

# Chapter 6: Influence of Migrants’ Two-Directional Rural-Urban Linkages in Urban Villages in China

The Case of Shigezhuang Village in Beijing

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## INTRODUCTION

China’s urbanisation can be understood as an in-situ process where rural areas gradually become urban (Zhu 1999). This process is characterised by the informal growth of urban villages situated on the periphery of large cities and the huge inflow of rural migrant workers into these cities due to the better chances of finding employment (Hao *et al.* 2011; Liu *et al.* 2010; Zheng *et al.* 2009). Under the dual urban-rural land system, indigenous villagers are allowed to extend the houses that have been built on their own plots and rent out rooms to the migrant population. Because of the low living costs and prime location, migrants prefer to settle down in urban villages in their destination cities. In certain urban villages in metropolitan cities like Beijing, the number of migrants can be more than ten times that of indigenous villagers (Feng 2010). As such, urban villages have been identified as migrant enclaves (Friedmann 2005; He *et al.* 2010; Lin *et al.* 2011; Liu *et al.* 2017; Liu *et al.* 2018; Wu *et al.* 2013; Wu 2016). Much literature has described urban villages as settlements that are ‘chaotic’, ‘unplanned’, ‘congested’ and ‘substandard’ (Chung 2010; Tian 2008), arguing that this situation is attributed to the informal mechanisms of land development and the rational rent-seeking decisions of (urban) villagers who wish to maximise profits from their assigned housing plots (Ma 2006; Wu *et al.* 2013). In the development and redevelopment process of urban villages, villagers, governments and developers are identified as key stakeholders and the negotiations that take place

among them have been investigated and analysed (Herrle *et al.* 2014). Nevertheless, even though migrants are the largest group living in these locations, their interests are often neglected in these negotiations (Liu *et al.* 2018). Although there is some literature that focuses on migrants' housing conditions and the inequalities that exist in the housing market (He *et al.* 2010; Zheng *et al.* 2009), it mainly observes the issue from a top-down, institutional interpretation. Given the fact that migrants have no property rights and tenancy security (Liu *et al.* 2018), they are seen as only passively adopting the space they inhabit. The impacts of migrants' decision-making and daily activities on housing conditions in urban villages remain unclear.

Many studies have proved that in traditional Chinese society blood bonds (xueyuan) and place bonds (diyuan) play a central role in people's decision-making, and migrants coming from the same rural origin (tongxiang) tend to agglomerate so as to be spatially close within their new urban destinations (Fei 1985; Zhang 2001). Researchers have examined the socio-spatial pattern of migrants' networks and their attachment to and engagement with both their rural places of origin and their urban destinations (Fan 2002; Fan *et al.* 2011; Liu *et al.* 2012; Liu *et al.* 2018; Saunders 2011). Therefore, this paper conceptualises migrants' two-directional linkages as being invisible ties between their rural hometowns and their arrival cities, in terms of personal, economic and social perspectives. The research question in this enquiry focuses on how this two-directional linkage influences migrants' decision-making processes and activities upon their arrival in urban villages. The primary aim of this paper is to contribute to a better understanding of housing conditions for migrants in urban villages by highlighting their bipolar relationship with both their rural places of origin and their urban destinations. It also seeks to shed insight on the conceptualisation of temporary migrants by examining the relevant factors, including migration time and family size. Moreover, it critically analyses the effects of social networks and neighbourhood attachments among migrants who come from the same place of origin. Due to the informal status of the migrant population in China and the lack of quantitative data on their everyday activities, this research uses qualitative analysis that is mainly based on interviews and investigates the village of Shigezhuang, in Beijing, as a case study.

This chapter is presented in five sections. The following section gives a brief overview of the literature on China's internal rural-urban migration and migrants' perceptions and activities concerning their rural origins. It also provides a conceptual framework for the empirical research. In section three, the research method is explained and the village of Shigezhuang is introduced as the case study. The fourth section provides insight into the migrants' current housing

conditions and backgrounds and the factors they take into consideration when decision-making; it does so by analysing their demographic profiles and by reviewing and analysing the interview transcripts. Discussions are interwoven into the data analysis. Concluding remarks are drawn in the final section.

