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Rural Women Transfer from the Perspective of Family Migration

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Abstract At first, this article gives an overview of previous researches on family migration, the pulling force and drag force of the rural residents' behavior of going out. On the basis of questionnaire survey of rural woman's behavior of going out in Anhui Province, conducted in early 2011, this article studies the pulling force and drag force of rural woman's behavior of going out, their will to settle in the city, and the obstacles to settlement. Finally, I derive three pulling forces of rural woman's behavior of going out, and three major factors influencing settlement in city.

Key words Family migration, Rural women, Settlement, Housing

Urbanization is the process of rural community transforming into urban community. Only when this transformation is family migration rather than the migration of a single person, can it be of long-lasting stable significance. This determines that only the female migration is the real migration^[1]. From the perspective of family migration, the major problem existing in migration of the rural residents in China is that separate migration is more than family migration. And the manifestations of exiguous family migration are as follows: whether the women migrate is often the result of the family decision-making. When there is a need in the family, the preferred family decision-making is that the women stay at home or go home (*i. e.*, the return of the female labor force in rural areas), while the male remain in the city, so that the female migration is slower than the male migration, or women can not migrate^[2].

With the acceleration in transfer of China's rural labor force and gradual increase in female migrants, issues concerning female migrants in rural areas are increasingly becoming a social reality that can not be ignored, gradually forming a new model-family migration^[3]. Through the analysis of the fifth national census data in 2000, Zhou Hao points out that China's population migration has shown the trend of family-style migration at present^[4]. The survey conducted by research fellow Zou Hong from Beijing Normal University at the end of 2004, of floating population in nine large and medium-sized cities such as Guangzhou City, shows that the floating family population is a prominent characteristic of population migration in recent years. One fourth of floating population is family migration, and nearly one third of floating population has a suggestion or trace of "immigrants". If the husbands have been migrant workers, with the experience of working outside and some information on employ-

ment, the women can choose the style of family migration to work elsewhere along with their husbands. On the one hand, it can reduce the psychological burden; on the other hand, it can reduce uncertainties and risks they face, thereby reducing the costs of migration. In addition, the beneficial effects of family migration pattern on rural floating female population still include the following aspects: solving the difficulties of marriage and family life faced by rural floating female population, promoting their quality of life; alleviating the psychological burden of the rural floating female population, improving their mental outlook; making the rural floating female population get rid of the shackle of traditional ideas, improving the awareness of self-esteem; abating the possibility of the rural floating female population suffering the life and safety risks, and conducing to the protection of their legitimate rights and interests^[5]. From the family migration, the housing problem is often the most important issue that needs to be solved, and also the problem that the female floating population is most concerned about^[6]. Meng Zhaomin holds that the housing problem is one of the most basic and serious problems faced by the floating population living in urban areas. Judging from the international experience, if the basic housing security problem of these people is not handled properly, it will produce "spread of slums", "high incidence of crime" and other serious social problems. This family living model of breaking up a family, going against human nature, is clearly contrary to the "people-oriented" concept of development^[8].

In addition to expected income or real income, domestic and foreign scholars still enumerate many other factors in discussion of the reasons for China's surplus rural labor flowing to urban areas. In the context of China's economic development at present, Ma Ying *et al.* believe that the major factor responsible for surplus rural labor flowing to urban areas is still the income gap^[9]. Through research, Li Shi found that male migrant workers in the family will help to increase opportunities for female labor to work outside the home^[10]. In research, Li Jiang found that the female population in rural areas has the awareness of actively participating in the urbanization process, but at the same time, has fear of trouble after completely separating

