

# URBANIZATION VS. CITIZENIZATION

A STUDY OF SELF-EMPLOYED MIGRANTS  
IN WANGJING MARKETS IN BEIJING

## 城镇化 VS. 市民化

北京望京大棚市场自雇农民工调查

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Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Map of Beijing and the location of the Wangjing Markets. Source: unknown

# 1 望京大棚市场的死与生

## DEATH & LIFE OF WANGJINGXI MARKET

### Nanhu Market (南湖综合市场)

Birth Year: 2001

Area: 13,500 sq.m

# of Vendor: 525 (once biggest, most popular in the region)

Death Year: Dec, 2012 (demolished by the developer)

Images removed due to copyright restrictions. Photos of Nanhu Market before and after demolition.  
Source: unknown

Images removed due to copyright restrictions. Photos outside and inside Wangjing market in Beijing.  
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Images removed due to copyright restrictions. Photos outside and inside Wangjing market in Beijing.  
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Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photograph of Wangjing market closed.  
Source: unknown

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photo of Wangjing market after demolition.  
Source: unknown

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photo of vacant area at the former site of Wangjing market.  
Source: unknown

# 1.0 SELF-EMPLOYED MIGRANTS SURVEY | 自雇农民工调查

## ■ A before-after study

## ■ Before study

- Full Sample: 525 vendors
- Valid Sample: 370
- Valid Migrant Sample: **283 (76%)**
- Working and living conditions, new job expectations

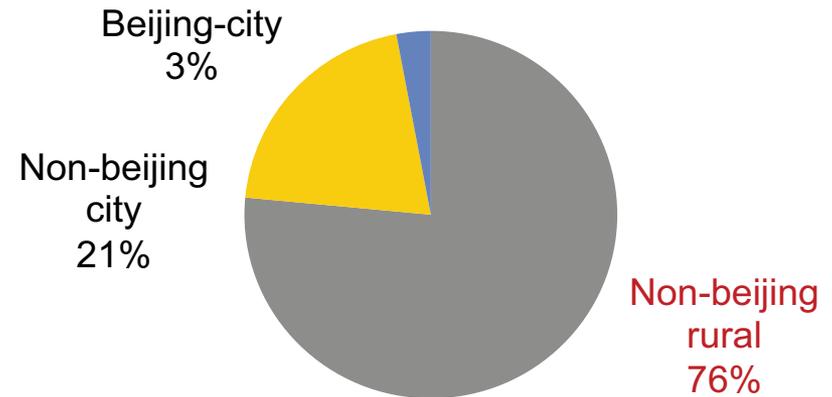
■ Gender: Female 61%

■ Avg. Age: 36.8

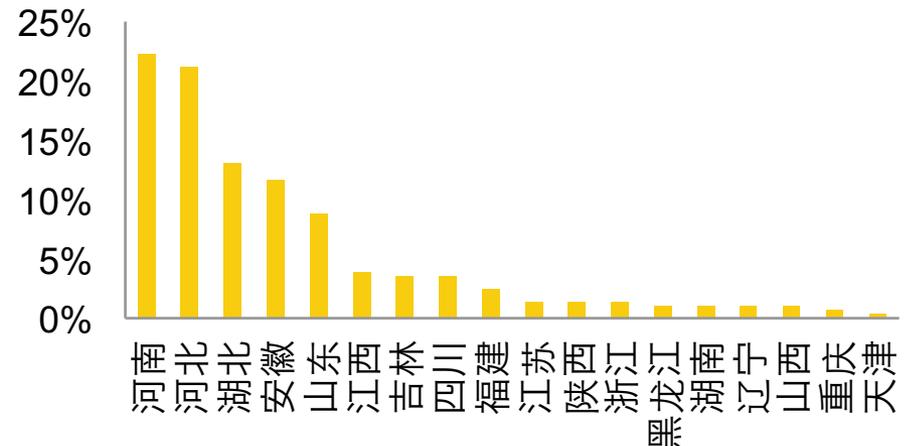
■ Education: 8.3yr (mid school)

■ Migrated from: Henan, Hebei, Hubei, Anhui, Shandong, etc

Vendors' hukou



Regions vendors migrated from



# 1.1 WORKING TIME

## | 工作时间

- **Work Days: 7 days**  
**no weekends**  
**no holidays**

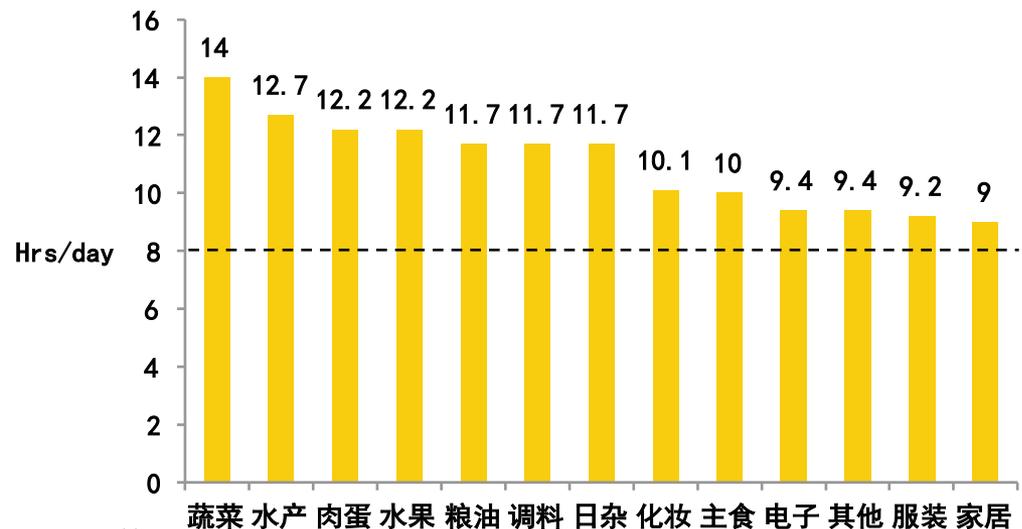
- **Daily Working Hrs:**  
**10.5 h (Avg.)**  
**14h (Vegetable group)**  
**17h (Max.)**