## MIGRANTS' LINKAGE TO THEIR RURAL ORIGINS

Since the late 1980s, China has witnessed a surge in the rate of internal rural-urban migration (Hao *et al.* 2011) and those workers coming from rural areas or small cities to large cities are referred to as the migrant population. These migrants maintain constant links to their rural origins, both as individuals and as members of families. Splitting up households is identified as a strategy migrant workers use to benefit the most from working in cities (Fan *et al.* 2011). A split-household family refers to a situation 'where family members who under normal circumstances would be living in the same place are in actuality living in separate places' (Fan *et al.* 2011, p. 2166). Migrant workers straddle the city and the countryside as they circulate between the two locations and send money back to their hometowns as a major source of income and savings for the family members who are left behind (Fan 2002; Fan *et al.* 2011; Yang 2000). However, the study is limited as it categorises split households into forms of sole migration, couple migration and family migration, thereby overlooking the traditional Chinese culture of including three generations in this culture's conceptualisation of a family.

There has also been a debate on migrants' perceptions of urban villages and their intention of settling down in the established city. Some scholars have argued that most migrants consider urban villages as temporary places of arrival and are eager to transit into the nearby urban area and become a permanent residents there (Saunders 2011). In contrast, other findings indicate that migrants are unlikely to have long-term plans to settle down in the city (Fan 2002; Yang 2000). However, migrants merely view the destination city as a place of work instead of a place in which to live, and they have no intention of staying. Determinants that include the period of time spent working in a certain city and family size have been examined and proven to have little influence on migrants' interpretations and decision-making. Another argument is that it is better to focus on migrants' 'attachment to and engagement with the origin and destination' rather than interpreting these factors according to a 'go or no-go' dichotomy (Kaufmann 2007). The system of classifying 'temporary migrants' and 'permanent migrants' was adopted when differentiating migrant workers from those who

attain a relatively high educational level and benefit from institutional welfare (Fan 2002). Two explanations account for this unsettled situation. The first and most widely discussed reason concerns China's hukou system, which prevents migrants from accessing many public services in destination cities, including health care, education, housing and other social benefits (Lin *et al.* 2011). Another reason is that migrants are more likely to invest money in their rural hometowns out of a sense of social and economic security and also of belonging (Fan *et al.* 2011; Liu *et al.* 2018).

Besides the fact that migrants or migrant families' decision-making is influenced by their two-directional linkage between their rural origins and their urban destinations, certain communities are informally set up in the established city because of the migrant inhabitants' linkages to their hometowns. Research shows that there is a long history of migrants who come from the same origins, settling in the same urban villages. Extreme cases are those urban villages where the majority of migrants come from the same province and where that village has been given the name of that province, such as Zhejiang Village and Xinjiang Village (Chung 2010; Friedmann 2005; Zhang 2001). However, there are many urban villages that accommodate heterogeneous migrants and where there are not necessarily strong community ties among these residents (Chung 2010). A shared finding is that migrants tend to cluster in particular locations within a city, based on their shared sense of identity (Ma and Xiang 1998). This sense of identity is based on kinship and geographic relations to their place of origin rather than to their place of arrival. Those migrants having the same place bonds (*diyuan*) call each other *tongxiang* and their place of origin can be flexibly and differently defined according to contexts, which vary between village, township, city and province (Zhang 2001). For migrant workers, *tongxiang* is the main source of labour market information (Fan 2002). Although new-generation migrants probably rely more on 'non-territorial' networks, 'hometown-based bonds' still play a key role in their social networks (Liu *et al.* 2012, p.192).