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from the rural areas^[11]. After migration, the employment level of the female is lower than that of the male, limiting rural woman's enthusiasm in flow. Hou Junxiang et al believe that the obstacles to the migration of rural female labor force include the following aspects. First, their own quality (cultural quality, scientific and technological quality, physical and mental quality) is low. Second, the traditional concept and sexist thought hinder the migration of rural female labor force; the traditional allocation of family roles shackles the female labor force; the belief that "an unaccomplished woman is a virtuous woman" thwarts the improvement in the quality of the women themselves. Third, there are some social factors hindering the migration of rural female labor force, such as the presence of urban-rural dual structure, the shrinking of the township and village enterprises, and sluggish development of urbanization^[12]. China's existing social systems, such as the education system, household registration system, the social security system, and rural land property rights, limit the flow of rural women. But Xiao Wentao asserts that lack of strength in industrialization and quality threshold in labor market, is the real obstacle to the employment of rural labor in urban areas. The opinion that the household registration system is the institutional root for excluding the migration of rural labor, can hardly be substantiated.

Using the growth pole theory as a guide, Li Jiang holds that implementing the strategy of non-balanced preferential de-

velopment of small towns and coordinated development of central cities, forming scientific and rational urban economic development network system, can help to fully absorb the surplus rural labor force to participate in the process of urbanization^[11].

Family migration begins to burgeon in China, drawing more and more attention of the theoretical circle. The scholars' enthusiasm in research on rural female migration also heats up increasingly, but most studies are only limited to theory, for want of empirical researches. Based on the research and survey data in Anhui Province, I conduct empirical analysis of the pulling force and drag force of rural female migration, their will to settle in the city, and obstacles to settlement.

1 Comparison between women going out and women staying at home in rural areas

In February 2011, I conducted questionnaire survey of rural women in Anhui Province. The survey object is the rural women going out and staying at home, and the survey method is random sampling. 300 copies of questionnaires were distributed, 245 copies of questionnaires were called back, with recovery rate of 81.7%; 223 copies of questionnaires were valid, with effective rate of 91%. 118 valid questionnaires were for the women going out; 105 valid questionnaires were for the women staying at home.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics concerning questionnaire survey of rural women

Survey item	Rural women going out				Rural women staying at home				Overall			
	Mean	Standard deviation	Median	Mode	Mean	Standard deviation	Median	Mode	Mean	Standard deviation	Median	Mode
Age	30.55	9.48	28	23	38.65	7.69	39	42	34.50	9.54	36	23
Education	8.65	2.43	9	9	7.57	3.17	6	6	8.20	2.88	9	9
Marital status	0.65	0.48	1	1	0.95	0.21	1	1	0.80	0.40	1	1
Income 1	2180	1019	2000	2000	1239	710	1000	1000	1720	998	1500	2000
Income 2	4586	2177	4500	4000	3567	2072	3000	3000	4338	2262	4000	5000
Training	0.47	0.65	0	0	0.16	0.37	0	0	0.32	0.55	0	0
Health	3.44	0.72	3	3	3.32	0.69	3	3	3.41	0.71	3	3
Whether actively participating in the village affairs	0.13	0.34	0	0	0.18	0.39	0	0	0.15	0.36	0	0
Whether having ability to surf the net using computer	0.58	0.49	1	1	0.31	0.47	0	0	0.45	0.50	0	0

Note: Education, namely years of education (6 years for primary school; 9 years for junior high school; 12 years for senior high school; 15 years for junior college; 16 years for university); marital status (married=1; unmarried=0); income 1 (monthly income of one's own); income 2 (monthly family income); training (trained=1; untrained=0); health, assessed by oneself (very poor=1; poor=2; average=3; good=4; very good=5); whether actively participating in the village affairs (yes=1; no=0); whether having ability to surf the net using computer (have=1; not have=0).

Data source: Questionnaire survey in February 2011.

1.1 Age It can be seen from the survey that there is significant difference between the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home. The average age of the rural women going out is 30.55, and the average age of the rural women staying at home is 38.65, 8.1 years older than the rural women staying at home. The mode of age of the rural women going out is 23, while the mode of age of the rural women staying at home is 42, with more prominent difference. Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.00$, $t=-5.999$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the mean age of the rural women staying at home is significantly greater than that of the rural women going out.

