Unemployment among the Migrant Population in Chinese Cities: Case Study of Beijing

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Introduction

The increasing number of migrants moving to cities, especially from rural areas, has posed a new set of issues for the authorities. In the mid-1990s, it was estimated that China had a floating population or temporary migrants of up to 110 million people (Solinger, 1999) and this figure was expected to rise in the future. The majority of migrants are in the prime labor force participation age range and they have taken up positions in the '3 D' (demanding, dirty and dangerous) occupations which are unattractive to local residents. Most studies so far have been concerned with the economic impacts of migrants on sending and receiving regions. A number of studies have analyzed the characteristics of migrants and the occupational structure of migrants (Yang and Guo, 1996; Yang, 1996; Goldstein and Goldstein, 1991, Wang, Zuo, and Ruan, 2002) while other studies have focused on the spatial distribution of

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China's internal migration (Fan, 1999; Chan, 1994). Studies about China's internal migration, particularly from rural to urban migration, have shown that underemployment in agricultural sectors was one of the major contributing factors to migration to cities (Yang, 1991; Guo, 1996; Taylor, 1988; Solinger, 1995, 1999). A recent study of rural migrants in Shanghai (Wang, Zuo, and Ruan, 2002) has revealed that there is a clear division between rural migrant workers and local residents in terms of industrial and occupational composition, living conditions, and income and benefits. Rural migrant workers are far from being integrated into urban Chinese societies.

However, very few studies have looked at unemployment problems among the migrant population. The common perception about migrant populations in Chinese cities is that they are economically active and the unemployment rate is low. Even studies of unemployment in China have not touched this issue. With massive industrial restructuring in recent years, more and more attention has focused on urban unemployment, which normally refers to urban workers who were previously employed by state or collective run enterprises. Unemployment among migrant populations in cities, particularly unemployment of migrants with rural backgrounds, has not attracted attention from researchers and policy makers alike.

This paper on Beijing, using data from the 1997 Beijing Migrant Census and qualitative material from fieldwork, attempts to examine:

- the rate of unemployment among the migrant population;
- characteristics of unemployed migrants; and
- the invisibility of unemployment and the policy responses.

Data and Methods

The data used in this paper come from the Beijing Migrant Census conducted by the Beijing Statistical Bureau in November 1997. As a capital city, Beijing has attracted a large number of people from around the country but the Beijing government and its urban planning organisations often face the problem of a lack of accurate statistics for

non-locally registered residents. Through their regular methods of administrative registration the Statistical Bureau and Public Security Bureau are only able to capture a proportion of migrants who have registered as temporary residents. A large proportion of migrants are not counted in any form of statistics and therefore they are 'unknown' to authorities and policy makers.

The actual number of migrants and the size of the floating population in China have been estimated by many scholars and institutes. Their definitions have depended on their interests and needs. Nationwide estimates of the size of the peasant floating population by China's official channels of media, *Xinhua News* and *China Daily*, were around 50 million in the mid-1990s. The total number of migrants nationwide was estimated by the *Xinhua News* at about 80 million at the same time (Solinger, 1999). It was estimated that the floating population in Beijing was about 1.31 million in the late 1990s and between 1.5 million to 2.34 million in the mid-1990s (Beijing Lingdian Shichang Diaocha Yu Fenxi Gongsi, 1995).

In an effort to gain a more accurate enumeration and therefore to better 'manage and control' non-locally registered residents (that is, without local *hukou*) in Beijing, the Beijing government authorised the Statistical Bureau to carry out a massive full-scale Migrant Census, on 1 November 1997 (Office of Beijing Migrant Census, 1997). The census was to enumerate all people who were not locally registered, including short-term visitors and transients and long-term, non-local residents. The total number of non-locally registered residents captured in the census was 2.25 million, 1.99 million of whom had been living in Beijing for at least one month and 1.46 million for at least six months. In this paper, for the purpose of analysing the employment status of migrants, we include only those 1.58 million who had been living in Beijing for at least three months.

Questions for individuals in the questionnaire included name, gender, date of birth, place of household registration or *hukou*, date of movement to Beijing, status and occupation in Beijing, education and marital status. The census also collected information on households, including the total number of people in the household, type of dwelling, problems encountered in Beijing and reasons for not attending school for school age children in the household. This paper is one of the first to

analyse the data from this large-scale migrant survey as it has generally not been available to researchers outside of China. The data were obtained as one of the authors had formally worked with the Beijing State Statistical Office.