The fact that migrants rely on social networks and have uncertain feelings about their arrival cities can be understood best when reviewing the recent massive demolition of urban villages and the evictions of migrant workers. For city governments, urban villages are blamed for the inefficient and chaotic land use that hampers the process of 'modernisation' (Wu 2009). This negative characterisation of urban villages is used to justify large-scale demolitions under the auspices of urban development. A growing body of literature argues that migrant workers, as the tenant class in urban villages, have an inferior status and are often neglected by municipalities and academia (Liu *et al.* 2018; Wang *et al.* 2009). Migrant workers are treated as a 'means of production' rather than a 'so-

cial asset which contributes to the identity and culture of the city' (Hao *et al.* 2011, p.223). With no property rights or legal protection, migrants have no discourse in bargaining over rental prices and are not compensated when faced with displacement. When they are evicted from their original enclaves, migrants tend to make short-distance moves that are dependent on their social ties because of the lack of information on and access to other neighbourhoods. In addition to investigating these migrants' physical evictions, researchers have also looked into their economic displacement (Liu *et al.* 2018). Whereas direct economic displacement means migrant renters are priced out by rising housing costs and are forced to relocate to other urban villages, indirectly, one can understand how they become displaced in situ where they tend to remain in the same neighbourhood and must accept unreasonable rental increases because of the other potential loss, which is in their social ties.

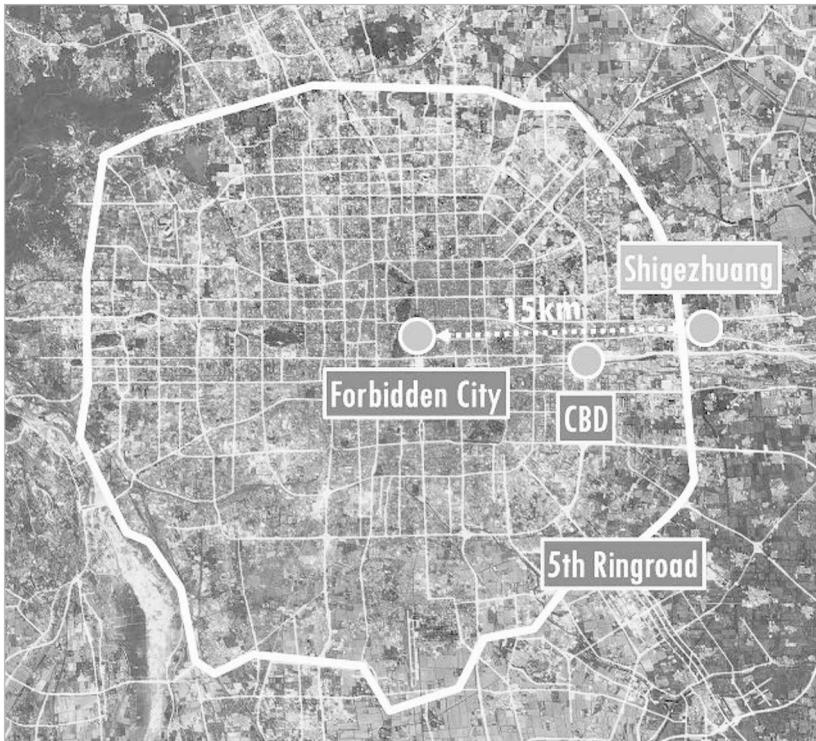
The above literature review provides the study with a conceptual framework that guides its empirical analysis. To identify the impacts of Chinese migrants' two-directional linkages on their living conditions in urban villages, this research was approached from three perspectives: the case of a migrant or a migrant family, migrants as members of the migrant community, and the migrant community as a whole. First, migrants' individual linkages to their rural origins influence their activities in their urban destinations and their decisions as circulators between these destinations is a superficial reflection of this linkage. In this case, a migrant or a migrant family is analysed as an individual subject. Second, migrants gather in urban villages, based on their bonds of place, and form a tongxiang community, which is a collective reflection of their two-directional linkages. As such, two more types of subjects are identified a migrant or a migrant family as a member of the community and the migrant community as a whole. Therefore, the specific research question is how the two-directional linkage acts on these three subjects and also on migrants' overall housing conditions in urban villages. Based on this conceptual framework, the case of the village of Shigezhuang was selected and examined in the research.

