

Research on Mobile Population in Beijing---An Empirical study of Hei-zhuang-hu Town in Chaoyang District

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Abstract: Household registered population and mobile population remarkably hang upside down in rural-urban fringe zone of Beijing. Investigation of Beijing city and Hei-zhuang-hu town in Chaoyang District shows that current policy tools are mainly aimed to evacuate mobile people by strict management, thus causing separation and conflict between government and mobile people. Policy design should turn from the strict management to collaborative governance and beneficial public service.

Key words: mobile population; outward evacuation; strict management; collaborative governance; IC residence permit

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I. INTRODUCTION

Floating people in China increased continuously with the process of urbanization and social structure changes since Reform and Opening-up, traditional unit person gradually converted to mobile person as the number of mobile population reached 247 million in 2015, of which 169 million were migrant workers, accounting for 68.4% of the total mobile population. As capital of china, Beijing is a complex municipality in the north of the yellow river with variety employment opportunities and relatively higher salary income as well as high quality medical and education resources. From the perspective of “push-pull” theory, Beijing exists huge attraction for mobile population in north China.

Faced with the continuously growing mobile population, ecological resources, urban management, public services and social security in Beijing have gradually reached the critical point. After the 18th CPC national congress, reposition and function adjustment of Beijing aimed at regulating floating people through functional dispersal, thus constitutes the research background and origin. Based on both macro and micro investigation about data and policy, this research systematically assess management policies of mobile population in Beijing urban and rural fringe zone, conforming to the changing rule of floating people, aiming to perfect and innovate the existing policies.

Selection of analytical tools

Investigation is the premise and foundation of study. A great quantity of floating people converged in Chaoyang district, the functional development zone of Beijing. Household registered population and mobile population remarkably hang upside down in rural-urban fringe zone of Beijing, urban social management and services are under great pressure as a result, the government pays high management costs while the governance effect is unsatisfactory.

Population management in rural-urban fringe zone greatly affects the overall situation of population control in Beijing, Hei-zhuang-hu town in Chaoyang District constitutes a typical microscopic analysis unit. Listed as key regulation area by Capital Comprehensive Governance Committee, household population and mobile population remarkably hang upside down in Hei-zhuang-hu town. Analytical data built on full sample survey of rural mobile population, analysis index containing population structure, education level, employment structure, degree of social integration etc. Quantitative analysis helps to evaluation and reflection on current management policy.

II. EVALUATION OF POLICY IN BEIJING

Along with the process of urbanization and growth of floating people, Beijing adjusted its policy continuously to improve the ability of floating people management. The current management of floating people in Beijing can be analyzed from two aspects containing value and policy. Outward evacuation-strict management formed the core value of current police on floating people management from the perspective of police implications. Specifically, outward evacuation dispersed floating people who are not suited to capital demand of Beijing to perimeter zone through market, administrative and legal means. The so-called strict management refers to enclosed and standardized management on floating people.

Outward evacuation contains two types of police tools: evacuate floating people by industrial relocation and set various requisitions to limit the enrollment of migrant children. Firstly, industrial attraction constitutes the basic pulling force of the mobile population based on Push-Pull theory, which is an important theory to explain the migration of rural population to cities and towns. W.A. Lewis explains the population migration from rural to urban in developing countries by Push Attraction theory based on dual economic structure. E. Ravenstien, R. Herberle and E. S. Lee further improved push-pull theory. The push-pull theory holds that: population migration is the result of combination force from both the extrusion of native land and the attraction force of the ingoing land. Push refers to social, economic and natural pressure that force residents to move out, while pull means economic and natural attraction for residents to settle down. Low-end manufacturing and services attracted a large number of floating people in rural-urban fringe zone of Beijing, the combination of informal employment and informal housing brings a series of problems for urban governance. Follow the logic of push-pull model, the aggregation direction of the moving population can be changed as long as the spatial direction of the pulling force is changed. Through industrial structure optimization and upgrading, Beijing eliminate general manufacturing and polluting enterprises to relief non-capital industry, further more, to ease the mobile population attached to low-end industries. This policy tool produced a certain performance as the growth rate of mobile population slowed down. In 2015, resident population in Beijing was 21 million 705 thousand, an increase of only 0.9%. Among this, transient population was 8 million 226 thousand, an increase of 39 thousand over the previous year, an increase of only 0.5%.