1.2 The educational level The average length of education enjoyed by the rural women going out is 8.65 years, 1.08

years higher than the average length of education enjoyed by the rural women staying at home (7.57 years); the mode of length of education enjoyed by the rural women going out is 9 years, while the mode of length of education enjoyed by the rural women staying at home is 6 years. Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.003$, $t=3.077$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the average educational level of the rural women staying at home is significantly lower than that of the rural women going out. But the average educational level of both is low, failing to reach the level of junior high school.

1.3 Married rate The married rate of the rural women staying at home is 95%, while the married rate of the rural women going out is only 65%, 30 percentage points higher than that of the rural women going out, indicating that the marriage has a major

impact on rural woman's decision of going out. Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.00$, $t=-5.360$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the married rate of the rural women staying at home is significantly greater than that of the rural women going out.

1.4 Personal monthly income The monthly income of the rural women going out averages 2180 yuan, 1.76 times that of the rural women staying at home; the mode of monthly income of the rural women going out is 2 000 yuan, but the mode of monthly income of the rural women staying at home is only 1000 yuan. Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.00$, $t=7.847$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the monthly income of the rural women staying at home is significantly lower than that of the rural women going out. From the career distribution of the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home, we can find their wage difference (Fig. 1 and 2).

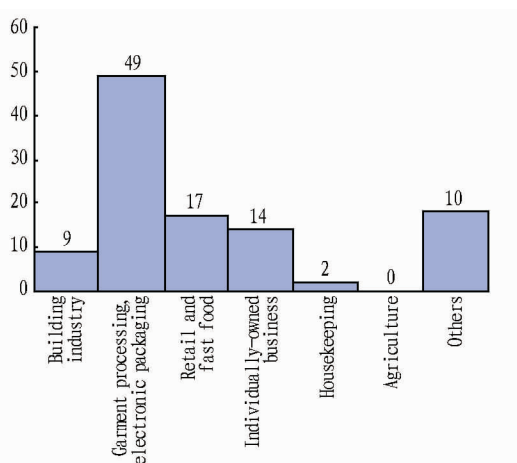
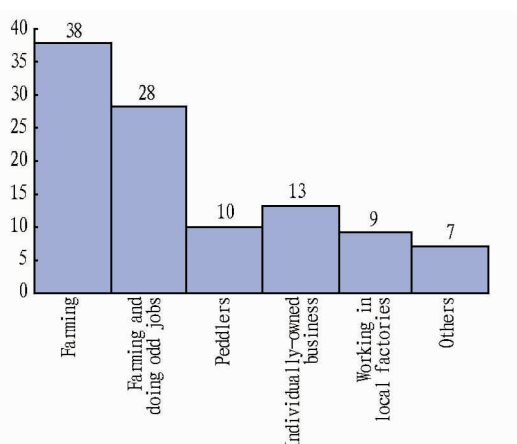


Fig. 1 Career distribution of rural women going out



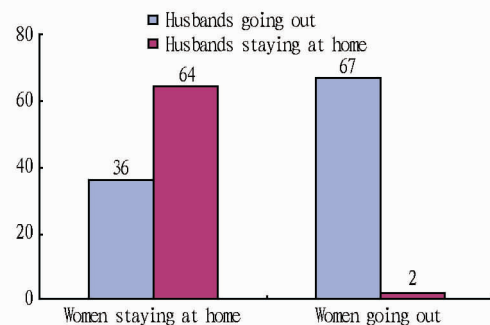
Data source: Questionnaire survey.

Fig. 2 Career distribution of rural women staying at home

It can be seen from the above figure that the career distribution of the rural women going out is concentrated (45% of them are concentrated in garment processing and electronic packaging); the career distribution of the rural women staying at home is mainly concentrated in farming, or farming and do-

ing odd jobs, accounting for 63% of the total. Income from farming is significantly lower than the income from working in factory, which is the main reason for a big gap between the two.