## RESEARCH METHOD AND DATA

Historically, Beijing's periphery has been dotted with hundreds of village communities (Jeong 2011), but there are almost no urban villages left within the city's fourth ring road because of the large-scale urban redevelopment of recent years. The village of Shigezhuang is located to the east of the central business district and just beyond the fifth ring road. Shigezhuang is one of the most cen-

trally located villages among those that remain in Beijing, which means it has existed for a long time in the form of an urban village.<sup>1</sup> Further, it has a high migrant-to-native ratio of around eight-to-one and a large percentage of these migrants come from the province of Sichuan. Therefore, Shigezhuang was chosen as the case village for this field research, based on the need to investigate migrants' activities and decision-making processes as they relate to their rural origins.

*Figure 1: Location of Shigezhuang village in Beijing.*



Source: drawn by author based on Google map.

The data were collected from various sources during the field research, including from interviews, a questionnaire survey, field observations, photographs and

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1 The statement in this paragraph is based on an early round of overall field research on urban villages in Beijing. In addition, the research of Fan *et al.* (2011) is also an important reference.

mapping. The period of the study was from September to October 2017. Due to the fact that urban villages are considered informal settlements and migrants are usually not formally included in the urban economy, information about migrants' demographics is not officially publicly available. Therefore, the aim of this research was not to enrol a representative sample of migrants but to examine the individualized experiences and choices of housing that are linked to these migrants' two-directional linkages.

First, a face-to-face survey was conducted with 58 residents who were randomly selected from different parts of the village so that they were relatively evenly distributed, spatially. The subjects were asked to provide information on their demographics (including gender, age, hukou province and occupation<sup>2</sup>), as well as to give profiles of their dwellings (including the size of their rental rooms, the number of dwellers per room and whether there was an in-room toilet). Subsequent to the survey, semi-structured interviews were conducted with some respondents. Respondents were each assigned a number, which was used for anonymity in the following discussion. A number with a suffix means that these people were interviewed together as one household. Although the sample is not big enough for a reliable quantitative research, the appropriate saturation was achieved after 58 surveys and the subsequent interviews; that is, no new information concerning the main aspects of the migrants' activities and decision-making related to their rural origins could be collected by undertaking more interviews.

## **MIGRANTS IN THE CASE OF SHIGEZHUANG VILLAGE**

In this section, detailed interview content and data analyses are presented in combination with discussions. Based on the aforementioned conceptual framework, the research findings concerning the two-directional linkages were structured from three perspectives: migrants as individuals, migrants as tongxiang, and a migrant community as a whole.

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2 In the surveys, each person was asked about the details of the tasks they performed at their work. Occupations such as construction worker, electrician and decorator were mentioned as different categories of jobs in the construction industry. Men who worked as hourly laborers are often referred to as those workers who do not specialize in a certain type of work but mainly work on a construction site. Women who work as hourly laborers often work in different occupations, such as in cleaning.

## As an individual migrant perceiving the arrival city as a place for work

Among all of the respondents, five were residents with Beijing hukou and 53 were migrants. All the Beijing residents were over 60 years of age. A majority of the migrants were in their 30s (25%) or 40s (36%), while only 13% were younger than 30 and 13% were in their 50s. As for dwelling profiles, for the Beijing residents the average living space per person was 21.8 square metres, while that for the migrants was 5.1 square metres. One family of three migrants did not travel to Beijing for work. When they were excluded, the average living space per person for the migrant workers was 3.6 square metres and only three of these 50 migrants had an in-room toilet. The majority of these migrants had to use public toilets, which were substandard, and they had to bath in an outdoor shelter by temporarily setting up plastic tents. The rent for these rooms without toilets was around 80 yuan (11.4 USD) per square metre per month. For example, for the family of Interviewee 10, their 9-square-metre room costs around 750 yuan (107.0 USD), and the 4-square-metre room of Interviewee 4 cost 300 yuan per month (42.8 USD).