### [Anonymous: 41, greengrocery]

When we worked for others before, we still had Sundays . But now, while others are enjoying the holidays, we are even busier, hoping to sell more vegetables.

### [Anonymous: 51, tailor]

My work is really hard, without one day off. Even it is snowing a lot, I have to keep sewing in the outdoor market.



# JOB CHOICE | 就业选择

■ **Despite the arduousness, such a job is favored in the fact that:**

## **1. Final choice after job switch**

**2 kinds of work experiences:**(1) When they chose other informal jobs, they changed jobs frequently; once they entered a market, job becomes stable.  
(2) They changed jobs from one market to another because of the demolition; but they still insist on working in the market.

## **2. More stable**

before Wangjingxi Market: 3.3 yr  
Wangjingxi Market: 5.8 yr

## **3. Family business-oriented**

couple working together: 81.7%  
with the child working together: 29.5%

# MARKET IS A PLACE FOR CITIZENIZATION

## | 大棚是农民工市民化的重要场所

### ■ High income in return (economic integration)

4020 RMB/m (vendors)

4672 RMB/m (Beijing urban workers)

### ■ Social network expanded (social integration)

The market is a Melting Pot connecting migrants (vendor) and citizens (buyer). The longer they worked, the more deeply they communicated.

#### [Anonymous: 51, tailor]

I've been working in this market for more than 10 yrs, and most of the customers are my friends. They always take care of me and even gave money to me as a gift in the Spring Festival.

#### [Anonymous: 46, Cloth seller]

My son dropped out of middle school because of playing computer games. Fortunately, one of my customers introduced him to read a vocational high school, and now he is doing an internship in a 4S shop.

# 1.2 ATTITUDE TO DEMOLITION: REGRETFUL AND HELPLESS

## 大棚拆除的态度：可惜与无奈

- With a short notice (1 month), all migrants took the decision quietly.
- Although they have some complains to the government and the urban planning, They are helpless.

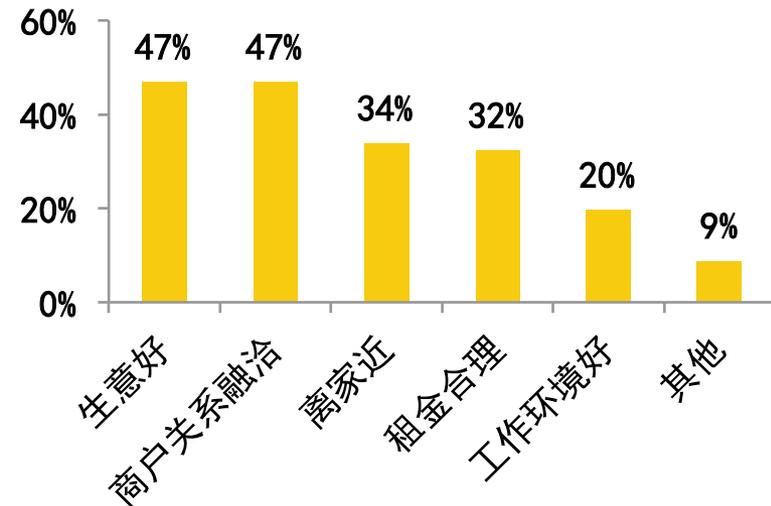
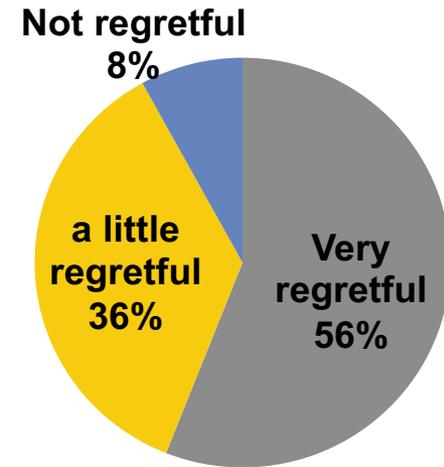
**[Anonymous: 36, clothing seller]**

We are unlucky. The urban planning is just like this. We cannot stop the urban sprawl.

**[Anonymous: 48, butchery]**

We have no power to change the government's decision.

- **92% of migrant vendors felt regretful.** In “other reasons”: we no longer have a stable life; it is difficult to find a new job.



