REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN CHINA

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INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF this paper is to clarify the regional distribution of population in China, especially of urban population, and furthermore to trace the course of changes which have taken place under the new regime. This study was conducted as a part of a study of the industrial location in China. Therefore, the relation of industrial location to the regional distribution of population has first of all to be clarified.

The significance of regional distribution of population in the study of industrial location is defined by the dual characteristics of mankind, that is, being the source of labor power and at the same time consumer of products. From the standpoint of labor power, the regional distribution of labor power represents a potential factor for the regional development of industry and the regional distribution of employment is a direct indication of the distribution of industry. Looking from the viewpoint of consumer, it is an important factor constituting the distribution of market. In the present paper, however, no attempt is made to grasp the relationship quantitatively. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to do so under the present situation when source material is hard to obtain. The available data are not sufficient enough to conduct the study on the regional distribution of employment and income in China in a nationwide scale. The regional distribution of population and that of urban population is studied in the present paper on the supposition that the former substitutes the regional distribution of productivity and consumer market, and the latter, that of non-agricultural population. The author wishes that this supposition be accepted, and to proceed to discuss the characteristics of the actual distribution of population and cities in China.

In China, more than 80 per cent of entire population is distributed in the rural regions. Historically, it reflects the land productivity of agriculture. Cressy gives an explicit explanation of this question.[1] He stated that the entire space of China had been exhausted in that the size of population was already equal to that able to exist under the present technical standard. The distribution of rural population also represents the distribution of agriculture, topography, and land productivity. Almost no change was observed during this century except for the northeast region.[2]

1 [15].
2 [33].

The western half of the country is extremely thinly populated and the majority is concentrated in the eastern half. Especially the delta of the middle and lower Yang-tze River, the Chengtu plain in Szechwan, the delta of the Pearl River in Kwangtung, and the delta of the Yellow River are the regions with high population density.

The cities in China have a long history and complex factors are attributed to their development. However, they can be divided into two types: the traditional cities, and those with new functions developed in this century.

The traditional cities have their origin in the villages in rural regions. According to Cressy, farmers usually live either in isolation or in mass—the mass generally consisting of some ten houses, forming a village. It is a focal point of community and is usually a square surrounded by high wall. The distribution of such villages directly reflects that of rural population. With the addition of some other factors, this unit becomes larger to form a city. The major new factors are local politics and commerce. A city is a center of politics, commerce and arts; its extreme example is Peking. The traditional cities are distributed chiefly on the east coast or along the rivers where communication is facilitated.

Urbanization, in the modern sense of the word, started in this century. The commercial cities developed as a result of contact with foreign countries. Some modern industries were developed in those cities. However, this was limited to the large cities on the coast and merely added one element to the whole picture of cities in China.

There was the change in the nature of cities with the birth of the People's Republic of China and at the same time the number and the size of cities began growing. The function of cities associated with foreign countries disappeared and cities all became the functional components of domestic economy. On the other hand, the expansion of already existing cities and the development of new cities were directly related to the development of industry. The proposition that an index of urbanization is indicative of the economic development is given a new implication.

In new China where economic development through industrialization has strongly been promoted, urban population necessarily grows due to the natural increase within cities and also migration from the rural regions. The following four models are considered for migration from the rural regions to the cities:

(1) Annual increase in population or labor power in the rural regions is all absorbed into the cities. In other words, rural population is kept constant since the additional population all goes to the cities.

(2) The absorption by the cities exceeds the increase in rural population, thus resulting in an absolute decrease in the rural population.

(3) The growth of urban population exceeds the natural increase within the cities and, therefore, migration from the rural regions to the cities continues, however, the absorption by cities is below the increase in rural population. Accordingly the rural population increases. This can be divided into two cases in terms of its relation to employment. That is, one case in which the increased labor is absorbed within rural regions for productive purpose and the other where it is

not so absorbed.

(4) Cities are unable to maintain their population for some reason or other, and population flows backward into the rural regions. Two cases can be considered of this situation: one is the decrease in urban population and other is the increase in urban population being lower than the natural increase within the cities.

China in the First Five-Year Plan was the third case. The second case must have certainly be observed in the period of Great Leap Forward. There are many unknown factors as to the situation since 1961. However, it is definite that the fourth case existed at certain points.

In capitalistic countries, migration is brought out by the difference in income. The resultant transition from (3) to (1) and further on to (2) is best exemplified by the postwar Japan. In many developing countries in Asia, labor population overflows the rural regions and streams into the cities to form the masses of unemployed. A similar trend has been observed in China. However, by political means, they managed to prevent the blind flow of rural population into the cities. It was by no means a complete success, but urban unemployed population tended to decrease, at least in the period of the First Five-Year Plan. The increase in urban population in new China is a direct indication of industrialization.

From the fore-going statement, it is clear that the regional distribution of the cities and urban population in China is the result of the complexity of various factors.

Among the studies on cities so far conducted, there are some dealing with the rank-size distribution of cities. Beginning with Zipf's study in 1941,[3] quite a few have been reported on the subject. Brian J. L. Berry[4] pointed out that the rank-size distribution of the cities in China is similar in its pattern to that of the United States and Germany and explained it from the long history of urbanization and the complexity of responsible factors. In short, Berry used China as an example to stress the importance of the factors other than industrialization.

Nevertheless, the regional distribution of cities and urban population is taken up in the present paper for the reasons which are summarized in the following three points: (1) It is closely related to the regional distribution of industry and manufacturing; (2) It provides one of the basic data concerning the choice of location for industrialization in the future; and (3) The available data are most sufficient for conducting study on this subject.

The unit of observation is by province mainly with the supplementary use of economic region (*Chingchi hsiehtso ch'ü*) and the classification of "coastal province" and "inland province."

In the following, observations are made on the population, the number of the cities and the urban population by province. However, very little can be done with the changes in new China. This is due to the fact that the data are insufficient and the period for which the comparative study is possible is too short to observe any changes compared to the twenty-years history of new China.