During the interviews, some interviewees were invited to answer a hypothetical question:

*'I know there is a room, in the nearby urban village, that is the same size as the one you live in now but that has a toilet, but the rent is 200 yuan higher. Would you be willing to move to that room' (Author, September 2017).*

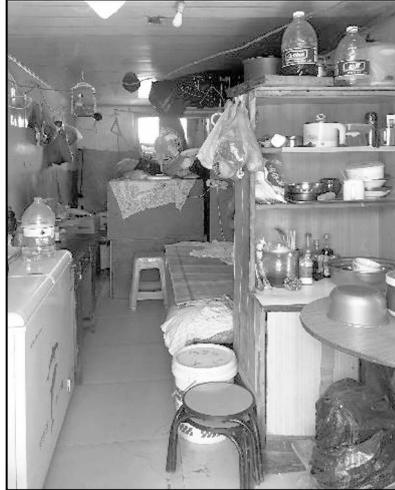
Interviewee 5's answer represents most respondents:

*'There is already enough space within our room for my family to live. Why would I pay extra money for the rent? We don't need an in-room toilet' (Interviewee 5, September 2017).*

This is a surprising answer because these migrants earned a fairly high salary compared to the rent they paid. Taking Interviewee 5 as an example, he and his wife had worked in Beijing for more than 15 years and had lived in Shigezhuang for more than 10 years, until 2017. He worked as a construction worker and his salary was 500 yuan per day. When he worked for 22 days per month, on average, his monthly income was 11,000 yuan. His wife worked as a cleaner and her salary per month was around 4,000 yuan. In this case, if this family worked for 11 months a year in Beijing, their yearly income would have been 165,000 yuan,

which is higher than the 2017 annual income per capital of the residents in Beijing, which was 57,230 yuan (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics 2018). In this case, their 8.5-square-metre room, with a monthly rent of 750 yuan, only took up 5% of their combined income.

Figure 2: 2(a) Street in Shigezhuang village; 2(b) A 9-square-metre room of Interviewee 48.



Source: Author, 2017.

Besides expressing an unwillingness to spend money on rent, more evidence can be seen that these migrants considered the city of Beijing only as a place for work:

*'The shopping mall within ten minutes' walk and I have never been there. That is not for us. Why would we go there?' (Interviewee 5, September 2017).*

*'I drive my car from Sichuan to here for more convenient transportation to my work place. I know that cars without a Beijing licence are not allowed inside the 5th ring road. But most of the construction sites are in the outskirts. Sometimes, I need to drive even 1 hour to a more peri-urban area for work. I don't need to drive my car to the city centre' (Interviewee 1, September 2017).*

*'I will go back home when I can't work anymore. We peasants don't have rent insurance. The living cost here in a city is much higher than that of our countryside. I don't think we can afford this when we are old' (Interviewee 48, September 2017).*

*'My son is a young soldier in the army now. I don't need to give him money every month like in his university times, but we need to save money from now on to help him buy an apartment when he gets married in the future'* (Interviewee 5, September 2017).

This indicates that for these migrants the destination city only means better opportunities for finding a well-paid job; they are not interested in the city life. These migrants seldom consider the established city as their home nor do they intend to permanently settle down there. The term 'temporary migrants' mentioned in the literature review does not refer to the time period but rather to their 'floating' situation and intention of moving back to the rural countryside. For example, interviewees 5 and 48 are in their 50s and are certain about their intention to return to their rural hometowns when they are no longer able to work. The fact they have been working in the city for more than 10 years has not influenced their plans. Besides, the idea of saving money in case of an emergency or to provide a better future for their children is also a traditional idea that is deeply rooted in the minds of Chinese rural peasants.

Prior studies have categorised forms of migration into sole migration, couple migration and family migration (Fan *et al.* 2011). Compared to these stereotypes, this field research has identified another type of migration, that of three generations migrating together. Over 90% of the migrants that come to Beijing travel with other family members with whom they share one or two rooms when settling in Shigezhuang. As interviewees 9, 24, 25, 26 and 45 reported, each of their families had five or six members living in Shigezhuang; these might have included a couple of older migrants, their son or daughter along with his or her spouse and one or two small children. In this case, the family rented two rooms that were situated close to each other. The young couple worked during the daytime, while at least one of the elderly migrants stayed home to care for the children. So instead of leaving their children behind in the rural place of origin, parents and children could see each other daily and the young couple could take care of the elderly couple when needed. Therefore, when economic conditions allowed, this was the preferred mode of temporary migration for most families with children younger than 6 years of age. However, no significant differences were found between these migrants and those who came to the city alone or only with their spouses. Having more family members in the destination village did not mean a willingness to invest more to obtain better living conditions. The average living space per person of the aforementioned four families was only 2.5 square metres. The choice of this type of family migration can be seen as a compromise between saving the most from working in an urban area and enjoying the best of family life.