# RESPONSE TO MARKET DEMOLISHMENT

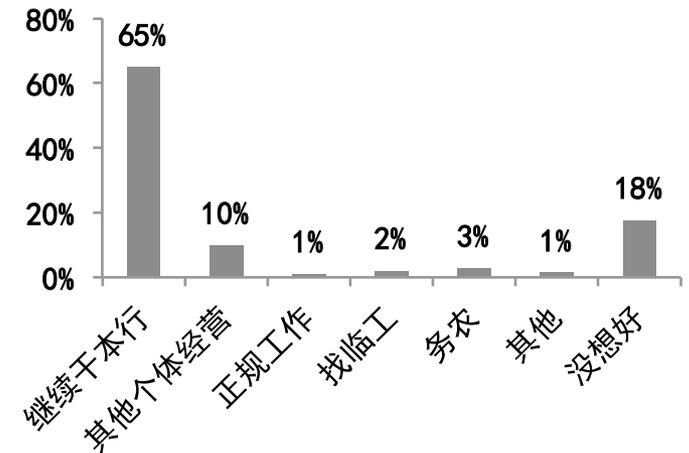
## 大棚拆迁的应对

- Most preferred another similar job
- Active and Self-dependent

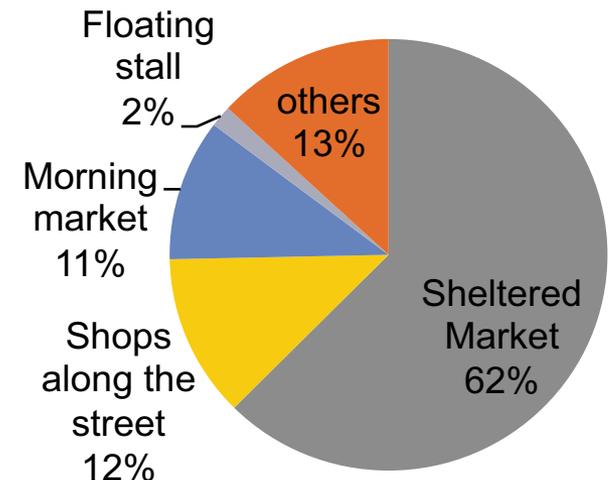
84% searched job by themselves;  
44% relatives, 30% townsmen;  
very low proportion choose to depend on  
government and employment agency (< 1%)

- Surprisingly, 55% secured a new job within a month.

Expectation of the next job's type



Expectation of the next job's form



# RESPONSE TO MARKET DEMOLISHMENT

## | 对大棚拆迁的应对

- In order to secure a new job soon, many had to lower standards.

### Requirement for the next job

	Avg	Cur.Ref	Gap
1) Income (low 1—9 high)	4.64	5	-0.36
2) Intensity (low 1—9 high)	6.02	5	1.02
3) Condition (bad 1—9 good)	4.13	5	-0.87
4) Distance to home (short 1—9 long)	6.23	5	1.23

- If unemployed, most would NOT turn to others for help, but depend on their own savings (83%).  
Some also choose to do part-time job for during the job gap.

# 1.3 WHAT DID MIGRANTS REALLY DO AFTER THE DEMOLITION? | 大棚拆除后路在何方？

## ■ After study

Mar- May, 2013, interviewed and tracked 18 vendors to explore the actual impact of the event on their citizenization process

## ■ 4 choices

1. Wangjing Sub-district Market | 望京街道综合菜市场 (9人)
2. Dongchanglihua Market | 东昌利华市场 (6人)
3. Career change | 转行 (2人)
4. Unemployed | 待业 (1人)

# WANGJING SUB-DISTRICT MARKET : A RISKY BET | 商机与风险并存

## ■ Good location

1. 1.2 km away from Wangjingxi Market
2. Railway station nearby
3. Large amount of customers

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.  
Photos of Wangjing sub-district market.  
Source: unknown

## ■ Risky business

1. **High threshold**  
higher rent fee (by 60%)  
20,000 RMB for go-between
2. **Illegal building**
3. **Larger scale brings more competition**

# WANGJING SUB-DISTRICT MARKET : A RISKY BET | 商机与风险并存

- **All 9 vender's business is worse than before. Half of them lose profit.**

**[Anonymous: 46, cloth seller]**

We cannot have a stable income without a stable market.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photos of vendors at Wangjing sub-district market.  
Source: unknown

**[Anonymous: 48, butchery]**

My stall is the best before, but now is the worst. How can I afford such a high for go-between? You can see there is no business at this poor location.

**[Anonymous: 39, clothing seller changed from toy seller]**

I'm getting crazy! I cannot bear such a huge gap compared with before. I'm totally disappointed and I have to go home!

# **DONGCHANGLIHUA MARKET : SAFE BUT POORER | 勉强维生, 但求稳定**

## ■ **Bad location**

Further away from inner city  
surrounded by rural areas  
lower shopping demand

## ■ **Among 6 vendors, half break-even, half lose money.**

## ■ **But vendors still want to stay here. Because they believe this market is more stable than W market.**

### **[Anonymous: 41, greengrocery]**

Our life here is really hard, just maintained.  
But I think if I keep working, there is no  
problem to stay here for 2 or 3 years.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.  
Photos of Dongchanglihua market.  
Source: unknown

# CHANGE CAREER: HARDER, POORER

## 转行：更加辛苦，收入下降

### ■ Y Supermarket

better environment

higher requirement

higher intensity

poorer income: 1800 RMB/m

**[Anonymous: 44, fruit seller]**

It's so difficult to learn so many regulations.