1.5 Household monthly income The average monthly household income of the rural women going out is 4 586 yuan, higher than that of the rural women staying at home (1 019 yuan); the mode of monthly household income of the rural women going out is 4 000 yuan, while the mode of monthly household income of the rural women staying at home is only 3000 yuan. Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.00$, $t=5.379$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the monthly household income of the rural women going out is significantly higher than that of the rural women staying at home. Through surveying the husbands' behavior of going out, I explain the differences in monthly household income of the rural married women (Fig. 3).



Data source: Questionnaire survey.

Fig. 3 Comparative analysis of husbands' behavior of going out between rural married women going out and rural married women staying at home

Fig. 3 shows that 97% of husbands of the rural women going out go out, while only 36% of husbands of the rural married women staying at home go out. On the one hand, it explains the difference in monthly household income; on the other hand, it also verifies that the husbands' behavior of going out helps to reduce the cost and risk in rural woman's behavior of going out, and the rural married woman's behavior of going out is affected by the husbands' behavior of going out.

1.6 The proportion of receiving training 47% of the rural women going out have received training, while only 16% of the rural women staying at home have received training. Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.00$, $t=3.861$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the proportion of receiving training of the rural women going out is significantly higher than that of the rural women staying at home. This shows that the acquisition of skills can promote rural woman's behavior of going out.

1.7 Health self-assessment Through the comparison in Table 1, we can find that the health self-assessment of the rural women going out is slightly higher than that of the rural women staying at home. But through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.217$, $t=1.241$, accepting the null hypothesis, thus believing that there is no significant difference in the health self-assessment between the rural women going out and the rural

women staying at home.

1.8 Awareness of actively participating in the village affairs Through the comparison in Table 1, we can find that the awareness of participating in government and political affairs of the rural women going out is slightly weaker than that of the rural women staying at home. But through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.195$, $t=-1.304$, accepting the null hypothesis, thus believing that there is no significant difference in the awareness of participating in government and political affairs between the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home.

1.9 The proportion of having ability to surf the net using computer Through two-sample test, I derive that $p=0.00$, $t=3.678$, rejecting the null hypothesis, thus believing that the proportion of the rural women going out having ability to surf the net using computer is significantly higher than that of the rural women staying at home having ability to surf the net using computer.

2 Analysis of the pulling force and drag force of the rural woman’s behavior of going out

2.1 Analysis of the pulling force of the rural woman’s behavior of going out Through the questionnaire survey of the rural women going out (Why do you choose to go out?), I analyze the pulling force of going out. The results show that the pulling force, ranking first, of rural woman’s behavior of going out, is still high income, accounting for 47%, which verifies the

analysis results of Ma Ying and Zhu Hongyan. The pulling force, ranking second, of rural woman’s behavior of going out, is to follow her husband to go out, accounting for 26%. If we remove the 38 rural unmarried women going out in the questionnaire, the women choosing to follow husband to go out account for 40.3% of total married women going out. Family migration and the pursuit of family happiness have become an important reason for the married women going out. The pulling force, ranking third, of rural woman’s behavior of going out, is great opportunities for development, accounting for 18% of the total. Opening the mind and others rank fourth and fifth, respectively.

From the contingency table, we can find that the rural women going out are divided by the age of 30:56 people are young people, aged less than 30; 46 people are middle-aged people, aged more than 30. The former scholars’ research believes that the reason for young people’s behavior of going out is to pursue self-development and open mind, but this survey can not confirm this. Most of the young and middle-aged people are in the pursuit of high income. However, this survey also shows that the proportion of young women pursuing greater development opportunities and opening mind, is significantly higher than that of middle-aged women pursuing greater development opportunities and opening mind, by 22 percentage points; the proportion of the middle-aged women following husband to go out is also significantly higher than that of the young women following husband to go out, by 25 percentage points (Table 2).