When the children reached school age (6 years old), most parents sent them back to their rural origins because the city did not provide migrant children with access to public education. In most cases, both the mother and the father continued working in the city and let the grandparents take care of their children in their hometowns, in a situation the interviewees described as being an annual bi-directional circuit. Here, parents visited their children in the winter time when celebrating the spring festival in the countryside, while the children visited their parents during summer vacations in Beijing. As some respondents reported, the average living space per person was even less when taking the temporary visiting children into account.

To summarise, most migrants were reluctant to invest in rental housing. In the case of these migrants, indigenous villagers preferred to build rooms that only satisfied basic sheltering needs when they developed their housing for rental purposes. In this specific rental market, rooms with more decent conditions, like those that included a toilet, did not receive more attention from migrants.

### **As tongxiang: Relying on social networks for survival**

Among the 53 migrants who responded to the survey, 58% were from the province of Sichuan, 15% from Henan, 7% from Shandong, 6% from Hubei, 6% from Hebei, and 8% from other provinces, including Shanxi, Gansu and Jiangsu. Of these migrants, 53% were female and 47% were male. Excluding the 11 migrants who did not work (including two housewives, three students, two unemployed people, and four people who were visiting), all of the men from Sichuan worked as labourers in the construction industry, while all but one woman (from Sichuan) were cleaners. Interestingly, when it came to migrants from provinces other than Sichuan, only one man worked as a decorator and two women were cleaners. Others worked as salespersons, company staff and cooks, or were self-employed. According to the interviews that went further in-depth, this interesting phenomenon that migrants from the same province tended to take on the same occupations can be attributed to their informal access to employment information.

During their interviews, the 31 of the migrants from Sichuan introduced more information to this research about the lives of other tongxiang. Some of them had been invited by an acquaintance who had already been a migrant worker living in Beijing, while some had moved to Shigezhuang by chance after coming to Beijing. These tongxiang did not necessarily have blood bonds or know each other before coming to Beijing but they tended to form a strong community once they settled down in Shigezhuang because of their similar dia-

lects and life styles. These Sichuan tongxiang were mostly low-skilled migrants who had not been trained for any specific occupation. Therefore, their occupations were not decided by their ability but by their access to information on opportunities for work.

As the majority of these migrants did not have steady jobs, they needed to keep searching for new job opportunities. In such fields as construction or cleaning, little information was available online or via a formal platform and migrants needed to rely on their relatives and social networks in their job-search processes.

*'When a familiar construction team leader calls me and tells me that they need four or five construction workers on their sites for a week, I will say I can help him to find all these people. Then I often call my relatives or go to knock at the doors of my neighbours and ask if they have time for that one-week work. We will also drive a car together to the construction site. This is very common and other people will also do so. The man with much job information is highly respected' (Interviewee 5, September 2017).*

*'Sometimes I am busy when the household that I often work for asks me to do the cleaning. I will recommend my friends from the villages and guarantee the household that they can do the cleaning as well as I do' (Interviewee 11.1, September 2017).*

In this case, migrants tended to remain in Shigezhuang even when the housing prices were steadily increasing and the conditions were not ideal, as they took into account the possible loss of working opportunities should they opt for resettlement. Some scholars refer to this as economic displacement, as mentioned in the literature review. Dependence on a social network that was attached to their bonds of place indirectly led to these migrants' economic displacement.

### **As a community: Negotiating with other stakeholder groups**

Although there was an observed strong neighbourhood attachment in sharing information and undertaking everyday activities, such as cooking, playing cards and taking care of each other, it is important to point out that this established social network among the tongxiang did not help the migrants in their negotiations with indigenous villagers.