[3] [34].
[4] [4].

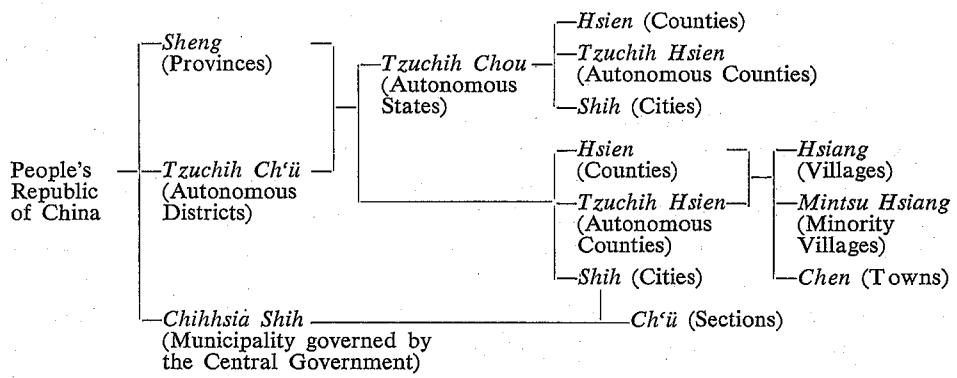
The possibility for future study will depend upon the improvement in the availability of materials.

I. PRELIMINARY STUDY

1. Changes in the Administrative Division

The major statistics concerning the regional distribution of various economic values including population are given on the basis of administrative division. Under the new regime, the administrative division showed various changes. An attempt is made here to trace such changes to establish the base on which the data of different period can be arranged for comparative study. In the present paper, an analysis is conducted by unit of province and, the major interest being in cities, only those concerning them are taken up for the discussion.

The Constitution of China gives a framework to the administrative division. In reality, considerable change has been observed since the Constitution became effective. Accordingly, it is necessary to study the provisions of the Constitution. The Article 53 of the Constitution is as follows:



(Autonomous districts, autonomous states, and autonomous counties are those minority autonomous districts.)

In summary, there are four classes in the administrative structure of China. They are the Central Government, provincial class, *hsien* (county) class and *hsiang* (village) class. (Autonomous states are recognized as exceptional.) There are two classes of city, one equal to provincial class and the other, *hsien* class.

However, they vary by period in actual practice. They are roughly as follows:

Great Administrative Regions were abolished in November 1954 but revived in 1958 as Economic Cooperative Regions. The function of special district class is unknown. However, it always appears in the administrative organization chart of China and the cities of special district class and *hsien* class are treated differently. Therefore, the cities are divided into three classes; namely city of provincial class, of special district class, and of *hsien* class. All the names and the position of the administrative division in the period up to 1964 are elsewhere made public.

Central Government	
Great Administrative Region class	Great Administrative Regions, Economic Cooperative Regions
Provincial class	Provinces, Autonomous Districts, Municipalities governed by the Central Government
Special District class	Autonomous States, Administrative Districts, Special Districts, Cities
Hsien class	Counties, Autonomous Counties, Banners, Autonomous Banners, Towns, Bureaus, Cities
Hsiang class	Villages, Minority Villages, Towns

First of all, the changes in great administrative region class and provincial class are traced and the number of provinces and their names at various periods will be clarified.

(1) The system of great administrative region was provided during 1940–50. At the end of 1950, there were six administrative regions (North Region, Northwest Region, Northeast Region, East Region, Central-south Region, Southwest Region) and Inner Mongolia Autonomous District. Within those six administrative regions, there were thirteen municipalities governed by the Central Government, twenty-eight provinces (excluding Taiwan and Tibet) and eight *Hsing-shu-ch'ü* (equivalent of three provinces). Only two cities and five provinces which belong to North District were controlled directly by the Central Government.[5]

(2) Reform took place in November 1952. The great administrative region was not abolished then, however, considerable reduction of the function was observed. In addition, abolishment of P'ing-yüan Province (merged into Shantung) and abolishment of Chahar (split and merged into Shansi and Hopei), establishment of Kiangsu, Anhwei and Szechwan Provinces, change in the boundary of Hopei, Honan, Shantung, and the change in the status of Nanking (municipality governed by the Central Government to that by province), were major changes of the reform. The census at the end of June 1953 was conducted according to this new division, and the resultant data publicly reported were also based on this. At that time, there were six administrative regions and one autonomous district. The six administrative regions included twenty-nine provinces and twelve cities (excluding Taiwan and Tibet).[6]

(3) The largest reform was in June 1954. The great administrative region was abolished and provinces were rearranged and unified. The major part of the reform consisted of the following: (a) Liaotung and Liaosi were combined to form Liaoning; (b) Sungkiang was abolished to be merged into Heilungkiang. At the same time Kirin absorbed parts of Heilungkiang, Liaotung and Liaosi; (c) Ningsia was abolished to be merged to Kansu; (d) Suiyuan was abolished to be combined with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous District; (e) The municipalities governed by the Central Government except Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai were

5 [19, 1951].
6 [19, 1953].

changed the status to be governed by province.[7] As a result, the administrative division of China consisted of three cities, twenty-six provinces (excluding Taiwan), one autonomous district, one *tifang* (area) and one *tich'ü* (tract).[8]

(4) A reform of minor scale took place in July 1955. The abolishment of Jehol (divided and merged into the provinces of Hopei and Liaoning and also to Inner Mongolia) and abolishment of Sikang (combined with Szechwan) were the major feature of the reform and, in addition, Sinkiang Province was made Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous District. The rearrangement of provinces and cities except Tibet is said to have been almost completed by that time.[9] There were three cities, twenty-two provinces (except Taiwan), two autonomous districts, one *tifang* and one *tich'ü*. Their names were as follows: Peking City, Shanghai City, Tientsin City, Hopei Province, Shansi Province, Inner Mongolia Autonomous District, Liaoning Province, Kirin Province, Heilungkiang Province, Shensi Province, Kansu Province, Tsinghai Province, Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous District, Shantung Province, Kiangsu Province, Anhwei Province, Chekiang Province, Fukien Province, Kiangsi Province, Honan Province, Hupeh Province, Hunan Province, Kwangtung Province, Kwangsi Province, Szechwan Province, Kweichow Province, Yunnan Province, Tibet Area, Ch'ang-tu Tract.[10]

In arranging the data which were collected under different administrative divisions, this administrative division was found to be the best standard for the purpose of comparative study. It is not only because the administrative division itself is almost accomplished except for Tibet but also it includes the period rich with the statistical materials of the end of the First Five-Year Plan period.