The paper examines the unemployment status of the migrants at the time of census. This is a self-reported indicator of unemployment. The census asked each migrant "what is your current employment status?" There are 12 choices to select including: 1) Currently employed; 2) Engaging in business or trading; 3) Engaging other jobs; 4) currently no job; 5) Visiting relatives/family members; 6) Visiting friends; 7) On business trip; 8) Attending school; 9) Tourists; 10) Seeking medical treatment; 11) Transient; and 12) Others. For the purpose of this paper, we exclude those people who were in Beijing for social reasons, such as attending school and seeking medical treatment. We only include the first four categories to analyze unemployment among the migrant population and category four, "currently no job", is the indicator of unemployment.

The self-reported "currently no job" rate may not necessarily reflect the true picture. Many migrants are employed on a casual basis and are constantly looking for the next job. They define themselves as "employed" though in fact they may be "unemployed" at the time.[2] Nevertheless, it is anticipated that results from the study will help contribute to an understanding of the structure and major attributes of unemployment among the Beijing migrant population. It is also hoped to better understand why unemployment among the migrant population has been neglected for so long and why it is "invisible" to the general public and policy-makers.

Employment and Unemployment Pattern of Migrant Population

Basic Characteristics of Migrant Population

Among 1.58 million migrants who have been to Beijing for at least three months, more than 90% or 1.43 million reported that they moved to Beijing for employment

[2] The official labor force survey definition is a person is 'employed' if he or she works for one hour for pay in a week. 'Unemployed' as defined as not having any paid work in a week though having been actively looking for work in the past four weeks.

reasons. The overall patterns of employment of migrant population show that about 80% were engaged in (1) *Wu Gong* (labourers or temporary workers), 18% were (2) *Jing Shang* (engaged in petty trading business, street vendors, etc) and less than 1% were (3) employed in other jobs. The unemployment rate was very low, as less than one percent of migrants claimed that they were out of a job at the time of survey (see table 1). This represents 12,963 unemployed migrants in Beijing who didn't have any access to a safety net and social security, who were constantly looking for the next job. In the following sections we will analyze who these unemployed migrants were and what factors affected their employment status.

As with migrants elsewhere, migrants to Beijing were predominantly young people aged between 15 to 39 years old (80%). One third of migrants in Beijing were female, which was similar to the proportion of female migrants observed in the late 1980s from the 1990 China census data (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 1991: 485). However, these census data included all migrants in Beijing with all reasons, including non-employment related reasons. The proportion of female migrants for non-employment related reasons are normally higher than for employment reasons. It is, therefore, expected that the proportion of female in employment-seeking migrants in late 1990s was slightly higher than that of one decade ago. Compared to male migrants, unemployment rate for female is much higher.

More than 90% of migrants in Beijing were from agricultural *hukou* background and moved from the countryside. Less than 10% were from a non-agricultural background and moved from other cities or towns. As discussed in a number of studies (Yang and Guo, 1996; Yang and Guo 1999; Goldstein and Goldstein, 1991; and Solinger, 1999; Guo and Iredale, 2004 forthcoming), *hukou* has been one of the most important factors in determining people's life chance, that is being employed in white-collar occupations, and in the informal or formal sectors. Here we hypothesize that *hukou* is also a factor in determining whether a migrant is unemployed or not. From the simple tabulation, it is interesting to note that migrants with non-agricultural *hukou* status had a higher unemployment rate than people with agricultural *hukou*. People whose *hukou* was undecided had the highest unemployment rate.

Among all 1.43 million migrants, more than 80% had primary or secondary school education. Only 13% of them had received high school education and a very small (2.5%) proportion had vocational school training or university education. People with secondary school education had the lowest unemployment rate, while illiterate people had the highest unemployment rate.

Length of residence in the receiving places is seen as an important factor in affecting migrants' employability. We use the length of residence in Beijing to examine whether length of residence had any impact on the chance of being unemployed. The tabulations produced a controversial result - those who had been in Beijing for the longest period of time had the highest unemployment rate. This result needs careful interpretation and further analysis in the next section.