I was always punished by the manager  
because I cannot repeat them fluently.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions. Photos of Y  
supermarket and G morning market.  
Source: unknown

### ■ G Morning market

1 km from Wangjingxi market

higher intensity

worse condition

poorer income

**[Anonymous: 41, greengrocery]**

Although it is more tired to work here. I  
hope this market could last longer.

## 2 多维视角的分析框架

# MULTI-PERSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

- **Aggregate growth vs. micro spatial change**
- Urbanization is not only the issues about statistics, but also the micro spatial evolution.
- With the same increased rate of urbanization, different spatial development pattern will lead to a very different results to the urban residents' life and the migrants' citizenization.

Images removed due to copyright restrictions. Graph and maps showing urbanization in China from 1949 to 2009.  
Source: Unknown.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Map of Wangjing district.  
Source: Unknown.

# MARKET'S SITUATION

## | 市场生存现状

### ■ Big Market

- At inner city:** state-owned market, land secured
- At urban edge:** temporary land, at a risk of being removed at any time

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photograph of open land at the edge of the city.  
Source: Unknown.

# MARKET'S SITUATION

## | 市场生存现状

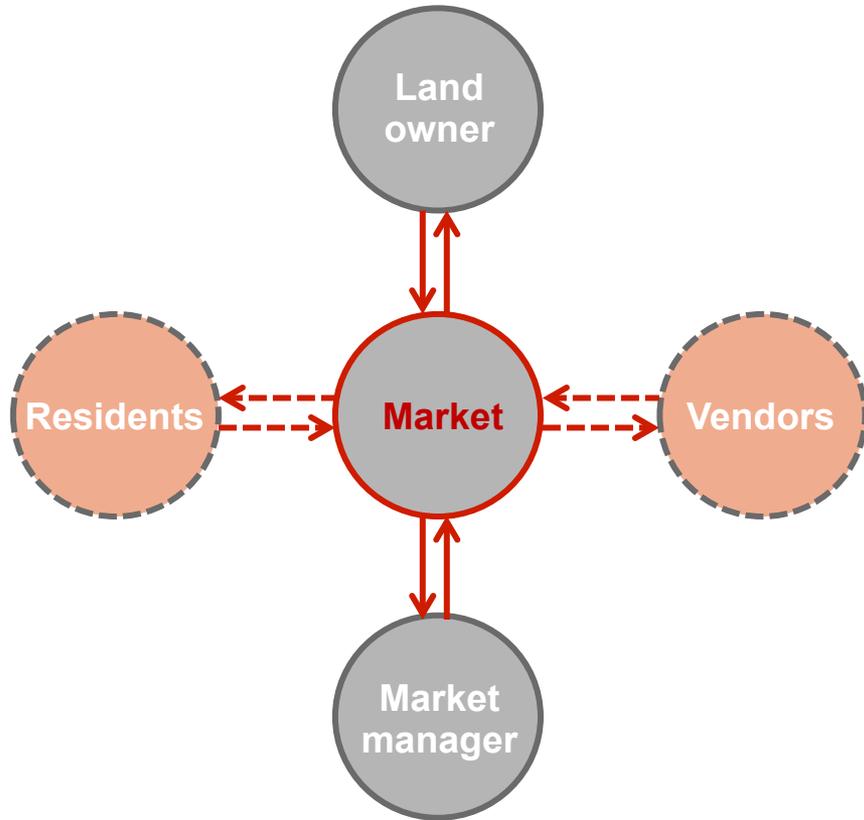
- **Small Market**  
space in between  
in the shadow of high-rise
- **With the urban sprawl, markets are disappearing, making the vendors jobless, and vegetable buying problem worse.**



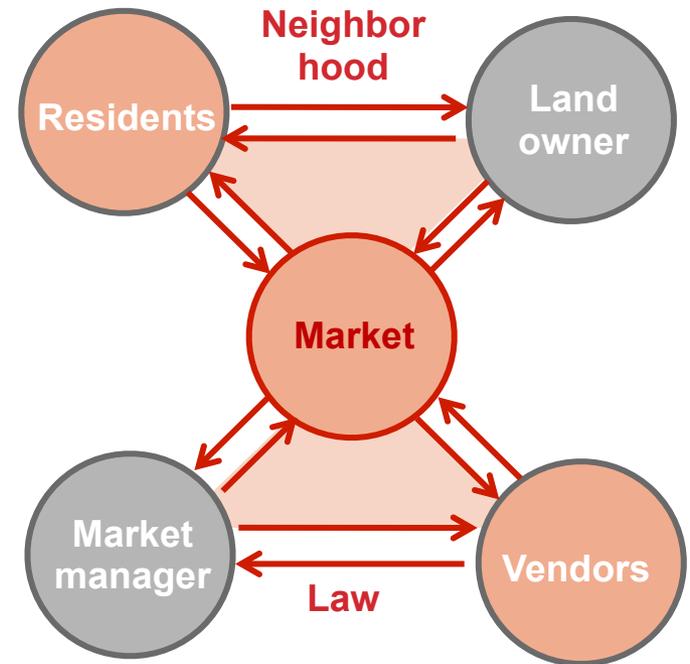
Image: [televiseus](#) on Flickr.

# ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

## | 分析框架



Current pattern



Ideal pattern

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photograph of a temporary market.  
Source: Unknown.