(5) Some small reforms were undertaken during 1958. In February, Tientsin became a municipality governed by province, thus making the municipalities governed by the Central Government two in total. Kwangsi was renamed Kwangsi T'ung Minority Autonomous District in March. In October, Ningsia Hui Minority Autonomous District became independent from Kansu. The present division was then completed except Tibet.[11] Sometime during 1958, the Economic Cooperative Region was established. It was announced then that it would have an important function from the standpoint of industrial location as already being a regional unit in the economic plan of 1958.[12] However, its position in the administrative division was not clear and the initial idea disappeared along with the termination of the Great Leap Forward.

The next point is related to the changes in *shih* (city) as an administrative division which will be discussed from the two aspects, that is, the qualification for a city and its boundary.

There is no clear statement as to the standard of qualification for being a

[7] Changchun and Harbin became the municipalities governed by the Central Government at that time.

[8] [19, 1955].

[9] Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous District was established in 1956. Chamdo District combined with Tibet District to form Tibet Autonomous District.

[10] [19, 1956].

[11] [19, 1959].

[12] [24].

city. The assumptions of various researchers are not in agreement. For instance, T. Shabad states that a city with more than 50,000 population is given a status of *shih* and even with less population provided there is special reason.[13]

M. Ullman, on the other hand, uses population of 100,000 as the standard and urges that an important center of the mining industry or rather large center or central city in the remote area is likely to become *shih* even with less population.[14] The actual observation indicates that in the 1953 census 102 out of 163 *shih* had the population over 100,000 (including all cities with more than 100,000 population), 48 cities with 50,000–100,000 population and 13 cities with less than 50,000. There were 21 towns with the population of 50,000 to 100,000 and yet not granted the status of *shih*.[15] The borderline was somewhere between 50,000 to 100,000, and the historical evidence must also have been taken into consideration. The total number of cities (and towns) is given in Table I.

TABLE I
THE NUMBER OF SHIH

	Provincial Class	Special District Class	*Hsien* Class	Total	Towns
1950	13	73	47	133	
1951	13	76	41	130	
1952	12	80	61	153	
1953	14			166	5,400[2]
1954	3	138	25	166	
1955	3	132	32	167	
1956	3	150	21	174	3,672[3]
1957	3	162	13	178[1]	3,621[4]
1958	2	57	121	180	
1959	2	63	127	192	
1960	2	59	148	209	
1961	2	73	132	207	
1962	2	70	105	177	
1963	2	73	92	167	
1964	2	75	92	169	

Source: *Jen min shou t'se* of each year.

Notes: 1. Blanks of 1953 may be found in the text.

2. Several cities are municipal control cities, but all treated as *hsien* class.

3. Figures of 1964 were according to *Jen min shou t'se*, but another data were different from it. (Ministry of Interior, *Chung hua jen min kung ho kuo hsing cheng ch'u hua chien ts'e* [A Handbook of Administrative Boundaries of People's Republic of China], 1965.

[1] In *Ten Great Years*, this figure is 182. Reason is unknown.

[2] State Statistical Bureau, *Hsin hua pan hueh kan*, Vol. 3, 1956.

[3] Ministry of Interior, *A Handbook of Administrative Boundaries*, Peking, 1957.

[4] ———, *A Handbook of Administrative Boundaries.*

[13] [25].

[14] [31].

[15] [31].

As is clear from Table I, *shih* are divided into three classes in each year. Different from the provisions of the Constitution, the functional characteristics of special district class *shih* remains unknown. It is worth noting that the number of cities continued to increase until 1960, and from then on decreased. This may reflect the dynamics of the entire urban population of China.

The changes in the administrative division (city boundary) of each city are now discussed. The city boundary was generally expanding. Ullman pointed out eighty cases to show this point.[16] Obviously, this does not necessarily cover the entire situation. However, it sufficiently indicates the general trend. Sixteen of eighty cases are prior to 1957 and the rest, sixty-four, were carried out in 1958. Many cities placed nearby rural regions under their control in 1958. Another source will be consulted in order to clarify how this was done.

The size of Peking was about 700 square kilometers in 1948, 4,500 square kilometers in 1957 and 16,800 in 1958. The population was 2.36 million in 1948, 4.01 million in 1957 and 6.8 million in 1959.[17] The population of Shanghai was 6.9 million at the end of 1957 but increased to 10 million in 1958 by placing the area with the population of 3.1 million under control. Tientsin expanded its population from 3.2 million to 11.4 million during the same period.[18]

The size of Shih-chia-chuang was 124 square kilometers in 1949, 364 in 1957 and 3,134 in 1958. The population numbered 599,000 in 1957 but increased to over a million in 1958 with the addition of two adjoining *hsien* (with over 400,000 population).[19]

Urumuchi was in size approximately 80 square kilometers in 1957 and 694 in 1958.[20]

The expansion of city boundaries prior to 1957 chiefly reflects the actual growth of the urban regions. However, that of 1958 is of entirely different nature. The purpose was to facilitate the food supply to the cities by merging the suburban rural regions into the administrative division of *shih*. Even before 1957, the treatment of the rural population included in the population statistics of *shih* presented a problem. However, it entered then into a new phase of the problem. The ratio of the urban population to the suburban population in thirty-seven large- and medium-sized cities is now 1 : 1.27. Combining the two, the average of 1.65 mou (6.6 mou equal 1 acre) of land is available per person. Many cities have mountains, rivers, vast cultivated area, woods and forest and lakes.[21] An entirely new consideration is needed in dealing with the data on the urban population in China after 1958.