Unemployed Migrants: Patterns and Determinants

Table 2 lists the age and education structure of unemployed migrants by gender. Of all unemployed migrants, more than half was in the 20-29 years old age group. The previous section showed that the migrant population consists predominantly of young people. The age structure of unemployed migrants also showed the similar pattern. Around 70% of all unemployed migrants were aged between 20 to 34 years old.

Of all unemployed migrants, around 78% were female. Although females were not the majority in migrant population, they were certainly the majority of unemployed migrant population in Beijing. The results show that the there were more unemployed young female migrants in younger age groups, while there were slightly more unemployed male migrants in older age groups.

More than 80% of unemployed migrants had secondary and less schooling, around 14% had high school education and 4% had received vocational training or university education. It should be noted that in low education categories, the proportion of female unemployed migrants was greater than their male counterparts. It seems true that with a university degree in hand, female migrants may be able to do better in terms of finding a job. The proportion of unemployed female with university education was more or less similar to male, which may indicates that the education

has a positive impact on female migrants' competitiveness in job markets compared to men.

Education is further examined in the Table 3. For those who have an agricultural *hukou* status, the proportion of unemployed migrants in low education categories was much greater than that in high education categories. For those who have non-agricultural *hukou* status, unemployed migrants were concentrated in high education categories, probably because people with university education were more likely to have non-agricultural *hukou* status. From this simple tabulation, it is unclear how education and *hukou* status have effects on people's likelihood to be unemployed.
The results from the table 3 show that of all unemployed migrants, in terms of length of residence in Beijing, the distribution pattern was not very clear. There was a greater proportion of unemployed migrants in the category "5 years and above", while there was a relatively smaller proportion in the categories of shorter length of residence in Beijing. It is hypothesized that the length of residence may have positive effect on people's chance to be employed, in other words, less chance to be unemployed. We will further look at the effects of length of residence on people's being unemployed in the next section.

We used logistic regression to examine the effects of major factors affecting migrants' employment status. The dependent variable is "being unemployed" with the reference "being employed". There are three models in the analysis. The first model only includes the basic demographic characteristics, age, gender, marital status, and education. The second model introduces the length of residence in Beijing. The third model includes another important variable *hukou* type.

Table 4 lists the logistic regression coefficients on likelihood of being unemployed. From the first model, we can see that all variables included in the analysis are significant. When all other demographic characteristics are controlled, age is significant in explaining the variance of being unemployed. Compared with people in age group 55 years old and above, people in younger groups seem to be less likely to be unemployed. In particular, with reference to people in 55 years old and above, people in age group 35-44 are less likely to be unemployed compared with people in other groups. The odd ratio of "being unemployed" for this age group is the smallest

compared with other groups. It is understandable that people in age group 35-44 may have equipped with skills and experience, but yet not too old to compete in the job market, and hence are less likely to be unemployed.

Compared with females, male migrants are much less likely to be unemployed. The great negative coefficient indicates that the likelihood of being unemployed for male migrants is much smaller. The odds ratio also indicates that compared with woman, men only have smaller chance to be unemployed. This has confirmed our earlier hypothesis on effects of gender on migrants' employment status. The results also show that single migrants are less likely to be unemployed compared with their married counterparts. The odds ratio also indicates that compared with married migrants, single migrants have smaller chance to be unemployed.

Effects of education on employment status suggest that compared with people with higher education (vocational school and above), people with low education (illiterate and primary school) are more likely to be unemployed. It is clear that education have negative effects on likelihood of being unemployed, in the other words, have positive effects on likelihood of being employed.

In the second model, we introduced a new variable, length of residence in Beijing. In previous section, the simple tabulation seemed to indicate that there was a larger proportion of unemployed migrants in the category of 5 years and above. From the results of simple tabulations, we couldn't reach conclusion that the longer they stay the more possibility they would become unemployed. The regression coefficients here also show that compared with people who have been Beijing for five years and above, people who have been Beijing for shorter period of time tend to have smaller chance to be unemployed in Beijing. The results clearly suggest that the shorter length of residence, the smaller likelihood it is to be unemployed. This seemingly contradictory result may suggest an interesting finding, which is the temporary nature of migrant jobs in big cities like Beijing. Staying in Beijing for a longer period of time does not enhance one's likelihood to be unemployed, it somehow reduces one's employability to certain extent.