**The demolition of the market sets not only a new start for self-employed migrants, but also a new challenge for us as urban planners .....**

# 2.1 MARKET'S LAND SUPPLY

## | 市场用地供给

1. 商业用地  
commercial land

2. 居住用地

### Residential land

《城市居住区规划设计规范》  
公共服务设施千人指标：教育、  
医疗卫生、文化体育、**商业服  
务**、金融邮电、市政公用、行  
政管理和其他八类设施

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Map of Beijing.  
Source: Unknown.

# ■ Shopping Mall

## ■ NOVO 望京

Open: May 2011

Shut down: May 2012

residents' remarks: "too expensive, not a place for us!" 居民评价：“是得关，东西贵的太离谱！根本就不是老百姓去的地方”（望京网论坛）

Images removed due to copyright restrictions. Photographs of Novo and Parkson Shopping Malls.  
Source: Unknown.

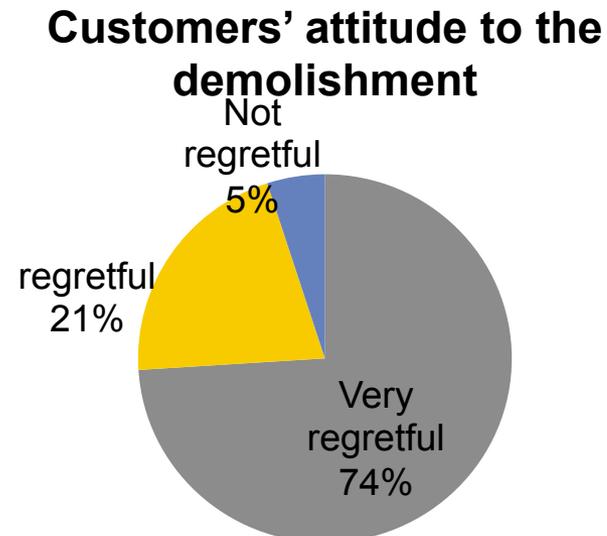
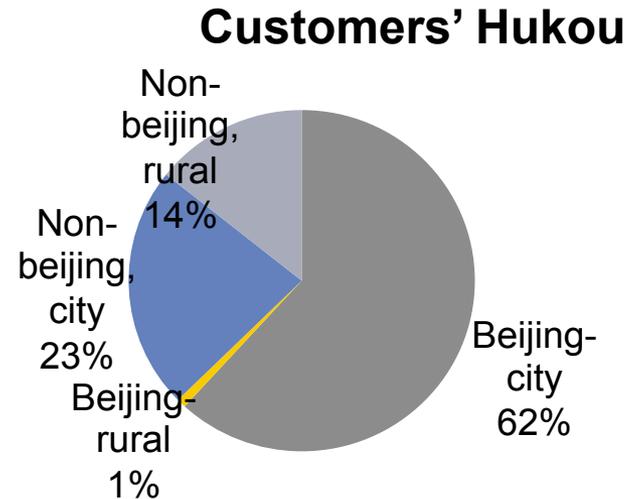
## ■ PARKSON 太阳宫百盛

2010年9月开业，目前已因业绩欠佳致部分鞋类品牌撤离。

Profit dropped sharply in 2012 百盛集团2012年销售净利下降24.2%，由2011年的11.23亿元跌至8.5亿元，也低于2009年的9.1亿元、2010年的9.9亿元。

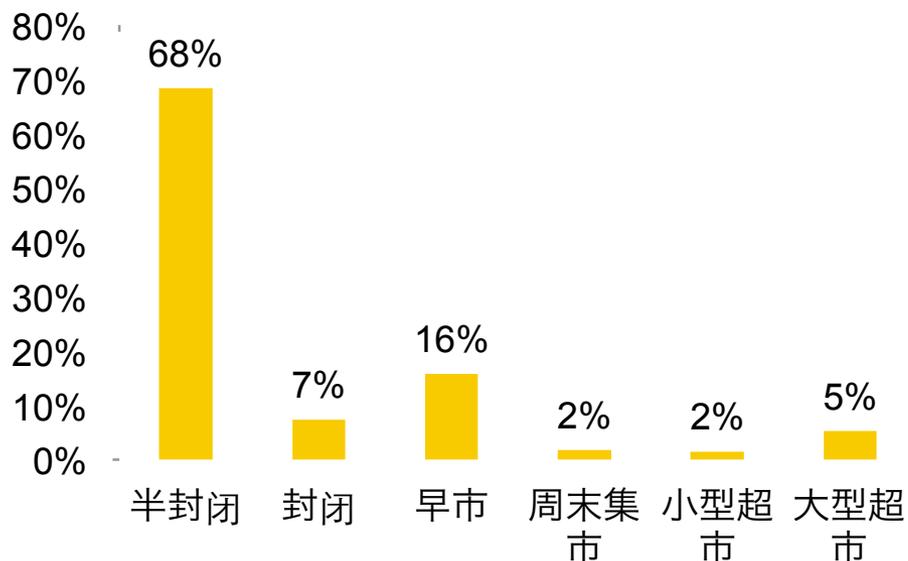
# CUSTOMER SURVEY | 太阳宫市场顾客调查

- **Sample: 462**
- **Gender: Female 59%**
- **Avg. Age: 50.8 yrs**
- **Distance to come: 21 min**
  
- **Attitude to the demolition**
  - Very regretful (74%)
  - regretful (21%)
  - not regretful (5%)