Secondly, various requisitions are set to limit the enrollment of migrant children so as to control the mobile population. Concretely, double-track pricing system on education management between floating children and household registered population's children were implemented so as to prevent the inflow of floating people indirectly.^[5] In the pre-school education stage, public kindergartens should meet the household registration population of Beijing firstly, and floating children of migrant would go to private kindergartens in general. In the compulsory education stage, enrollment quota was controlled by Beijing municipal education commission's plans, which are only for the registered household population. Taking floating children in Hei-zhuang-hu town as an example, restricted by economic condition and household registration, preschool children are mainly received by informal kindergartens and school-aged kids are mainly received by private school or migrant children's school, all of these have no formal qualification to run a school. Classrooms are converted from rented rural warehouses, poor sanitation, limited areas, teachers have no qualification certificate, thus, poor environment and atmosphere restricted the education quality of floating children.

"Strict control" policy tool mainly includes two types: house management and residence permit. Firstly, no matter where the floating people move to, it is always necessary to take housing as the basic fulcrum. Based on this pivot, the comprehensive information of floating people can be mastered and then the effectively managements can be taken. House management control floating people effectively by periodic general survey of rental housing, comprehensive renovation of underground space and illegal group renting. Meanwhile, demolition of illegal buildings in rural-urban fringe zone reduced illegal living space, achieved the goal of evacuating people through the house. Secondly, control population by certain certificates including temporary residence permit, work permit and residence permit. Beijing upgrade temporary residence permit, which may have an inclusion of unequal value orientation compare to residence permit in 2016.

Floating people who have lived in Beijing for more than 6 months can apply for residence permits as long as they conformed to one of the three conditions, they are legal and stable employment, lawful and stable residence, continuously study in Beijing. Temporary residence permit upgrade to residence permit means floating people management change from pure regulation to pay equal attention to both management and service. Taken together, based on outward evacuation-strict management, current policy tools achieve certain governance performance, while the management of floating people in Beijing is still serious. Solutions should based on intensive investigation, therefore, through the typical investigation to heizhuang huxiang, we can evaluate and review existing policies.

III. HEI-ZHUANG-HU TOWN: INVESTIGATION AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ON FLOATING PEOPLE

Located in southeast of Chaoyang district, Hei-zhuang-hu town, an aggregation area of floating people in Beijing, is made up of 16 villages and 5 communities, covering an area of 24.1 square kilometers. Investigation and analysis of floating people in the town are based on full- sample database collected in 2015.

(1) structural analysis on floating people

Along with the urbanization and industry evacuation, a large amount of low-end industries moved from central Beijing to Hei-zhuang-hu town, thus, floating people attached to these industries are pouring in. In 2015, floating people come up to 57979, account for 74.6% of whole population in the town, the proportion of floating people and household population inverted seriously. Among the whole 16 villages, proportion of floating people in 7 villages is more than 80%, when the proportion reduced to 70%, the village amount goes up to 13.