2. *Concept of Urban Population*

The Chinese equivalent of a Japanese word "*toshi jinkō*" and English words

16 [31].
17 [6]. The population for 1957, see [28].
18 [2].
19 [30].
20 [8].
21 [18, December 8, 1959 and November 16, 1959].

"urban population" are "*ch'engshih jenk'ou*" and "*ch'engchen jenk'ou.*" The counter concept of these words is "*hsiangts'un jenk'ou.*" These words, when used officially have two different connotations. One is an administrative division and the other is a statistical concept.

(1) *Ch'engchen* as Administrative Division

What *shih* means in the administrative division in new China has already been stated. Repeated here are the major characteristics related to urban population. (a) As an administrative unit, it corresponds to province (*sheng*), special district (*chuan ch'ü*), and *hsien.* (b) The city with a population of over 50,000 is qualified to be a *shih.* (c) The number of *shih* is between 130 to 200 according to period. (d) The *shih* boundary includes both urban population and the farmers living in the suburban regions. The ratio of the latter is too high to be ignored and it also varied overtime.

What comes between a city and a village is *chen* (town). This corresponds to *hsiang* which is the end structure of the administrative organization. The standard for *chen* is clearly stated[22] as being a population of over 2,000 (or less in the minority inhabitant regions). There were 5,400 *chen* in the 1953 census of which 4,484, 83 per cent, were those with a population of over 2,000, 727 with the population between 1,000 and 2,000 and the rest 189 with less than 1,000 population.[23] At that time, many were called *chen* without having the administrative structure of *chen.* However, they were abolished later, thus resulting in the decrease in the total number. (See Table I.)

Shih (city) and *chen* (town) are defined by whether or not they are actually given such status. In terms of population statistics, *chen* is the one with a population of over 2,000 while *shih* is of over 50,000.

(2) Urban Population as a Statistical Concept

The statistical concept of urban population was formally defined by the General Conference of the State Affairs Department (*kuowuyüan ch'üant'i huii*) held on November 7, 1955.[24] In this definition, total population is divided into *ch'engshih jenk'ou, chichen jenk'ou* (collectively called *ch'engchen jenk'ou*) and *hsiangts'un jenk'ou.* The regions where there are Municipal People's Committee and People's Committee of more than *hsien* class are defined as *ch'engchen.* The residential areas are also defined as *ch'engchen* on the condition that they have a settled population of 2,000 or more and that more than half of their residents are non-agricultural. Even those with a population of less than 2,000 are defined *ch'engchen* provided the following conditions are satisfied: a center of mining industry, railway communication or commercial industry; a key point of communication; existence of a school higher than the middle level or a scientific research institution; a residential area for industrial workers with a settled population of less than 2,000 but over 1,000 of which more than 75 per cent is non-agricultural population; health resort where temporary resident is more than half of the settled population.

Of the *ch'engchen* population defined in the fore-going statement, those which

22 [9].
23 [27].
24 [27].

meet the following conditions are called *ch'engshih jenk'ou* (city population): municipality governed by the Central Government and municipality governed by the provincial government and the seat of People's Committee that is above *hsien* level, commercial industrial regions with settled population of over 20,000.

As already discussed, the cities with a population of over 20,000 include all administrative cities. They are also a center for commerce and industries. Therefore, what actually defines urban population is those who live in the city with the population of over 20,000. The most important condition to be *ch'engchen* population is to live in the residential area with a population of over 2,000. This corresponds with the afore-discussed administrative concept.

These were decided in 1955 and it means that in the 1953 census no clear distinction was made between the urban and the rural population. Consequently, this is often pointed out as being one of the weakness of the 1953 census.[25]

The number of cities in the 1953 census was 422, of which 166 were administrative city and the rest, 256, were not given the status of *shih*. City population, inhabitants of 422 *ch'engshih,* was 51,320,000 which was 66.4 per cent of *ch'engchen jenk'ou* those living in 5,400 *chen* (towns) and 166 *shih* (cities). 43.53 million of 51.32 million was said to be distributed among 166 cities and 7.79 million in 256 small cities.[26]

One of the problems in analyzing urban population of China is, as already mentioned, how to deal with the rural population living in the suburbs of the cities. The data on the city population available are based on administrative divisions. Therefore they usually include such population. The number of those inhabitants increased in 1958 to a great extent. It is desirable to exclude them for the purpose of analysis. As far as we know, they are not included in the official population statistics of the cities.

No explanation is given in the official "urban population" (as total) as to how this problem was handled. However, it seems appropriate to consider that the actual agricultural population living in the suburbs is not included due to the following reasons: 43.53 million of *ch'engshih jenk'ou* were living in 166 *shih* at the time of 1953 census. However, the total population of 164 *shih* is 52.35 million. This obvious difference must be accounted for the actual agricultural population of cities in the administrative division. In percentage, 83 per cent of the city population is *ch'engshih jenk'ou* and 17 per cent is *hsiangts'un jenk'ou.* This is the difference in the concept of urban population in administrative division and statistical treatment. In 1952, the population of Nanking was 1,092,000 of which more than 270,000 was the agricultural population.[27] The population of Lan-chou city in 1957 was 397,000 and 62,000 was the agricultural population.[28] The ratio of the urban population to the rural population increased to a great extent in 1958 due to the city expansion and the average ratio in thirty-seven large- and medium-sized cities was 1 : 1.27.

25 [2].
26 [27].
27 [29, No. 2, 1952, p. 35].
28 [29, No. 6, 1957, pp. 243–47].

3. Changes in Migration Policy

The migration of China consisted of two different kinds: one is from the villages to the cities and the other is from the villages to the frontier land. The policy has been consistent in preventing the former while promoting the latter. The population pressure within the villages is fundamental in both situations.