Table 2 Age-specific the pulling force of the rural woman’s behavior of going out

	High income		Following husband		Great development opportunities		Increase knowledge		Others		Summarization of number of people
	Number of people	Proportion	Number of people	Proportion	Number of people	Proportion	Number of people	Proportion	Number of people	Proportion	
Young(≤30)	29	0.49	8	0.14	14	0.24	7	0.12	1	0.02	59
Middle-aged (>30)	23	0.47	19	0.39	5	0.10	2	0.04	0	0.00	49
Overall	52	0.48	27	0.25	9	0.18	9	0.08	1	0.01	108

Data source: Questionnaire survey.

2.2 Analysis of drag force of the rural woman’s behavior of going out Through the questionnaire survey of the rural women staying at home (Why do you choose to stay at home?), I analyze the drag force of going out. And the survey results are shown in Fig. 4.

The drag force ranking first is children’s learning, accounting for 58% of the total. The existing educational system is not capable of carrying massive rural children to go to school in the city, and the parents do not trust the schools for the children of migrant workers outside the system, due to the problem of qualification and equipment. Under this condition, it is a reasonable choice for rural women staying at home to care for their children to go to school, rather than let children go to school in their working places elsewhere. The drag force ranking second is precluding the land from turning barren, accounting for 19% of the total. The existing land property rights system limits the flow of rural women, and the rural land lacks reasonable distribution and marketing mechanism, so that the land, under the

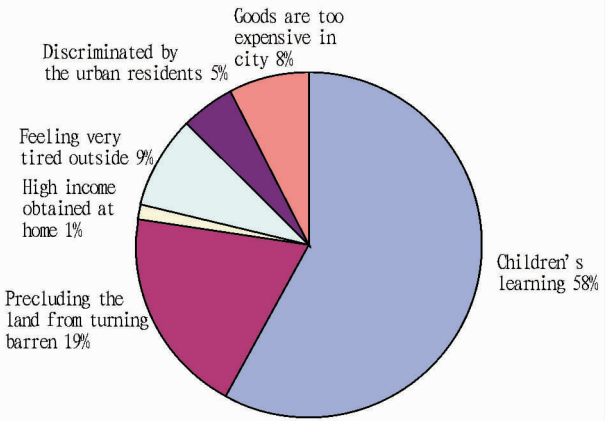


Fig. 4 Drag force of the rural woman’s behavior of going out

household contract responsibility system, becomes " chicken ribs"—tasteless when eaten but a pity to throw away, for rural

people. Household production brings meagre income, but they do not want to give up the farmland carrying many functions. The drag force ranking third is that working in the city is too hard, accounting for 9% of the total. At present, China's labor-intensive processing enterprises lack people-oriented management ideas, and there are flaws in the staff working hours, living conditions and recreational facilities. The drag force ranking fourth is that the consumption in the city is too high, and the costs of children's schooling are too high, accounting for 8% of the total. The income from working in the city is higher than that from farming at home, but in comparison with the urban residents, the migrant workers not only have low wage (the increase in wage has lacked strength for 10 consecutive years), but also lack social security and welfare. The research of Jiang and Kuijsten (2003) points out that the division of agricultural registered permanent residence and non-agricultural registered permanent residence in China, makes the people with non-agricultural registered permanent residence can enjoy 13 kinds of

social welfare that the people with agricultural registered permanent residence can not get^[14]. The drag forces ranking fifth and sixth (discriminated by the urban residents and high income obtained at home, respectively), have little impact.

The above analysis of the pulling force and drag force of rural woman's behavior of going out is limited to the design of the questionnaire. Through logistic regression analysis, I explore the factors influencing whether the rural women go out or not.