Based on full sample survey of floating people in Hei-zhuang-hu town, it takes out that male mobile population (accounting for 62%) is significantly higher than female (accounting for 38%) from the perspective of gender, while according to ages, youth labor force from 18 to 35 accounted for 53.87% of total floating people, middle-aged labor force from 35 to 50 accounted for 33.13%, aged labor force from 50 to 80 accounted for 10.75%.(see table 1)

Tab1 :structure of floating people in Hei-zhuang-hu town

指标		2016 年末数	比重 (%)
总人口		57979	100
按性别	男性	35947	62
	女性	22032	38
年龄组	0-18 岁	1195	2.06
	18-35 岁	31233	53.87
	35-50 岁	19208	33.13
	50 -80 岁	6233	10.75
	80 以上	110	0.19

See from the geographical distribution, floating people in the town mainly come from Hebei, Henan, Shandong, Shanxi, these provinces are all proximity to Beijing. Majority floating people came from Hebei among the four provinces, its population amount come up to 14967 as of December 2015. Work, business and family migration are two major causes of population inflowing, this phenomenon also conformed to the logic of “push-pull” theory. The inflow of floating people is influenced by both pushing force and pulling forth, intermediate factors including distance, material barrier, language and cultural differences, value measurement play an important role at the same time. In terms of cultural values, population movements enabled farmers to shake off the pressure of village opinion, thus, they could invest more on relationships that can bring economic returns instead of relationships determined by blood.^{[7](P35)} Follow the logic of “push-pull” theory, based on remarkable urban-rural dualism in north china, Beijing, as the functional complex super megacity, has a strong siphon effect to floating people in north china.

(2) economic analysis: employment structure and income distribution

Generally, floating people are low-educated individuals engaged in physical labor characterized by “dirty, tired, dangerous and heavy”. See from the survey data, education background of floating people in the town mainly focused on junior and high school, junior middle school graduates account for 71% while graduates from high school account for 19%. Floating people are less competitive as a result of low level education and lack of professional skills, thus their employment concentrated in low-end labor-intensive industries (see figure 1). The top three industries are manufacturing (26%), transportation and warehousing (accounting for 23%), as well as construction (21%).

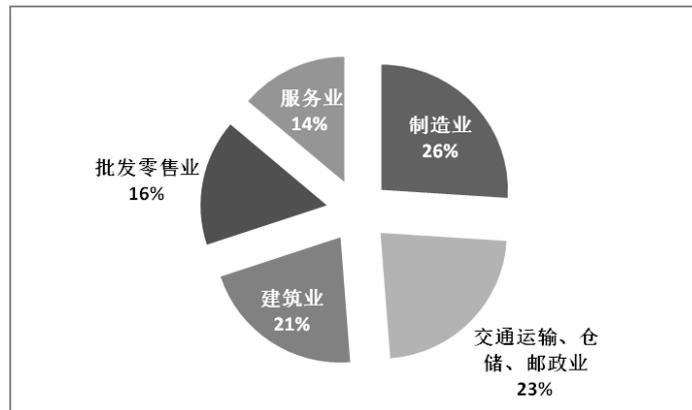


Figure1: employment structure of floating people

Based on existing results, income is positively related to happiness remarkably. Following the transmission chain income-consumption-utility-happiness, income increase enhanced floating people's happiness significantly. There exists wide income gap among floating people in the town (see figure 2), those whose monthly income exceed 10 thousand accounted for 1%, while 86% of the floating people are paid 2000-5000 RMB one month. The proportion of floating people, whose monthly income can't reach 1720 RMB, the 2015 minimum wage of Beijing, is 8%. Heckman regarded economic income as an important indicator of social integration, he thought that as long as economic income of migrants are nearly equal to local residents, good social integration can be affirmed.