The agricultural migration is not the subject of the present paper. Therefore, the related three points will only be mentioned briefly in the following:

(1) The frontier land was sought chiefly in the northeast and northwest regions.[29] In addition, use of the undeveloped land within the already inhabited residential regions was encouraged and in reality achieved.

(2) The scale was in all cases several hundred thousands per year for several years. Above all, this was a policy of importance in 1956 and the migration of 725,000, the largest in number so far as known, was planned.[30]

(3) The effort in agricultural migration was continued until the beginning of 1958. From then on, however, it has not been receiving much attention. In a certain period of the Great Leap Forward, the cultivated area was even reduced due to the shortage of labor and the extreme optimism as to the increased land productivity. Since 1961, the increase in the material investment in the already cultivated area has been an important policy and the investment of the undeveloped area has been minimized.

The role of agricultural migration cannot be too emphasized in the light of the improvement of the pressure of agricultural population. This will continue to be so at least in the next few decades.

The policy has been taken through all periods to prevent the blind migration of agricultural population into the cities. However, some variations in the emphasis and method are observed. It is possible to trace them by dividing into several periods: (1) to 1952; (2) from 1952 fall to 1958 spring; (3) from 1958 spring to 1960 fall; (4) from the end of 1960 to a certain unknown period around 1963; (5) thereafter.

(1) Up to 1952

It is impossible to grasp the exact detail due to the insufficiency of the statistical sources for this period. However, judging from the newspaper articles and other sources, there seemed to be a considerable size of "blind migration" into cities because of the lack of devices to prevent it.

(2) From 1952 fall to 1958 spring

A consistent effort was made during this period to prevent migration. It is understandable from the situations of China. Among the number of writings and newspaper articles published, there were four government orders and the statements equivalent to them so far as the author knows:

i. Instruction from *Neiwupu shehuissu* (Social Affairs Division of Ministry of Interior) dated November 26, 1952—"blind migration of farmers should be

29 [33].

30 [20, March 3, 1956].

prevented by persuading them."[31]

ii. Instruction from *Cheng-wu-yüan* (Cabinet) dated April 17, 1953—"Instruction of *Cheng-wu-yüan* concerning how to stop the blind migration of farmers into the cities."[32]

iii. Joint instruction of *Neiwupu* and *Laotungpu* (Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Labor) dated March 12, 1954—"Instruction of *Chungyang Neiwupu* and *Chungyang Laotungpu* (Ministry of Interior of Central Government and Ministry of Labor of Central Government) regarding continued effort in preventing farmers from migrating blindly into the cities."[33]

iv. Joint instruction of Communist Party Central and Cabinet (*Kuowuyüan*) dated December 18, 1957—"Instruction of Communist Party Central and Cabinet concerning preventing the blind outflow of the rural population."[34]

Comparing those four statements, the following can be pointed out. First, the agency issuing the instruction tended to move up to the more important or powerful agency in the governmental organization. Secondly, the method for prevention became more specifically stated. Thirdly, the method was getting more rigid. In particular, the instruction of 1957 contained strict device. Here the former "persuasion" method was abandoned, and instead, provisions were made to set up the checkpoints at every key station of railroad and other means of communication to conduct strict door control and to collect those migrants already in the cities to send them back home in groups accompanied by someone responsible for acknowledgement of their return. These indicate that the Communist leaders began to recognize the seriousness of the matter in the course of time and that despite their effort the instructions proved to be not quite effective.

In addition to these instructions, various papers and newspaper articles appeared for the same purpose. However, this trend terminated at the end of February 1958.[35] It is assumed that the effort for the prevention of the movement of agricultural population into cities was discontinued.

Let us now trace the situation of "*mangmu te liuju*" (blind flow). According to the 1954 instruction, the situation improved temporarily because of the 1953 instruction. However, it worsened again to result in the 1954 instruction. It is not clear how successful the 1954 instruction turned out to be. In 1955, however, the situation improved and the total of 555,000 migrants returned home by the end of October.[36] Obviously this reflects the improvement of the agricultural production of that year. 1956 saw again the aggravation of the situation due to the agricultural depression and the blind migration of 570,000 took place during the period of 1956 fall through the summer of 1957.[37] It was then the aforementioned rigid means were taken. In addition to the prevention of farmers' migration into the cities, countermeasures were taken for those who failed in

[31] [18, November 1952].
[32] [17, No. 5, 1953, pp. 177–78].
[33] [18, March 15, 1954].
[34] [18, December 19, 1957].
[35] [7, February 27, 1958].
[36] [20, December 29, 1955].
[37] [18, December 19, 1957].

entrance examinations. Since April of 1957, the school children of primary and the middle schools who failed in the entrance to the higher educational institutions presented a problem. They were finally sent back to the villages where they came from.[38] This can be considered permanent reverse migration. Furthermore, a great many of the leaders were "*hsia hsiang shang shan*" (go to village, go up mountain) in the course of *chengfeng yüntung* (rectification movement). This is in fact a temporary reverse migration and the total number reached as many as 810,000.[39]

In China, the realistic aspect of *mangmu te liuju* is to have a letter of introduction from a local leader addressed to a city leader, or to go to one's relative who is engaged in some occupation in a city. In this way, they form the disguised unemployment in the cities.[40]

(3) From 1958 spring to 1960 fall

The Great Leap Forward produced unlimited chances for employment in both cities and villages, resulting in "shortage of labor" in 1958. However, the absorbing power of the cities was strong enough to take a large mass of population and labor power moved into the cities during this period. No exact statistical data are available. However, the often cited number of 20 million is considered to be a standard.[41]

(4) From 1960 fall to 1963

In the fall of 1960, a plan was announced that 20 million city laborers would be returned to the villages under the name of support for agriculture. Since then, similar statements were repeatedly made. However, it remained unclarified to what extent this program was accomplished and how significant this figure was.[42] It is interesting that the size of population which was to be returned to the villages was the same as that of the migrants into the cities during the period of the Great Leap Forward.

