of the service industries in *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* (“pull factors”).

Lastly, the insignificant variable “hours worked per week” by respondents reveals the willingness of laborers to work as much as required. Through a Western lens,
working over 40 hours in a week would seem to be a major downside to service sector employment, but for this data set it remains insignificant to overall quality of life in Shanghai, at least for survey respondents.

*Interviews and Qualitative Analyses*

Conducting in-depth interviews in *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* was often difficult. Both neighborhoods are packed with tourists and shoppers from the time stores open until late into the evening. As shops close, the bars and nightclubs begin to fill up. For the service staff and business owners, there is little relief from the hustle and bustle, as one would expect from similar types of neighborhoods in any major city throughout the world. It was not that respondents were hesitant to be interviewed, rather, in most cases, they were simply too busy.

The diversity of both neighborhoods certainly aligns with the shop owners’ views of Shanghai as commercially accessible. From the numerous migrants that participated in this research to the Indian owner of the scarf retailer in *Tianzifang* and the Filipino manager of the Thai restaurant who asked their employees to help by filling out surveys, it would seem the barriers for entrepreneurial inclusion are minor.

If one were to consider all the possible contributing variables to self-reported quality of life, a government system that restricts movement and access to public programs would certainly be a constraining factor. However, in the case of *Xintiandi* and *Tianzifang* this simply does not seem to be the case. When questions regarding *hukou* registration were presented, participants would often react with confusion. They seemed, at times, bewildered as to why something they clearly saw as having little relevance
would matter so much to a foreign researcher. Others seemed to implicitly understand the goal of this research, but chose not to share their thoughts on any negative fallout from having nonlocal registration documents. Interview participants spoke freely and openly about life in Shanghai and their feelings toward Xintiandi and Tianzifang. There was simply no evidence collected in the qualitative portion of this research that would suggest anything other than generally positive feelings toward participants’ jobs and positive assessments with respect to overall quality of life in Shanghai.

The feedback from interview participants is likely the exact outcome desired by Shanghai officials when the projects to renew these neighborhoods began. Shanghai has been able to attract recognizable global brands to an area that retains a uniquely Shanghainese feel and appearance. As the city’s financial sector continues to grow, facilitating the renewal of neighborhoods like those included in this study becomes increasingly conducive to Shanghai’s overall appeal as a global city. Producing an attractive urban core is key to remaining competitive with other regional “world cities” such as Tokyo, Seoul, Hong Kong, and most importantly, Beijing. Just as the employees in Xintiandi and Tianzifang benefit from stable wages and clean, creative environments, Shanghai benefits from appealing destination neighborhoods that attract both tourists and local residents working in key industries, especially the growing service sector.

**Conclusions**

The cost and ethical dilemma of destroying traditional homes and relocating Shanghai citizens to suburban developments is certainly debatable. However, it is hard to dispute that the Shanghai municipal government has succeeded in making urban renewal sites accessible to a young, creative workforce looking for appealing employment.
opportunities within the city’s core while preserving some elements of traditional enclaves. While many of the issues facing the floating population throughout China’s cities and municipal areas remain, in Xintiandi and Tianzifang, local and nonlocal laborers work side by side with no significant disparity between the two when examining key factors related to satisfaction such as income and overall contentment with their quality of life.

Again, the purpose of this research was to establish whether or not migrants were part of the workforce in these new upscale neighborhoods and commercial districts and if so, how did they view their experiences. Based on the findings of this research, it can be concluded that migrants make up the majority of workers in Xintiandi and Tianzifang. They are young, diverse (in terms of gender and marital status), and are largely satisfied with their overall quality of life in Shanghai. While China’s floating population is often characterized by frequent migration from city to city, most of the migrant participants in this research have lived in Shanghai for several years and the majority reported having no plans to leave in the near future. Migrants occupied a variety of roles and positions within the companies and storefronts where they worked. They were also, most surprisingly, the top earners of this sample group and made up the entirety of the ownership group of respondents.

While the questionnaires distributed in Xintiandi and Tianzifang provided quantifiable evidence for the questions originally developed at the beginning of this project, participant interviews and discussions provided much-needed context. The opinions of working life in both neighborhoods remained positive even within the context of someone losing their home to further development of Xintiandi. The perceived
struggles that are often attributed with the migrant life and the restrictive hukou system were never mentioned, and the opposite (ease of overcoming hukou restrictions) was often discussed.

At the national scale, the barriers of the hukou system will undoubtedly continue contributing to a widening social gap, however signs of progress can be seen when analyzing migrant communities on smaller scales. The study sites in this research may be relatively small neighborhoods within the world’s most populous city, but that certainly does not mean that studies based on the floating population within cannot provide valuable insight into the ways that migrant workers are overcoming the constraints of their household registration status.