2.3 Logistic regression analysis on whether the rural women go out Whether going out is classified as dependent variable; age, the educational level, marital status, personal monthly income, household monthly income, whether having received training, health self-assessment, whether having ability to surf on the net, whether the husband going out, number of children, number of old people supported, are classified as covariates. I use mandatory introduction of all. R^2 is 0.675, and the regression effects are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Logistic regression analysis on whether the rural women go out

	B	S. E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age	-0.031	0.049	0.399	1	0.527	0.969
The educational level	-0.067	0.116	0.328	1	0.567	0.936
Marital status	16.795	40192.970	0.000	1	1.000	1.969E7
Personal monthly income	0.003	0.001	15.529	1	0.000	1.003
Household monthly income	0.000	0.000	7.323	1	0.007	0.999
Whether having received training	1.279	0.612	4.368	1	0.037	3.595
Health self-assessment	-0.003	0.340	0.000	1	0.993	0.997
Whether having ability to surf on the net	-0.410	0.687	0.357	1	0.550	0.663
Whether the husband going out	3.746	0.833	20.228	1	0.000	42.342
Number of children	-0.263	0.438	0.361	1	0.548	0.769
Number of old people supported	-0.201	0.240	0.698	1	0.404	0.818
Constant	-19.561	40192.970	0.000	1	1.000	0.000

From the results of the analysis, we can find that personal monthly income, household monthly income, whether having received training, and whether the husband going out, have remarkable impact on rural woman's decision of going out, all of which pass test at significance level of 0.05; the remaining factors do not pass test.

Through logistic regression analysis, we can find that high income, acquisition of labor skills and husband's behavior of going out, have a positive impact on rural woman's decision of going out, and husband's behavior of going out has the greatest impact, followed by labor skills acquired through training.

Table 4 The rural woman's will to settle in city

Survey item		Rural women going out		Rural women staying at home	
		Number of people	Percentage//%	Number of people	Percentage//%
Rural woman's will to settle in city	Yes	59	58		
	No	43	42		
Household will to settle in city	Yes	16	54	15	51
	Indifferent	31	30	36	35
	No	55	16	53	14
Children's will to settle in city	Yes	1	71	2	66
	Indifferent	29	28	33	32
	No	73	1	69	2

3 Empirical analysis of the rural woman's will to settle in city and obstacles to settlement

3.1 Will to settle in city I conduct the questionnaire design of the rural women going out (Do you want to live in the city in the future?; Do you want your family to settle in the city?; Do you want your child to dwell in the city in the future?). As for the rural women staying at home, I conduct the questionnaire design through the latter two questions.

It can be seen from Table 4 that 58% of the rural women going out are willing to settle in the city. The proportion of unmarried women who are willing to settle in the city is up to 77%; the proportion of married women who are willing to settle in the city is up to 48%. If taking 30 years of age as divide, the proportion of young women who are willing to settle in the city is up to 75%; the proportion of middle-aged women who are willing to settle in the city is only 37%.

In terms of the rural female family's desire to settle in the city, the rural women going out is slightly stronger than the rural women staying at home, but through the hypothesis test, I derive that $p=0.767$, $t=-0.297$, accepting the null hypothesis, thus believing that there is no significant difference in whether wanting the family to settle in the city between the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home, and slightly more than one half of the rural women going out and the rural

women staying at home all want their family to settle in the city in the future.

In terms of the desire of rural woman's children to settle in the city, the rural women going out is slightly stronger than the rural women staying at home, but through the hypothesis test, I derive that $p=0.664$, $t=0.436$, accepting the null hypothesis, thus believing that there is no significant difference in whether wanting the children to settle in the city between the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home, and approximately two thirds of the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home want their children to settle in the city in the future.

3.2 Analysis of obstacles to settlement I conduct the questionnaire design (In your opinion, what are the obstacles to settling in the city?) for analysis, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Analysis of obstacles to rural woman's settlement in city

Obstacles to rural woman's settlement in city	Rural women going out		Rural women staying at home		Total	
	Number of people	Percentage/%	Number of people	Percentage/%	Number of people	Percentage/%
Children's educational problem	39	15	29	59	68	13
High housing prices	86	32	88	35	174	33
Census registration problem	54	20	32	13	86	17
High level of urban consumption	71	26	84	33	155	30
Fear of losing rural land	18	7	20	08	38	7

It can be seen from Table 2 that there is a great difference in selection of obstacles to settlement in the city between the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home. The rural women going out believe that the obstacles to settlement in descending order are high housing prices, high level of urban consumption, census registration problem, their children's education and fear of losing rural land. The rural women staying at home believe that the obstacles to settlement in descending order are their children's education, high housing prices, high level of urban consumption, census registration problem and fear of losing rural land.