(5) Policy after 1964 is unknown

The unemployment and the lack of food in the depression following the Great Leap Forward were probably much more serious in cities. Therefore, the charm of cities may have been decreased. On the other hand, the population pressure decreased in the villages due to the recovery of agricultural production and the subsequent development of agriculture. However, the absolute population increased compared with that of the First Five-Year Plan period, and employment opportunity of the modern sector in cities must have decreased. Accordingly the population pressure in the long-term trend must have been intensified. It is reported that in the beginning of 1969 a policy was proceeded to release a large mass of urban population into the villages.[43]

38 [18, April 8 and August 22, 1957].
39 [18, November 27, 1957].
40 [18, November 27, 1957].
41 [18, August 25, 1960], [12], and [21].
42 [20, October 7, 1963] and [16, January 1964].
43 [22, January 19, 1969].

4. Materials for Study

The availability of the data concerning the regional distribution of entire and urban population corresponds to that of the entire population size and its structure. This depends as a matter of course upon the following two factors. The first is an effort of China to collect data and the quantity and quality of the resultant data. The second is the availability. John S. Aird made an extraordinary achievement in his study on when and how the census was conducted in China. He even pointed out what were not publicly announced. The outline of his findings will be introduced here.[44]

Aird stated that the six major efforts were made since the birth of People's Republic of China up to 1965. They are as follows:

(1) Population survey for the land reform undertaken by Chinese Communist Party beginning in 1949 to be continued to 1953. This was a so-called by-product of land reform. However, the result indicated that population of China was much larger than that reported by National Government in 1947 and 1948.

(2) Registration of city population in 1949 through 1953. The major purpose was to obtain the base for public security. This necessarily produced some bias. Here again the population turned out to be larger than it was expected.

(3) Vital statistics according to the 1953–54 sample. It was conducted in fifty-eight urban and nineteen rural regions.

(4) National population survey of 1953–54. It was as of June 30, 1953 and the results were announced in November 1954. In spite of many faults, this is considered to be the most complete census in the history of China.

(5) Registration of agricultural population of 1956–58. The figures as of the end of 1957 obtained from this registry were announced in September 1959. The figures are still often used.

(6) Field check conducted by *Kunganpu* (Public Order Department) in the summer of 1964. No announcement was made of the fact that it was conducted, much less its result.

The fore-going statement briefly summarized the course of population statistics in China pointed out by Aird. What is related to the subject of the present paper is extremely limited. Therefore, every bit of information has to be utilized. They include:

(1) Population size, population by province and the ratio of ruban to rural population given in the 1953 census.

(2) For 1949–57, the size of the population and the ratio of urban to rural population (except 1957, both beginning and end of each year) are given. (See Table IV.)

(3) Thesis by Huan-yung Hu (see Table II) gives population by province at the end of 1954.

(4) In the *Ten Great Years* is given population by province, names and sizes of the cities with the population over 500,000 as of the end of 1957.

[44] [1, 2, 3].

(5) In *Economic Geography* edited chiefly by Ching-chih Sun, urban population by province and the data on cities in 1953–57 are found.[45]
(6) Various maps give the names of cities and the sizes of population. They are all cities with a population of over 20,000. As for small cities, no exact figures are given except an indication for the range, for instance, of 20,000 to 50,000.[46]
(7) Annual issues of *People's Handbook* and *A Handbook of Administrative Division in China* provide an entire administrative division larger than *hsien* class.

From these source materials, population by province can be obtained for the three points of 1953 mid-year, 1954 year-end and 1957 year-end. Urban population by province is not at all given. The names and the sizes of population of the cities having a population of over 20,000 are best available for 1953 mid-year and to some extent for the year-end of 1957 and 1958.

Several studies have been conducted by outside researchers on the entire population and the regional distribution of urban population in China. Of them, the works of Morris B. Ullman, Ernest Ni and Yuan-li Wu will be briefly introduced here.
(1) M. B. Ullman.[47] His major contribution consists in collecting much data on urban population for 1953 and 1958 mid-year. He represented them in two tables.

Table I gives the names of all cities (420) with a population of over 20,000 as of the end of June 1953. The exact figures of population are given of 148 cities but only the size class is given of the other 272 cities. That is, all cities are divided into 7 classes according to their population size; (a) over 2,000,000, (b) 1,000,000–2,000,000, (c) 500,000–1,000,000, (d) 200,000–500,000, (e) 100,000–200,000, (f) 50,000–100,000, and (g) 20,000–50,000 and each of the 272 cities is provided with an indication which class it belongs to. Most of them turned out to have a population of less than 100,000. Actual figures of population are given for the cities of over 200,000 population.

Similar data for the years 1938, 1948, and 1958 are represented in Table II. The data for 1958 are relatively complete and give a guide for the study on the changes since 1953. The sizes of population of 129 cities are given for the year 1958 of which 122 cities are also provided with the data on 1953 (that is, population for 1953 is not available for seven cities), thus making the direct comparison feasible. It should be repeated here that these data are based on administrative divisions and consequently include the neighboring rural population. However, the problem is not so serious since the figures are for the period prior to the expansion of boundaries undertaken in 1958.