Though migrant labor will likely continue to feature heavily in manufacturing sectors, the diversification of the Chinese economy can only lead to further involvement in tertiary occupations and aspirations. The participants in this research often spoke of their desires for more creative occupations. It would be hard to imagine this trend not continuing so long as GDP growth remains relatively consistent. As the original hukou system continues to be amended and further watered down, instances of social integration will become more important than ever for Chinese migrant studies at large. While there are certainly other factors at play such as educational attainment and economic status prior to migration, the role of the local hukou registration system seems to be diminishing.

If it is indeed the case that the hukou system will continue to dissolve, then it would appear as if leadership in Shanghai have already begun to efficiently facilitate urban migration so as to assure sufficient supplies of labor for all purposes. Shanghai has
started to provide financial subsidies and support for education and housing for these migrants, and the results of this research suggest that the private sector can at least in some cases provide opportunities for clean, safe, creative employment. At the intersections of urban development and migrant issues, Shanghai has made progress that appears to be mutually beneficial to the city and all of its residents. Though other cities attempting to follow Shanghai’s path to relative stability will certainly struggle to match the funds available for social services in a world city, the strategies Shanghai has used can be implemented on smaller scales.

Examining the role of urban renewal sites in other cities, such as Chongqing and Wuhan, in providing stable migrant employment is cause for further research on the service sector’s impact on the floating population. By remembering both the struggles faced by nonlocal residents in low-paying manufacturing sectors and the successes some migrants have found in service employment, a deeper understanding of this complex system can be gained. Whether or not nation-wide change and large-scale social proliferation will occur in the near future is unknown, but evidence of upward mobility and stable quality of life for migrant communities exists nonetheless.
CONSENT FORM

Western Michigan University
Department of Geography

You are invited to participate in a Western Michigan University research project entitled "Measuring Quality of Life for Shanghai's Floating Population Employed in Urban Renewal Sites". This study is designed to investigate how employment in Xintiandi and Tianzifang neighborhoods in Shanghai has influenced the quality of life for the floating population in the city. Information may help alter local perception of internal migrants working in the city as well as influence local government policy to benefit migrants. This study is being conducted by Mr. Jacob A. Watkins from the Department of Geography of Western Michigan University. The research is being carried out for part of the thesis requirements for Mr. Jacob A. Watkins.

我同意参加这项调查，认真、仔细地回答这份问卷，是因为我知道这项调查上海生活质量的研究仅用于学术目的，问卷将采用匿名方式，我的个人信息不会被泄露，但如果我在任何时候感觉不舒服，或者反悔，我都可以联系到研究者及其助手，要求他们销毁问卷。

This consent document has been approved for use for one year by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) as indicated by the stamped date and signature of the board chair in the lower left corner. Subjects should not participate in this project if the stamped date is more than one year old.

Contact Information:

Jacob A. Watkins: Student Investigator
1903 W. Michigan Ave. MS 5424
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5424
PH: +1-423-736-5757
Email: jacob.a.watkins@wmich.edu

Western Michigan University
H.S.I.R.B.
Approved for use for one year from this date:

Gregory Veeck:
1903 W. Michigan Ave. MS 5424
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5424
PH: +1-269-387-3420
Email: Gregory.veeck@wmich.edu

FEB 05 2016

HSIRB Office
The purpose of this anonymous survey is to analyze how employment in Shanghai’s service sector has affected the quality of life for both local and migrating workers. Your response will aid in research designed to measure the livability of Shanghai for all residents regardless of hukou registration status.

Basic info.  Gender:  Male___ Female____  Age:____
  婚否：  未婚  已婚  离异    子女：  有  无
state:  single  married  divorced  kids:  yes  no

1) How long have you lived Shanghai?
__ Less than six months  One year  Two to three years  Four or more years

2) What type of work do you do?
_____ Factory work  _ Maintenance or sanitation work  ___ General retail or sales
_____ I own this business _ I manage this business _ I work with or serve customers

3) In your current place of employment, which of the following best describes the position or title you hold?
_____ I own this business _ I manage this business _ I work with or serve customers

4) How long have you worked at your current job?
__ Less than six months  One year  Two to three years  Four or more years

5) How would you describe your feelings toward the environment of your job in terms of safety?
①很满意  ②满意  ③较满意  ④一般  ⑤较不满意  ⑥不满意  ⑦很满意
6) 就您前一份工作的环境的安全性而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？

How would you describe your feelings toward the environment of your previous job in terms of safety?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted 2.) Pleased 3.) Mostly satisfied 4.) Mixed 5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy 7.) Terrible

7) 您现在这份工作每月收入平均多少？

How much is your average month income?