With introduction of length of residence, all other variables remain significant except the values of co-efficient reduced slightly. This indicates that the direction of effects by other variable remind the same and the explainbility reduce slightly.

In the third model, we introduce another important variable, the *hukou* type, to see whether people's *hukou* status have any impacts on their employment status. As mentioned previously, *hukou* is seen one of the most important variable in explaining many social differences in Chinese societies, people's life chance and well-being have been greatly determined by their *hukou* status. Being a non-agricultural resident may increase one's chance to get a job in white-collar occupation or in formal sector. We hypothesize that one's *hukou* status would also have similar effect on people's being employed or not. The results in the third model strongly suggest that compared with migrants with agricultural *hukou* status, people with non-agricultural *hukou* are much more likely to claim unemployment. This result has rejected our hypothesis that people with a non-agricultural status would be less likely to be employed. This seemingly wrong finding may suggest that people with non-agricultural *hukou* status may have more help or assistance available when they are unemployed, while those who have agricultural *hukou* status didn't have such assistance. This also indicates that migrants with non-agricultural *hukou* status couldn't afford to stay in Beijing once they were unemployed, so the survey is unable to capture them. Further study is needed in this area.

Why the Unemployment Problem is "Invisible"

The very low unemployment rate among the migrant population in Beijing seems at odds with other observations. One of authors of this study conducted one year of fieldwork among the migrant community of Beijing in 1997 to 1998[3]. During this time many unemployed migrants were obvious on Beijing's streets. Numerous spontaneous labor markets scattered around all districts in the city and its suburbs were filled with people looking for jobs. Solinger's study (1999, p. 212) also

[3] From September 1997 to August 1998, Fei Guo conducted a fieldwork in a community in Beijing where Henan migrants were concentrated. The fieldwork was supported by an Andrew Mellon Post-doctoral Fellowship.

suggests that employment agents chose to hire people for construction jobs or other odd jobs at spontaneous labor markets or from among the unemployed hangers-on camped around train stations or other sites where the jobless congregated. The "invisibility" of unemployment in the migrant census data indicates that either many unemployed migrants were not numerated in the census or they could not stay in Beijing once they could not find a job after a certain period.

Previous studies (Yang and Guo, 1996; Wang, Zuo and Ruan, 2002) about migrants' occupation suggested that rural to urban migrants tended to take odd jobs that the local residents did not want to take. A large proportion of migrants from rural areas worked in construction industry. Many worked in restaurants and other service sectors. Migrants have also taken over the entire sector of street vendors, which was labeled "migrant job" by local residents. Almost all these occupations are temporary in nature, either project-based or season-based. Sometimes the employment is based on random selection by potential employers at the spontaneous markets. Solinger (1999) noticed that the construction industry relied heavily on sub-contractors or agents. Sub-contractors signed contracts with employers or construction entrepreneurs for the projects. Workers who were employed for the construction projects normally did not have any formal contracts. Their relationship of employment depended on a verbal commitment from agents or sub-contractors. Sometimes one main construction project could be sub-contracted many times. With each sub-contracting, workers became more distant from the employer, or formal employment. Their employment status would become more and more "informal" with each sub-contracting, and there would be less and less protection available for them. Solinger (1999, p. 266) cited a typical story about what would happen if a migrant worker became sick:

> "If a little sick, they don't go to the hospital or take medicine. If they are very sick, they just go home."

If someone lost his/her job and was unable to work, the most common solution would be to "go home". Observations among street vendors in a Henan migrant community also confirmed that many people could not afford to stay in Beijing without a job. Rent and daily consumption in Beijing would be unbearable for many people if they do not have regular income. The temporary nature of their employment status and lack of

legal protections have forced many unemployed migrants out of city once the employment perspective is no longer promising. The irony here is that unemployed migrants who are seeking for jobs can be seen in many places in the city, but many of them could not be captured in the official census. They become invisible in statistics even though they are highly visible in the city.