In any case, this must have involved a great deal of work. As a matter of fact, the data are used by many researchers in their studies on the distribution of cities and the analysis of urban population under the new regime. The analysis

[45] [14].
[46] [11].
[47] [31].

which will be described in the next chapter also relies on his data.
(2) Ernest Ni.[48] He estimated urban and rural population by province for the mid-year of 1953 and 1958. The results are given in the next chapter. He further divided population in each into the category of those living in the cities with more than 100,000 population and the other category of those living in the cities with less population. The data is not available to make such estimation in a direct way. Therefore, an original method for estimation had to be worked out. The detail will be given in the next chapter and two points are only briefly mentioned here. (a) Ni is wholly dependent on Ullman as to the basic data. (b) Extremely bold hypothesis is included in the course of estimation, leaving a potential for error in the result. This is especially true with 1958 and thus the result for that year can hardly be used as the basis for analysis.
(3) Yuan-li Wu.[49] While Ullman's contribution consists in the collection of basic data and that of Ni's in the estimation of important figures, Wu's major work was the analysis based on the results obtained by the former two researchers. He first described the distribution of cities in 1953 by province and by size. Then he classified the cities according to the increase in the absolute number of urban population and the growth ratio during 1953 through 1958. Thirdly, he calculated an index of urbanization. The basic data were said to be his own. However, they are practically the same as the Ullman's. The details will be discussed later in the next chapter and only several points are briefly stated here. First, the available data seem to be too small to trace the changes which have taken place under the new regime and the period up to 1958 for which some data are available is also too short to make any study of it. The only means for compensating such shortcomings will probably be found in the qualitative analysis of newly developing industrial cities. Secondly, in analyzing the distribution and development of cities, he found many points of interest by using a new standard of division into the developed regions (Northeast, North and East regions) and the undeveloped regions, in addition to the conventional classification of coastal provinces and inland provinces.

Furthermore, Wu made an analysis of the distribution of urban population and the regional development of cities in terms of industrial capacity distribution and its regional development ratio, and the development of transportation facilities as well. However, it will not be discussed here since it is by no means the main subject of the paper.

II. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, CITIES AND URBAN POPULATION

1. Population by Province

Population by province and the population density are given of the three points, i.e., mid-year of 1953 and year-end of 1954 and 1957. (Population by province

[48] [23].
[49] [32].

of the years 1950 and 1951 are given in *People's Handbook* of the respective year. However, the figures cannot be compared with those of later years.) They are represented in Table II.

The indication of Table II is summarized as follows:

(1) The population density by province shows considerable variety, the average having no significance in itself. The density is high in the eastern provinces and low in the western provinces. Seven provinces along the coast all rank within the top twelve. Four thinly populated provinces of the west (Tibet Autonomous District, Tsinghai, Sinkiang Autonomous District, Inner Mongolia Autonomous District) rank in the bottom four in the population density while they are the largest four in size. Therefore, the national average is greatly influenced by those four provinces. The population density of seventeen provinces is higher than the national average and that of eight provinces is below the average.

(2) It can be pointed out from the changes in 1953–57 that population grew in size in all provinces and autonomous districts except for the slight decrease in Tibet. Besides, the growth rate almost reached the national average (10.9 per cent) in most provinces. No change was seen in the ranking by population density. Those which were extremely low in density changes included the afore-mentioned Tibet and Kwangtung. The extraordinary high growth ratio presents an interesting point; extremely high in Inner Mongolia (25 per cent), Heilung-kiang (25 per cent), Tsinghai (22 per cent) and Liaoning (17 per cent) and rather high in Sinkiang, Shensi, Kansu, Kweichow and Hopei. The fact that population hardly increased in Tibet indicates that it was isolated from economic develop-ment and urbanization, and consequently new factors were not likely introduced. It is proper, therefore, to place Tibet out of consideration in the present dis-cussion. Generally speaking, migration between different regions was not yet observed during this period. This accords with the fact that the weight of agricul-tural population was still high and as a consequence urbanization associated with industrialization had no influence over the entire situation. However, there were some exceptional provinces where progress was remarkable. They include seven inland provinces of the afore-mentioned nine provinces excluding Liaoning and Hopei. It should be noted that most of them are so-called "*pien ching*" (the frontier). One aspect will not be ignored; population being originally small in these provinces, even a relatively minor increase resulted in the high growth ratio. Conversely speaking, however, the rapid increase in the regions with extremely low capacity of population support is the indication that the establish-ment of new industrial cities and the development of mining resources began to exercise such influence as to alter the fundamental nature of the regions. The high population growth ratio in Liaoning and Hopei represents the accelerated development of already existing industrial regions, a new aspect of the industrial location policy of new China.

(3) Very little data is available to show the situation after 1957, except for an insufficient data on population by province in 1964 through 1967. In the course of *Wenhua takoming* (The Cultural Revolution), the news was issued to announce the establishment of local revolutionary committees which included some data

TABLE II

POPULATION BY PROVINCE AND POPULATION DENSITY

	Population			Area	Density (person/km²)					
	1953	1954	1957	(km²)	1953	Grade	1954	1957	Grade	Rate of Increase 1953-57
Total (exclude Taiwan)	582,603	604,666	646,530	9,560,600	61		63	68		10.9%
Kiangsu	47,137	49,229	52,130	108,000	436	1	456	483	1	10.5
Anhwei	30,663	31,426	33,560	139,900	219	5	224	240	5	9.4
Chekiang	22,866	23,590	25,280	101,800	224	4	231	248	4	10.5
Fukien	13,143	13,683	14,650	123,100	106	12	111	119	12	11.4
Hupeh	27,790	28,654	30,790	187,500	148	9	153	164	9	10.7
Hunan	33,227	34,296	36,220	210,500	158	8	163	172	8	9.0
Kiangsi	16,773	17,297	18,610	164,800	102	13	107	113	13	10.9
Kwangtung	36,740	35,900	37,960	214,600	171	7	167	177	7	3.3
Kwangsi Autonomous District	17,591	20,180	19,390	237,200	74	17	85	83	17	10.2
Szechwan	65,685	68,043	72,160	567,600	115	11	119	127	11	9.8
Kweichow	15,037	15,570	16,890	174,000	86	15	89	97	15	12.3
Yunnan	17,473	18,018	19,100	436,200	40	19	41	43	19	9.3
Hopei	43,348	44,434	48,730	218,379	198	6	203	223	6	12.4
Shansi	14,314	14,786	15,960	157,100	91	14	94	102	14	11.4
Liaoning	20,566	21,518	24,090	149,400	137	10	144	161	10	17.1
Kirin	11,290	11,767	12,550	187,000	60	18	63	67	18	11.1
Heilungkiang	11,897	12,761	14,860	463,600	26	21	28	32	21	24.9
Shensi	15,881	16,664	18,130	195,800	81	16	85	92	16	14.1
Shantung	48,877	50,517	54,030	153,300	319	2	329	352	2	10.5
Honan	44,215	46,026	48,670	167,000	264	3	276	291	3	10.0
Inner Mongolia Autonomous District	7,338	8,800	9,200	1,300,000	6	22	7	7	22	25.3
Kansu & Ningsia Autonomous District	12,928	13,322	14,610	350,422	36	20	38	41	20	13.0
Tsinghai	1,676	1,768	2,050	721,000	2	24	2	3	24	22.3
Sinkiang Autonomous District	4,874	5,145	5,640	1,662,600	3	23	3	3	23	15.7
Tibet Autonomous District	1,274	1,273	1,270	1,223,000	1	25	1	1	25	−0.4