Figure 3: Tongxiang playing cards after work.



Source: Author, 2017.

During the field research, several interviewees reported that conflicts took place between migrants and indigenous villagers and the main concern was rent:

*'You want to interview my landlord (the villager who rents a room to the interviewee)? I know his family lives in that courtyard house, but I have never been inside. They keep a fierce guard dog and it will bite us. You could go for a try. Maybe the landlord will be more friendly to a university student' (Interviewee 47, October 2017).*

*'They (indigenous villagers) are all very bad. They keep raising our rent unreasonably, especially after the government's demolishing of the nearby villages. If we don't agree to the high rent, they will force us to move out. There are plenty of people waiting to rent their house' (Interviewee 1, September 2017).*

Despite being dominant in number, these migrants were still in vulnerable positions when agreements needed to be reached with indigenous villagers. This was not only because of the informality of the rental market but also because these migrants lacked the necessary resources for undertaking these negotiations. Although some scholars, such as Zhang (2003), suggest that in some urban

villages there are leaders, among these migrants, who can gain the right to enter into a discourse because of their wealth and thus are able to represent other tongxiang who are fighting for their rights in the negotiation process, what happens in Shigezhuang is common in most urban villages. A migrant group, which typically consists of those with low social status and education levels, has few back-up resources with which to fight for the right to discuss their issues. Further, members in the established tongxiang community support each other in everyday life but few people are willing to represent their common interests:

*'Last month the villagers decided collectively to raise our rent by an average of 200 yuan. We are so angry because they just raised the rent once at the beginning of this year. We had a big fight with them. However, the village committee leaders who were supposed to administer justice always stood by the villagers' side. The rent still rose despite the fight' (Interviewee 48, September 2017).*

*'Of course, there is no leader for our tongxiang community. Nobody dares to be the leader. Leaders are always the first to suffer. Those villagers can at any time kick us out of their room' (Interviewee 5, September 2017).*

All of the migrants knew that their primary reason for staying in the city was to earn money and few people wanted to bear a possible loss by taking responsibility for this 'temporary' community. Therefore, as long as these people remained migrant workers with few resources in such an informal setting, their inferior statuses would not have changed with the addition of more tongxiang in one urban village. Indigenous villagers always dominated the negotiations as they had resources in their own legal tenancy and the village agency would always back them up in any negotiations.

## **CONCLUSION**

Urban villages have been identified as migrant enclaves of which migrant workers make up the largest but most inferior group. This study examined the impacts of these migrants' two-directional linkages between their urban destinations and rural origins on their housing conditions in urban villages. The village of Shigezhuang was chosen as a case study and surveys and interviews with 58 residents were conducted during the field research. There are three major findings related to the conceptual framework of investigating the influence of this two-

directional linkage from the perspectives of migrants as individuals, migrants as members of a tongxiang community, and the migrant community as a whole.

First, temporary migrants as circulators between their rural origins and urban destinations consider the city as a place for work rather than a place to live and, thus, are reluctant to invest money to live in the city and only seek out substandard housing. Migrants have these attitudes regardless of the period of time spent working in the city or the number of family members living there. Migrants' decision-making on their choice of housing and indigenous villagers' decision-making on developing housing for the rental market have mutual impacts on each other. Second, migrants' limited access to job information in the city makes them rely on social networks that are based on their bonds of place. Besides the physical or direct economic displacements evictions cause, migrants' dependence on having informal access to employment information may lead to indirect economic displacement, which means they may have to endure high prices and inequality in the rental market. Third, although the neighbourhood attachment among the tongxiang is strong in the sense of sharing information or taking care of each other, without strong community leadership, being a member of the tongxiang is of little help when entering into a negotiation process with other stakeholder groups in the city. To conclude, this study argues that migrant workers' constant linkages to their rural origins and the social networks based on bonds of place may contribute to more employment opportunities, a better sense of belongingness and strong neighbourhood attachments; however, at the same time, these bonds might exacerbate their inferior and vulnerable status in their urban destinations.

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