In the past decades, especially in the pre-reform era, urban planning in China was mainly to meet the needs for locally registered residents. For majority of urban residents, employment was almost guaranteed once they graduated from high school. Various levels of city governments, city, district, street committee or even neighborhood committee, were responsible to create employment opportunities for residents in their administrative territories. In many cases, work units, both state-run or collective-run enterprises and organizations were responsible for employment of children of their employees. Under this recruitment system, it was quite common that a number of family members from one household could work at one work place. Although there have been some changes in recent years, the labor recruitment system for formal sector remain unchanged to certain extent. More importantly, the legacy of previous planned system has strong impacts on the urban planning policies and community management that tended to exclude non-locally registered residents. When the problem of unemployment among urban residents became critical, the authorities often attempted to solve the problem by dispersing migrants out of city, particularly those who came from countryside. Local officials regarded floating population a burden on the city (Jeong, 2000; Xiang, 1998; Solinger, 1999). A number of "migrant villages" in Beijing has experienced "cleaning-up" or demolition at various stages of formation of the communities. Jeong (2000) reported that Zhejiang village, one of the most developed migrant communities in China, had experienced cleaning-up and demolition a number of times regardless of strong and organized resistance from the community. Residents in the migrant communities simply were unable to live a stable life and to achieve a secured employment, even they could be highly organized in some cases. Urban planning authorities always put the employment of urban residents as priority in their policies. The unemployment of migrant population has never been an issue on urban planning authority's agenda.

As a result of China's long-lasting labor recruitment system and current policies, many rural migrants have not developed a clear sense of "being employed" or "being unemployed". Fieldwork by one of the authors in migrants' native villages suggested that employment status of farmers in the villages were not well defined, partially because farmers normally did not receive any payment until the harvest season. Working in the field everyday sometimes was regarded "no job", as the farmers did not receive any payment every month. When asked villagers what job they did for living in the village, people often replied: "I don't have a job." To many villagers, only jobs in the city with a salary are real jobs. Even a temporary job in the city with a very low salary was regarded "having a job" (or *Wu Gong* in Chinese). Our study has shown that around 90% of migrant population in Beijing were agricultural residents. A great proportion of them were employed as workers or laborers (*Wu Gong)* or engaged in small trading or street vendor business (*Jing Shang)*. Comparing with their jobs at home, it is possible for many rural migrants to consider any odd jobs, regardless of the length and status of employment, as *Wu Gong*, sometimes even when they were researching for jobs.

The "invisibility" of unemployment among migrant population can also be viewed as a result of double neglects, intentionally by urban authorities and unintentionally by migrant themselves. To urban authorities, migrants are seen as economically active participants, who came to city to fill the gaps in the labor markets. If migrants were able to find jobs, they would contribute to city's development and construction. If they were unable to find employment opportunities, they always could return to their home places. What urban authorities were concerned about with the migrant population was their lawlessness and possible threats to the peaceful city life that urban residents have enjoyed for decades. China's official statistics only include "Registered Urban Unemployed Persons[4]". Unemployed migrant workers are not included in the official unemployment statistics. The "invisibility" of unemployment of migrant workers in the official statistics is a legacy from the socialist planned system, which granted urban residents much more benefits and welfare, including

[4] The registered unemployed persons in urban areas refer to the persons who are registered as permanent residents in the urban areas engaged in non-agricultural activities, aged within the range of working age, capable to labor, unemployed but desirous to be employed and have been registered at the local employment service agencies to apply for a job (National Bureau of Statistics of China, http://www.stats.gov.cn/).

pension payment and unemployment allowance. To many migrants from rural areas, coming to the cities means "having a job" because their work at home in the fields was never considered a job. This misperception of many rural migrants might have inflated their employment status in city.

Discussion and Conclusions

The data from the Beijing Migrant Census shows that the overall unemployment of migrant population in Beijing was very low. Less than 1% of total migrants who have been to Beijing for at least three months for employment reasons reported themselves as unemployed. This figure is much lower than the average urban unemployment rate, which was around 3% since late 1990s (Zhai and Wang, 2002). Among these reported unemployed migrants, a large proportion was female and less educated. For all female migrants, less educated ones tended to be more likely to be unemployed. Only those females with university education seem equally competitive in the job market as their male counterparts.