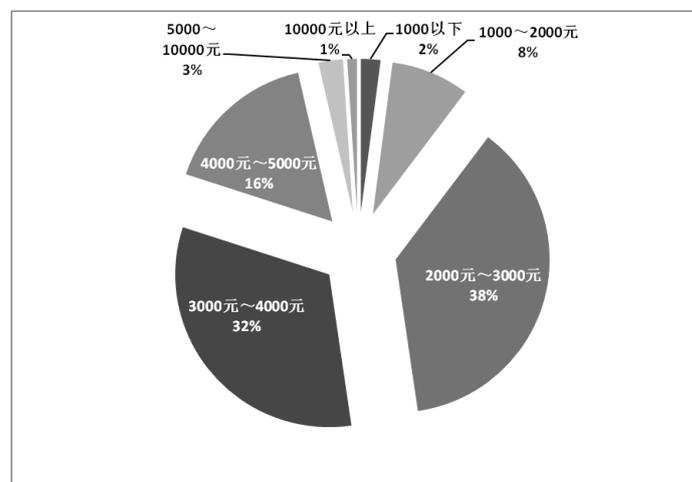


Figure2 monthly average income of floating people

(3) social integration, security and satisfaction

Durkheim proposed the concept of social integration Defined as individual or collective social connections, along with the frequency and scope of their interactions, social integration is a dynamic and systematic process, concluding not only economic integration but also cultural acceptance and identity. Economic integration is the first step of social integration, followed by cultural integration and behavioral adaption, the finally psychological integration marks the formation of city identity. Floating people stimulate the tile economic growth in rural-urban area on some extent, while, significantly repulsion exists between floating people and registered household population due to social security and environmental problems. Investigation of floating people's social integration showed that most migrants didn't actually integrate into villages and communities. Low participation of social activities held by villages and communities lead to lower sense of social integration, thus, physical and psychological marginal population emerged. Most migrants didn't have long-term settlement plans, vast majority of the population tend to settle down in original hometown or they have no certainty about where to go.

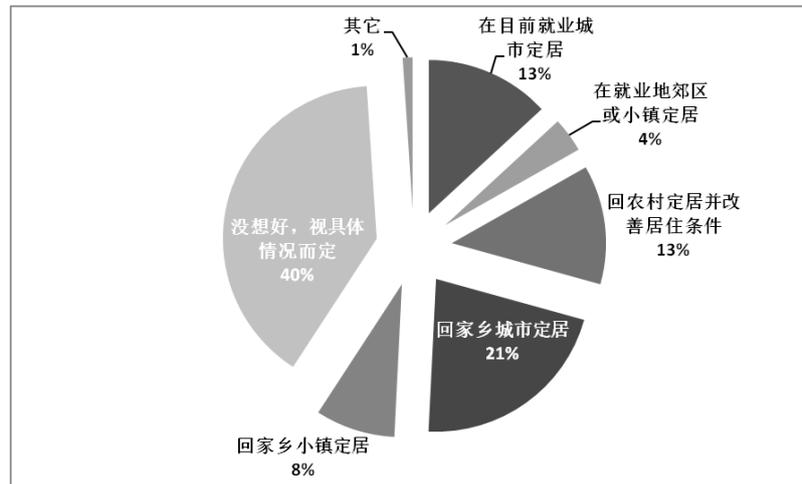


Figure 3 residential planning of floating people

IV. POLICY PERFORMANCE EVALUATION: TAKING HEI-ZHUANG-HU TOWN AS AN EXAMPLE

“Connection and development” is the Basic Epistemology of Dialectical materialism. The floating people keep moving, changing and developing. From the point of dialectics, all management policy has dual attributes, both beneficial factors and recession factors. With the change of the mobile population and the emergence of new problems, beneficial factors of current policies gradually decaying, and unprofitable factors gradually increasing. Therefore, pushing forward the system innovation continuously is necessary.

(1) communalization management of village: closure and separation

Chaoyang district carries out village community management as a countermeasure to various social problems caused by accumulation of floating people. Communalization management of village is the combination and reconstruction of traditional village and rural community management.

The connotation of “village community management” includes two aspects. The first level refers to closed management of village infrastructure. Specific measures include building fences, installing doors, setting up sentry box and closing less used intersections, further more, installing monitoring probes in villages and alleys. Drivers with certifications and vehicles with registrations can enter the village, floating people with temporary residence permit can get their passes, systematically information collection and registration of floating people are carried out simultaneously. In the town, more than 95% floating people registered while the rental housing registration reached 100%. The second level refers to integration of management subjects. Institutional integration of police affairs station, rental housing service station finally formed village stability maintenance center. Community police and village committee staff work together to improve village management capacity and perfect the village-town monitoring platform.