8) 您在现在这份工作中所拿到的工资是否让您在上海生活得舒适？以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？

How would you describe your feelings toward the financial compensation you receive for your performance on the job?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted 2.) Pleased 3.) Mostly satisfied 4.) Mixed 5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy 7.) Terrible

9) 您在前一份工作中所拿到的工资是否让您生活得舒适？以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？

How would you describe your feelings toward the financial compensation you received for your performance at your previous place of employment?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted 2.) Pleased 3.) Mostly satisfied 4.) Mixed 5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy 7.) Terrible

10) 您现在每周工作多少小时？

How many hours per week do you work?

___ 不到 15 小时 _______ 15-30 小时 _______ 30-40 小时
___ 40-50 小时 _______ 50-60 小时 _______ 60 小时以上
__ less than 15 _ 15 – 30 __ 30 – 40
__ 40 – 50 __ 50 – 60 __ more than 60

11) 就您现在这份工作每周的工作时长而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？

How would you describe your feelings toward the amount of hours in a week you are asked to work by your employer?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted 2.) Pleased 3.) Mostly satisfied 4.) Mixed 5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy    7.) Terrible

12) 就您前一份工作每周的工作时长而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？
How would you describe your feelings toward the amount of hours in a week you were asked to work by your previous employer?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted  2.) Pleased  3.) Mostly satisfied  4.) Mixed  5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy  7.) Terrible

13) 就现在这份工作给您带来的满足感而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？
How would you describe your overall happiness and contentment with your current place of employment?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted  2.) Pleased  3.) Mostly satisfied  4.) Mixed  5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy  7.) Terrible

14) 就前一份工作给您带来的满足感而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？
How would you describe your overall happiness and contentment with your previous place of employment?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted  2.) Pleased  3.) Mostly satisfied  4.) Mixed  5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy  7.) Terrible

15) 就生活在上海给您带来的满足感而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？
How would you describe your overall happiness and contentment with your life in Shanghai?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted  2.) Pleased  3.) Mostly satisfied  4.) Mixed  5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy  7.) Terrible

16) 您在新天地/田子坊日常上下班的通勤时间（单程）大约是多久？
How long is your commute to your current job in Xintiandi/tianzifang?

___ 不到 15 分钟  ___ 15-30 分钟  ___ 30-45 分钟  ___ 45 分钟-1 小时
___ 1 小时-1 个半小时  ___ 1 个半小时-2 小时  ___ 超过 2 小时
1.) Under 15 minutes  2.) 15 to 30 minutes  3.) 30 to 45 minutes  4.) 45-60 minutes
5.) 1 hour to 1.5 hour  6.) 1.5 to 2h  7.) over 2h

17) 就您对现在这份工作所需要花的上下班的通勤时间（单程）而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？
How would you describe your commute time (one-way) for this job?
18) How would you describe your commute time (one-way) for your previous job?

1.) Delighted 2.) Pleased 3.) Mostly satisfied 4.) Mixed 5.) Mostly dissatisfied 6.) Unhappy 7.) Terrible

19) Is your urban registration based in the Shanghai city center? Yes ___ no ___

20) hat kind of hukou do you currently hold?

___ urban household registration ___ rural household

21) How long would you like to remain living in Shanghai?

___ I hope to leave as soon as possible ___ Until the end of this year (2016) ___ One additional year ___ I may stay two to three years ___ I hope to remain in Shanghai for the foreseeable future

22) Where do your children currently live?

___ My children live with me in Shanghai ___ My children live with my spouse elsewhere ___ My children live with my spouse in my place of origin ___ My children live with my parents elsewhere ___ My children live with my parents in my place of origin if not included, then: ___
23) 就您在田子坊附近工作的感受而言，以下哪种状态最能表达您的感受？
How would you describe your feelings towards working in the Xintiandi neighborhood?
①很满意 ②满意 ③较满意 ④一般 ⑤较不满意 ⑥不满意 ⑦很不满意
1.) Delighted 2.) Pleased 3.) Mostly satisfied 4.) Mixed 5.) Mostly dissatisfied
6.) Unhappy 7.) Terrible

感谢您愿意帮助我们完成这份调查。您提供的宝贵信息对我们的研究非常重要，这份问卷将得到妥善保管。
Thank you for your participation in this survey and research. Your anonymous response will play an important part in this developing topic. Please keep the consent form distributed at the beginning of this survey and feel free to contact the researcher at anytime.
APPENDIX B

HSIRB Approval
Date: February 5, 2016
To: Gregory Veeck, Principal Investigator
    Jacob Watkins, Student Investigator for dissertation
From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair
Re: HSIRB Project Number 16-01-30

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project titled “Measuring Quality of Life for Shanghai’s Floating Population employed in Urban Renewal Sites” has been approved under the expedited category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note: This research may only be conducted exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project (e.g., you must request a post approval change to enroll subjects beyond the number stated in your application under “Number of subjects you want to complete the study.”) Failure to obtain approval for changes will result in a protocol deviation. In addition, if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

Reapproval of the project is required if it extends beyond the termination date stated below.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: February 4, 2017
REFERENCES