On the whole, high housing prices are a major obstacle to rural woman's settlement in the city, accounting for 33% of the total, followed by high level of urban consumption, accounting for 30% of the total. It can be said that high housing prices, high level of urban consumption and census registration problem are three major factors affecting rural woman's settlement in the city.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

4.1 Conclusions Through analysis of the survey data, we can draw the following conclusions.

First, three pulling forces of rural woman's behavior of going out are high income, following husband to go out, and great development opportunities. The middle-aged women and young women both take high income as the main pulling force, but the proportion of the middle-aged women following the husband to go out is significantly higher than that of young women; the proportion of young women pursuing development opportunities and opening mind is significantly higher than that of the middle-

aged women. By logistic regression analysis, we can find that in addition to high income and following the husband to go out, labor skills acquisition through training also has significant impact on rural woman's behavior of going out.

Second, the drag force of rural woman's behavior of going out ranking first and gaining absolute predominance is child's learning (58%), followed by precluding the land from turning barren.

Third, as to the will to settle in the city, through the questionnaire survey of the rural women, we find that the rural women have strong desire to settle in the city, especially for the young rural women. Meanwhile, the will to want themselves to settle in the city, want their family to settle in the city, and want their children to settle in the city, is gradually ascending, and more rural women pin the hope of setting in the city on their children. This reflects rural woman's yearning for settling in the city. However, due to the existing system, insufficient human capital, low employment level and low income, the dream of settling in the city is out of reach, and having their own home in the city is an extravagant hope, therefore, they anchor their hopes in their own kids.

Fourth, high housing prices, high level of urban consumption and census registration problem are three obstacles to rural woman's settlement in the city. But there is a great difference in choosing obstacles to settlement between the rural women going out and the rural women staying at home; the rural women going out believe that obstacles to settlement in descending order are high housing prices, high level of urban consumption and census registration problem, their children's education and fear of losing rural land; the rural women staying at home be-

lieve that obstacles to settlement in descending order are their children's education, high housing prices, high level of urban consumption, census registration problem and fear of losing rural land.

4.2 Recommendations We should increase the migrants' income, especially women's income, to guide the rural women to flow into the city. As the same time, we should provide them with more training opportunities, to enhance their work skills, and their ability to be promoted. The enterprises should stick to the people-oriented idea, to provide double room for the migrant couple, conduct rational career growth planning for them, provide convenience for their children's education. Only by this way can the enterprises attract enough workers in the context of recruitment difficulties.

However, if the issue of rural floating population is solved solely by enterprises, this is social retrogression, the nature of which is similar to the retrogression of social security system a few decades ago from the state security to enterprise security. Urbanization is an inevitable trend of social development, and a range of issues arising in this trend must be solved by the state. The government is the main body to solve these problems while the enterprise is only auxiliary. The state should adjust China's economically affordable housing and low-rent housing system, so that the rural migrants can enjoy the same right to apply with the urban residents; expand the holding capacity of the urban compulsory education and preschool education, so that the rural migrants' children can attend the urban school; reform the household registration system, and reasonably guide rural migrants to settle in the city. In order to alleviate the pressure of the big cities, we must vigorously develop small and medium-sized cities and small towns, making the population divert to these places. In addition, we should encourage the rational flow of land, and build platform and provide information for land circulation; increase the coverage of China's social security, strengthen social security monitoring and enforcement efforts, to provide basic protection for outgoing migrants.

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(From page 35)

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