The results suggest that migrants' length of residence in Beijing does not enhance their likelihood of being employed. It somehow reduces their likelihood of being employed. On the one hand, this seemingly incorrect result may reflect the very temporary and vulnerable nature of employment status of migrant workers in Beijing. One the other hand, it might also suggest that those who had been living in Beijing for a longer period of time are more likely to afford to live in Beijing once they are unemployed, as they might have more resources and helps available. Observations from the fieldwork by one of the authors suggest that migrants, especially those from rural areas, tend to work in the same or similar types of occupation regardless of the length of their residence in the cities. Majority of them do not enjoy much unemployment benefits. However, this study is unable to provide a conclusive explanation on this point, further observation and study is needed.

We have found that the household registration status, or *hukou*, affects migrants' likelihood of "being unemployed" in an interesting way. *Hukou* has been regarded as one of the most important factors in explaining all social divisions in contemporary

Chinese society. We hypothesized that *hukou* would enhance the likelihood of being employed for those migrants who came from a non-agricultural background if all other factors were held constant. However, what we found was just opposite, the likelihood of being unemployed for non-agricultural migrants were greater than that for agricultural migrants. This seemingly contradictory finding has led to speculation that compared with migrants with agricultural *hukou*, those with non-agricultural *hukou* status may have more help in the city once they are unemployed. The help could come from employers as a part of employment benefits, or from relatives and family members. In other words, migrants from other cities might be able to afford to stay in the city for some time while those people from countryside could not afford it. A recent study of rural of migrants in Chinese another big city Shanghai (Wang, Zuo and Duan, 2002) also suggested that the rural migrant workers in Shanghai do not enjoy the same benefits and services that the local urban residents enjoy, including affordable housing, employment, and children's education. Being able to claim unemployment and subsequently a minimum living allowance is a type of benefit that is only available to the urban residents. Some of those migrants who came from other cities would also be eligible to claim a minimum living allowance from the places of their registration once they are unemployed.

This study has shown that the unemployment problem exists but is "unseen" by the general public and policy-makers for a number of reasons. First, because of the temporary and informal nature of employment status in Beijing, many unemployed migrants could not afford to stay in the city once they were unemployed. Unemployment of the migrant population in the city is actually transferred to migrants' home places where, in many cases, the unemployment problem has long been critical.

Second, urban authorities in the Chinese cities have long practiced labour administration policies that meet the needs of locally registered residents. Migrants who are not registered as local residents, regardless of the length of residence in the cities, are not part of urban planning in terms of employment and community management. In many cases, to easy the burden of the cities, migrants were dispelled and migrant communities were demolished from time to time.

Third, the majority of the migrant population was from rural areas. To many rural people, working in the fields was considered "no job", as they do not get any regular payment from what they do in the field. Compared to jobs in the fields, any city job is recognized as "being a job", even very temporary and odd jobs. Employment and unemployment for migrant workers have never been clearly defined. In most cases, formal contracts were absent. In many cases in the construction industry, workers' regular payments are held for a number of months. For these migrants, any form of "job" would be considered as employment even though they don't see their wages.

The results of this study imply that the economics of migration to Chinese cities cannot be understood merely in terms of migrants' direct contribution to the economic activities of the cities. It must also take into account the lack of any attendant costs as migrants are unable to claim any support from the city's infrastructure and the costs of unemployment are transferred to families or rural areas.

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Table 1. Basic characteristics of all migrants by employment status

Characteristics	Total Number	%	Wu Gong	Jing Shang	Other Jobs	Unemployed
Total	1424926		1143517	260703	7743	12963
%		100.00	80.25	18.30	0.54	0.91
Age						
15-19	164187	11.52	93.84	5.74	0.05	0.37
20-24	413111	28.99	88.56	10.40	0.38	0.66
25-29	342488	24.04	75.80	22.46	0.55	1.19
30-34	224371	15.75	70.48	28.02	0.50	1.00
35-39	105571	7.41	71.10	27.42	0.69	0.79
40-44	76140	5.34	73.77	24.64	0.81	0.78
45-49	47808	3.36	74.32	23.49	0.99	1.20
50-54	25097	1.76	76.46	20.17	1.75	1.63
55-59	14057	0.99	76.63	17.95	2.84	2.58
60-64	8155	0.57	77.20	15.94	3.57	3.29
65-69	2885	0.20	74.04	16.47	4.12	5.37
70&+	1056	0.07	66.67	19.70	3.98	9.66
Sex						
Male	995256	69.85	82.25	16.97	0.51	0.27
Female	429670	30.15	75.63	21.37	0.62	2.38
Hukou Type						
Non-agricultural	136657	9.59	75.74	18.12	4.18	1.96
Agricultural	1287176	90.33	80.74	18.32	0.16	0.79
Undecided	1093	0.08	64.50	17.57	1.56	16.38
Education						
Illiterate	34113	2.39	68.58	28.51	0.00	2.90
Primary school	217995	15.30	74.96	23.62	0.09	1.32