# CUSTOMER'S PREFERENCE

## | 顾客喜欢的市场类型



### ■ Morning market vs. super market 早市 vs 超市

便宜

菜新鲜、种类多、多选择

开放时间早，上班前买菜

老人遛弯的一部分，交往场所

讨价还价，有人情味，市场文化

### ■ Semi-closed vs fully-closed 半封闭 vs 封闭

租金低，菜价低

敞亮，光线好

和室外温度一致

# PERSPECTIVE 1: LAND SUPPLY

## HOW TO MATCH CITIZENS' NEEDS ?

### 维度1：土地供给——如何让土地供给与百姓需求相匹配？

#### ■ Newtown planning: market land to be reserved

新区规划：在源头保障市场用地

——land: land class assignment in the master plan

土地：居住区规划设计的公共服务设施用地进行细分

——budget: a portion of land sale revenue

资金来源：一定范围内的土地出让金中拿出一定比例

#### ■ Exiting city area: land reuse

已建成区域：空间整理与再利用

—— vacant land not (re)developed yet

如有闲置半年及以上的用地，由居民向居委会提出申请，街道办事处统筹布局，给市场经营者办理临时经营执照

—— street for temporary use

如没有闲置用地，建议利用道路设置定时马路市场或周末市场

## 2.2 CUSTOMERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEMOLITION | 居民对拆迁的态度

**No longer convenient in life. 生活不方便了**

**Poor people need morning market, supermarket are for rich people. 穷人只能上早市，富人才上超市！**

**Market is somewhat messy, but we like the “mess”  
虽然这里有点乱，但是是得民心的乱**

**City needs a good face, while citizens' life should be warranted. 城市要美容，老百姓的生活也要搞**

# **PERSPECTIVE 2: PUBLIC INTEREST EXPRESSION WHO IS RESPONSIBLE? HOW TO REACH CONSENSUS? THROUGH WHICH CHANNEL?**

**维度2：公共利益表达——谁来代表？如何达成一致？通过什么渠道？**

- **Problem: residents have no rights in spatial decisions**
- **Public interest (market) vs private interest (Householders)**  
**市场（公共利益） vs 钉子户（私人利益）**  
多大范围的居民具有投票权？  
多大的比例算通过？
- **NIMBY**  
对花家地早市拆迁的讨论
- **Who organize? In which phase?**  
谁来组织？在规划建设的哪些阶段进行公共参与？

## 2.3 SELF-EMPLOYED ARE THE GROUP OF THE MOST PROBABILITY TO BE CITIZENIZED

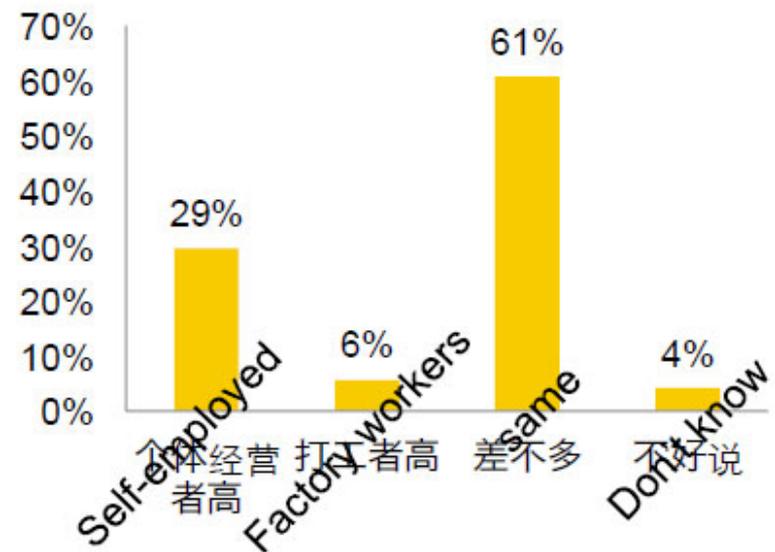
自雇经营者是农民工群体中最有条件市民化的类型

### ■ Farmer migrant types:

1. **Factory workers** 工厂打工的农民工
2. **Construction workers** 施工队、装修队打工的农民工
3. **Job-workers** 散工
4. **Self-employed** 自雇经营的农民工

- Economic Integration**
- Richer 赚钱多
  - Self-dependent 有自主权
  - Own business 自己做生意，不管大小
- Social integration**
- Communicate w/ citizens 每天都和市民打交道
  - Regarded as neighbors next-door 都是家门口的人

Which group is more easily to be citizenized



# PERSPECTIVE 3: SPATIAL RESPONSE TO CITIZENIZATION

## FORMAL SPACE OR FORMAL MANAGEMENT?

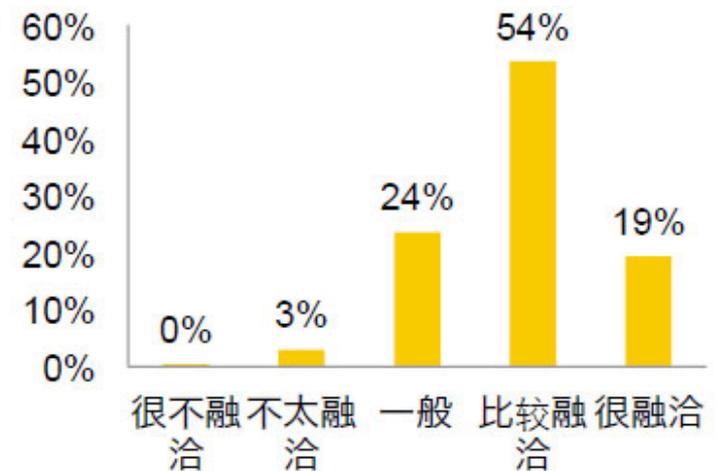
维度3：市民化的空间对策——正规的空间还是正规的管理？

■ Provide stable work space, gradually formalize it?