“village community management” achieved unified closed management spatially, while, public service dualism led to psychology separation between registered household population and mobile population. Budget and supporting services at the grassroots level are mainly for the registered population, grass-roots governments have no public awareness of providing services to mobile population, nor do they have adequate financial support. Thus, one standard -two modes of execution was the physical truth of city management, to some extent, this phenomenon damaged the legitimate interests of mobile population. Closed and isolated management structure reflects object contradiction between the limitation and allocation of city resources. Multi-value targets’ contradiction showed the existing policy design’s dilemma, the problem lies in what exactly is the goal of policy design. For the sake of controlling, or in order to serve the mobile population? What if improvement of public service attracts more floating people to Beijing and then enhanced evacuation pressure further more?

(2) systematic management of rental houses: blocking and dredging

Systematic management of rental houses included two aspects. The first level referred to institution construction. The rule defined clearly that houses without registration, failing to meet housing safety standards or illegal construction invade the streets were not allowed to rent. In order to grasp the status of rental houses, constantly database improvement of rented houses is ongoing until full coverage of archives realized. Systematically management of tenant followed the principle that mark the special personnel and strengthened management followed by. The second level referred to incentives for institutional implementation. Combination of collective welfare distribution and rule execution was improved. Monthly material rewards are given to

villagers who coordinated the systematically management, while, partial collective welfare will be kept back as punishment for villagers who break the rules. Systematic management of rental houses strengthened the management ability for floating people in urban-rural fringe zone further more, its policy achievements mainly reflected in: rate of floating people's registration greatly improved, reduction of accidents, decline of preventable cases, security and satisfaction enhancement of villagers.

Traditional management approaches like "blocking, controlling and suppressing" achieved certain effectiveness, but the effect of administration was far from satisfaction. Firstly, special rectification's efficiency is very short and unsustainable. Secondly, economic development in rural and urban area was relatively backward, rent is the main source of income for both villagers and village administration. Under the lure of economic interests, villagers tended to build more houses, thus, demolition of illegal buildings and low-end industries' moving out evacuated part of the floating people, while at the same time, new houses built by villagers absorbed some floating people.

V. COUNTERMEASURES AND SUGGESTIONS

(1) policy design

Based on evaluation of policy implementation, guiding ideology of floating people's management should turn from "outward evacuation-strict management" to "outward evacuation-strict management-service providing". The contradictory realities are too much floating people inconformity with the population control target of Beijing on the one hand, while service and modern manufacturing industries need a certain number of floating people on the other hand. Based on standard management of residence permit, the government should provide sub equal public service to floating people who are necessarily needed. Basic public education, basic medical and health service, public cultural service, basic service for certificates and licenses application, social assistance are the main contents of sub equal public service, worse than registered household population but enough to cover the basic public demand of floating people. See from current policy implementation, application and acquisition of services rely on residence permit of Beijing should promote vigorously, thus, social integration strengthened finally.

Current policy of floating people management in Beijing should be a combination of both intercept and guide, combine management and service organically. The experience of Zhejiang province is worth learning, new apartment s were built at industrial areas where the floating people are more concentrated in Ningbo, Wenzhou and Taizhou etc. These creative measures set residence, management, service, education and entertainment in one, thus, apartment dwelling, community service and personalized management make local culture and regional culture interacted with each other in the community .

This experience is worth learning for Beijing, our suggestion is floating people in Beijing should be included into the public rental system. This advice can kill three birds with one stone, for the first, it helps to solve the low-income floating people's living problems and promote integrated management process at the same time, secondly, it will raise the rate of public rental housing and do good to its sustainable running, thirdly, this will promote social integration as migrants accept and adapt to local culture, build good interaction with local people and mutual recognition, penetration, benefit, integration and complementarity finally formed.