Characteristics	Total Number	%	Wu Gong	Jing Shang	Other Jobs	Unemployed
Secondary school	948899	66.59	82.21	16.94	0.14	0.71
High school	186961	13.12	80.30	17.71	0.98	1.01
Vocational school	26815	1.88	74.54	15.12	8.93	1.40
University	10143	0.71	63.90	15.44	19.31	1.35
Length of Residence						
3-6 months	215188	15.10	86.26	12.68	0.35	0.71
6-12 months	466609	32.75	87.91	11.33	0.26	0.50
1-3 years	392393	27.54	77.25	21.18	0.65	0.92
3-5 years	165247	11.60	71.69	26.27	0.82	1.22
5 years and above	185489	13.02	68.00	29.13	1.00	1.87

Table 2. Age and Education of Unemployed Migrants by Gender

Characteristics	Total Number	%	Gender Male	Female
Total	12963		2732	10231
%		100.00	21.08	78.92
Age				
15-19	612	4.72	38.07	61.93
20-24	2727	21.04	16.94	83.06
25-29	4091	31.56	12.34	87.66
30-34	2239	17.27	17.24	82.76
35-39	834	6.43	26.74	73.26
40-44	591	4.56	28.6	71.4
45-49	572	4.41	31.64	68.36
50-54	409	3.16	30.81	69.19
55-59	363	2.80	43.25	56.75
60-64	268	2.07	53.73	46.27
65-69	155	1.20	53.55	46.45
70&+	102	0.79	61.76	38.24
Education				
Illiterate	990	7.64	10.61	89.39
Primary school	2883	22.24	17.48	82.52
Secondary school	6694	51.64	21.56	78.44
High school	1883	14.53	24.96	75.04
Vocational school	376	2.90	38.03	61.97
University	137	1.06	48.91	51.09

Table 3. Education and Length of residence of Unemployed Migrants by *Hukou* Type

Education	Total Number	%	Hukou Type		
			Non-agricultural	Agricultural	Undecided
Illiterate	990	7.64	5.15	94.55	0.3
Primary school	2883	22.24	7.67	91.74	0.59
Secondary school	6694	51.64	15.92	82.31	1.76
High school	1883	14.53	48.27	49.92	1.81
Vocational school	376	2.9	79.52	19.68	0.8
University	137	1.06	92.7	4.38	2.92
Length of residence					
3-6 months	1523	11.75	18.45	80.7	0.85
6-12 months	2341	18.06	14.48	84.92	0.6
1-3 years	3612	27.86	20.43	78.71	0.86
3-5 years	2018	15.57	22.2	76.41	1.39
5 years and above	3469	26.76	24.99	72.33	2.68

Table 4. Parameter Estimates of Being Unemployed Migrant in Beijing

Parameters	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	-2.5294	-2.1511	-2.8498
Age (reference= 55 and above)			
15-24	-0.2814 **	-0.1809 **	-0.1155 **
25-34	-0.3919 **	-0.3762 **	-0.332 **
35-44	-0.7282 **	-0.7423 **	-0.7605 **
45-54	-0.1784 **	-0.198 **	-0.2685 **
Sex (reference=female)			
Male	-2.2822 **	-2.2339 **	-2.184 **
Marital status (ref.=married)			
Single	-1.5622 **	-1.4948 **	-1.5135 **
Education (ref.=vocational schl & above)			
Illiterate & primary school	-0.2225 **	-0.1998 **	0.4277 **
Secondary & high school	-0.4065 **	-0.3946 **	0.1152 *
Length of residence in BJ (ref.=5 years & +)			
Less than one year		-0.6988 **	-0.6647 **
1 to 3 years		-0.5178 **	-0.5035 **
3 to 5 years		-0.3642 **	-0.3472 **
Hukou type (ref. =agricultural hukou)			
Non-agricultural hukou			0.7488 **