■ Informal space can be formally managed

- (1) good relationship between customers and vendors
- (2) fair weight
- (3) Bag lost event

Relationship between customers & vendors



# PERSPECTIVE 4: SECURE THE RIGHT TO USE

## HOW TO PROTECT TENANTS?

### 维度4：使用权保障

如何保障承租人？

#### ■ Ordinance of Housing Levy and Compensation on the State-owned Land (2011)

《国有土地上房屋征收与补偿条例》

1. Protect owners only, not users
2. Hard to define public interest
3. Only the right to be informed
4. Hard to define “the majority of being imposed group”

# HOW TO REALIZE? | 实施建议

## Public Participation

1. Site proposal
2. Market Form
3. Formal management

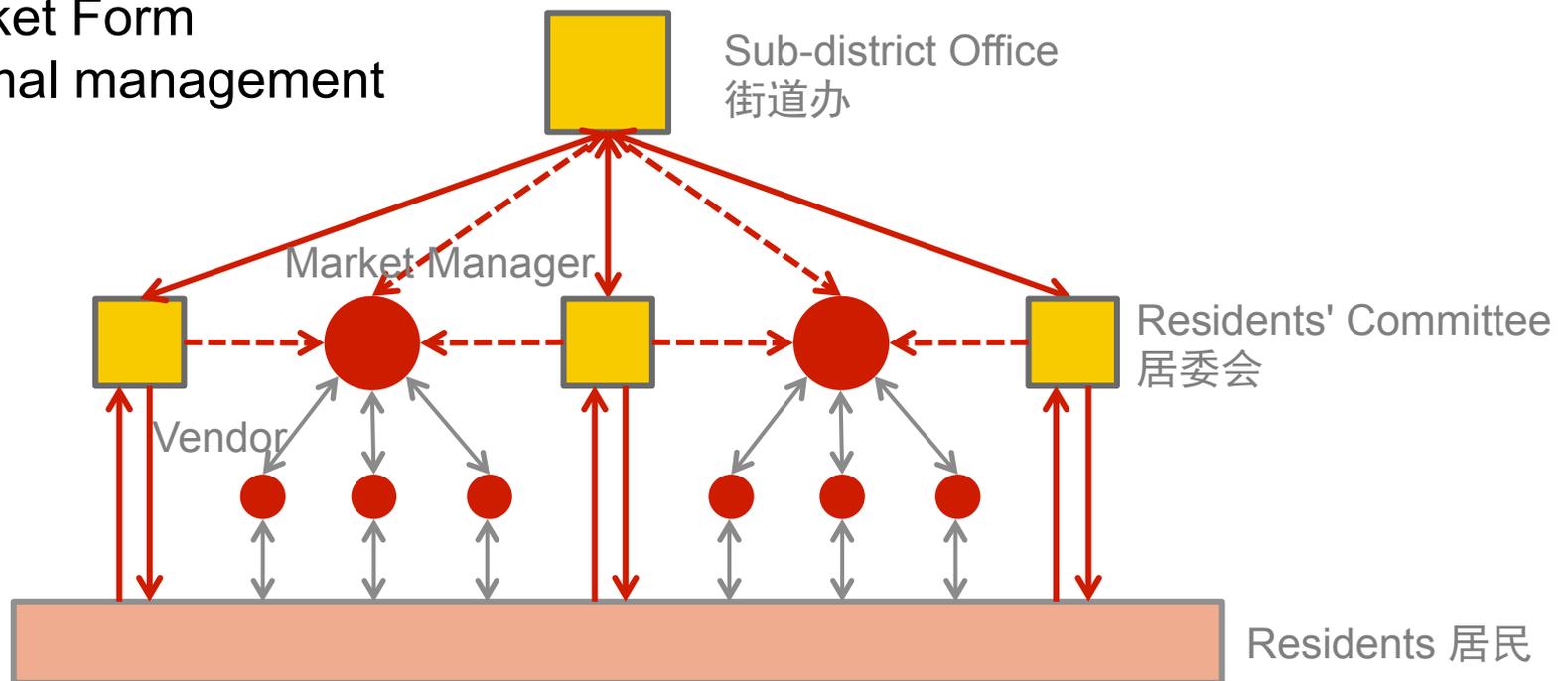
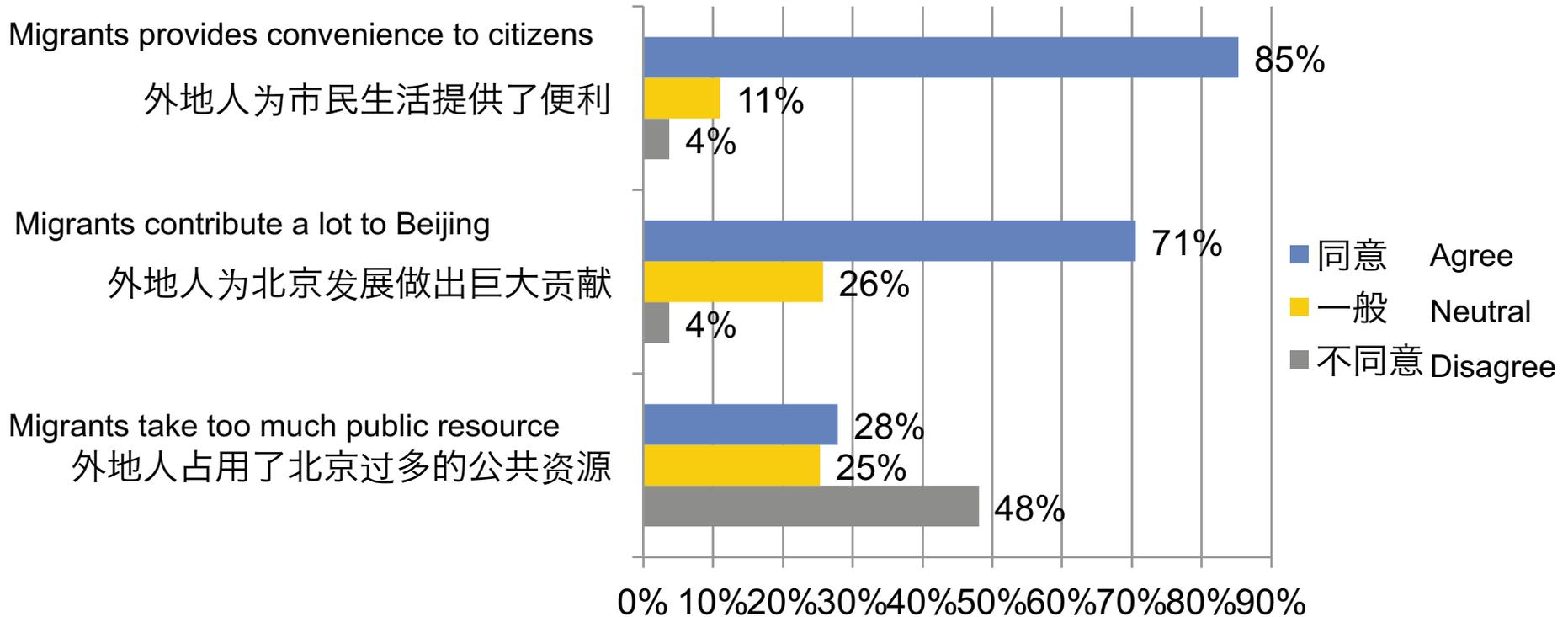


Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Photo showing birds eye view of a market.  
Source: Unknown.

### 3 总结与展望 | CONCLUSION

- A Wangjingxi-alike market is a critical platform for **migrants' citizenization**.
- A Wangjingxi-alike market is also a must-have place for **daily life and social interaction**.
- Market space is a well-fare element, deserving **public participation** (residents, vendors) in the planning process.
- **Formal management** is more important than formal space to achieve a substantial urbanization.

# CUSTOMERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS MIGRANTS | 顾客对外地人发展公平的评价



Migrants contribute more, but gain less.

Migrants never occupy the public resources, since they live in the basement, have no welfare, and even have to pay a lot for children's education.

# SPATIAL RESPONSE TO CITIZENIZATION

## HOUSING FIRST OR JOB FIRST?

### 市民化的空间对策——先“安居”还是先“乐业”？

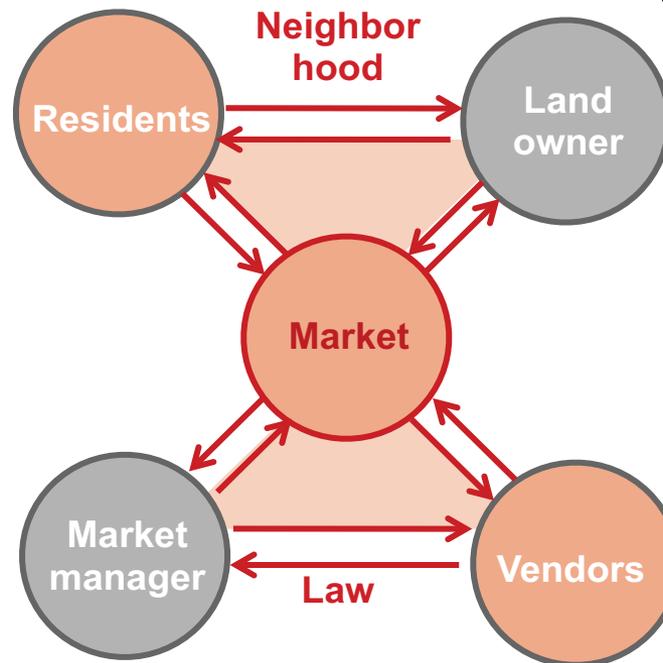
- **Housing location pattern**
- **Housing type:** 城郊农村平房和棚户、城内棚户、新小区塔楼地下室、老旧小区楼房等，类型多元，且存量充足
- **Housing area:** 5.71sq.m/capita
- **High satisfaction:** 近三分之二的农民工认为“一般”（43%）甚至“满意”（20%），“不满意”的仅占三分之一多（37%）

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. Map of Beijing.  
Source: Unknown.

# 研究展望 | FURTHER STUDIES

Community Organization

Community Planning



Market design

Market regulations

Legislation on right to use

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Fall 2013

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