(2) Internet plus Governance of floating people

Internet and information wave generated by big data are changing our way of life, mode of thinking and ways of social governance, our lifestyle and way of understanding the world are all changed by the huge data, the fountain of new inventions and services, while more changes are on hand..... In this big data information age, "internet plus" is rapidly integrating into all areas of urban governance. "Internet plus governance of floating people" drives the governance of mobile population from extensive management to precise governance, manual data acquisition gradually turned to automated large data management.

Infrastructure layer, data layer, application layer, presentation layer and service object are the five levels contained in information management system of floating people based on internet. Based on dynamic database of floating people, internet plus governance of floating people bring personals, lands, goods, things, emotions and houses of floating people into database by dynamic information acquisition. According to distribution of communities and buildings, information of every layer is displayed according to the map layer by layer, followed by precise position and one house one file, thus, delicacy management can be realized. Large database of floating people can not only show the overall structure of floating people in Beijing, but also present personal feature and needs of different groups, thus, targeted managements and services can be provided. Thinking of high level mobility of floating people, internet and huge database are necessary so as to share information between native land and their relocated cities. This is conducive to urban order, as well as synchronous update of medical care, fertility and social security information in different regions, thus the government would provide better management and public service from the perspective of "large population".

Residence permit IC card is the carrier of internet plus governance of floating people. With the

development of urbanization and society, floating people in Beijing show a tendency to be relatively solidified currently. Accordingly, based on information management, residence permit system of Beijing should be improved to Residence permit IC card and the latter should be given more functions. Covering information of residence, employment, social security and medical, nationwide networked residence permit IC card can realize synchronous updating of information in different regions, which is convenient for both dynamic management and the realization of offside billings, all these can help to guarantee the social interests and benefits of floating people.

(3). collaborative governance based on Grid Management

Urban grid management has been a mature urban management system along with the development of urbanization. Dividing the city into districts, streets, communities, and grids, based on real time monitoring and instant messaging built on grid unit, urban grid management formed precise dynamic city management. Based on the currently mature grid management, governance of floating people tend towards pluralistic participation and comprehensive governance. Government is the helmsman, triple platform containing government platform, community platform and community network platform from high to low are formed under the guidance of government. Resources supplied by government, market and social organization interacted mutually, aiming to achieve coordinate development finally.

Grid is the foundation of the triple platform, grid administrators are the executors of information collecting and administrating. Network administrator should be equipped with information management tools. The experience of two dimensional code of rental houses implemented in Guangzhou is worthy to study, specifically, each rental room corresponds to a two-dimensional code, grid administrator can get the comprehensive information through electronic two-dimensional code read by smartphones. Mobile patrol management system has multiple functions containing information management, residence permit applying, notification of potential safety hazard, job evaluation and data analysis etc. Fulcrum of the network management as the grid management is, corresponding economic incentives should be given to them based on management performance evaluation.

Traditional regulatory thinking has been broken by modern public governance, governance turned to networked multiple governance network from the original one-way top-down regulation. Management of floating people is a systematical management engineering covering both various government departments and plural social subjects. At present, there exists many maladies concluding unclear responsibilities, function overlapping, multi-channel management and inefficiency resulted by compartmentalization in governance of floating people in Beijing. Functional departments involving public health, public security, fire control, industry and business, urban management and city planning all have the power to manage floating people, cross exists in management and enforcement process, leading to the contradictory fact that all these departments rush forward to deal with the problems sometimes, while none of them shoulder the liabilities other times. Lacking of effective administrative law enforcement power, township government embarrassment lies in separation of responsibility and power. Focused on these realities, collaborative governance should be based on information network sharing, adhere to leadership of party committees of CPC and comprehensive management departments, so as to form the cooperative linkage mechanism consist of various departments concluding population planning, public health, public safety, fire control, industry and commerce, urban management and planning departments.

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