Sources: Figures for 1953 are from census on June 30, 1953 (1957 boundary basis). *Chung hua jen min kung ho kuo ti t'u chi* [An Atlas of People's Republic of China], Peking, 1957. Figures of 1954 are in accord with census report of the year-end (1957 boundary basis). Huan-yung Hu, "Chungkuo keshengch'ü mienchi jenk'ou chihshiht'u" [Provincial Atlas of Area and Population of China], *Tili chih shih*, Vol. 9, 1957. Figures for 1957 (year-end basis) are from *Ten Great Years*.

Note: In accrod with Huan-yung Hu, municipalities governed by the Central Government in provinces to which they belong. Different figures of provincial area were found in *Jen min shou ts'e*, 1959. However, few differences between them for Kwangsi, Szechwan, Hopei, Liaoning, Inner Mongolia, Kansu (include Ningsia), Sinkiang and Tibet. Total area, which was decided officially during the drawing up of *Ten Great Years* was 9,597,000 km² of 9,560,600 km² with the exception of Taiwan. This figure is in use up to today.

TABLE III

URBAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE (1964–1967)

(ten thousand person)

Area	Year-end of 1957	At a Certain Period Recently[4]	Ratio of Increase (%)
Peking	401	700[3]	74.5
Shanghai	690	1,000[3]	44.9
Tientsin	322	400[3]	24.2
Heilungkiang	1,486	2,100	41.3
Shantung	5,403	5,700	5.4
Kweichow	1,689	1,700	0.6
Shansi	1,596	1,800	12.7
Tsinghai	205	200	—
Inner Mongolia	920	1,300	41.3
Kiangsi	1,861	2,200	18.2
Kansu	1,461	1,300[2] (1,500)	2.6
Honan	4,867	5,000	2.7
Hopei	4,873	5,400[1]	10.8
Hupeh	3,079	3,200	3.9
Kwangtung	3,796	4,000	5.3
Kirin	1,255	1,700	35.4
Kiangsu	5,213	5,700[1]	9.3
Chekiang	2,528	3,100	22.6
Hunan	3,622	3,800	4.9
Ningsia		200	
Anhwei	3,356	3,500	4.2
Shensi	1,813	2,100	15.8
Liaoning	2,409	2,800	16.2
Szechwan	7,216	7,000	—
Yunnan	1,910	2,300	20.4
Fukien	1,465	1,700	16.0
Kwangsi	1,939	2,400	23.7
Sinkiang	564	800	41.8
Tibet	127	132	3.9
Total	64,653	71,100	9.9

Sources: *Nihon keizai shimbun*, (evening edition), September 7, 1968. Heilungkiang, Shantung and Tibet are from *Hungwei ping pao* [The Red Guard's News], others from Peking broadcast on September 6.

[1] Hopei includes Peking and Tientsin; Kiangsu includes Shanghai (for the purpose of comparison they are included here, yet they were excluded in the original data). Population of above cities were double counted accordingly, (but had been adjusted in the total).

[2] The figure in parentheses for Kansu includes Ningsia. Therefore, it is comparable with 1957.

[3] Comparison of Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin for two periods are impossible, owing to the extension of their boundary.

[4] Undoubtedly these are figures for 1965 to 1967. Revolutionary Committee were established in each province during that time, nevertheless, latest census was carried out in 1964 as we studied before, it was possible to use the data of 1964.

on the population of provinces. They are shown in Table III. The data given here are considerably rough and cannot be used for analysis. But the rapid increase in Heilungkiang, Inner Mongolia Autonomous District, Kirin, Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous District, is considered to be sensible. It is probably too early to conclude that the figures in Table III are likely to indicate the inter-regional movement of population.

2. *Urban Population by Province*

Only some fragmentary data are available for direct use in this subject. Concerning the national urban population ratio, year-end figures and annual average (only year-end for 1957) are given of each year for the period beginning 1949 through 1957. Table IV represents them.

It is indicated from Table IV that the population of China increased 18.5 per cent during the period 1949–57, which included a 59.5 per cent increase in urban population and a 13.6 per cent increase in rural population. Also, during the period 1952–57, the growth of total population reached 11.6 per cent, including 28.4 per cent for urban population and 9.3 per cent for rural population. The ratio of urban population increased from 10.6 per cent at the end of 1949 to 13.2 per cent at the end of 1952, and further to 14.3 per cent at the end of 1957.

Suppose now the annual average population growth of a city is 3.4 per cent.[50] Applying this ratio, the urban population in 1957 would have been 75.329 million, provided there was no migration from the villages since 1949. A similar supposition for the period after 1952 gives the figure of 84.664 million for 1957 year-end. Interpreting the balance as being the migration from the villages,[51] it turned out to be 16.67 million and 7.34 million respectively. That is, the growth of urban population in 1949–57 included 51.5 per cent of natural increase and 48.5 per cent of migration. Similarly, the natural growth was 64.0 per cent and the social increase 36.0 per cent in 1952–57.

There are no data to make comparisons since 1958. Only fragmentary bits of information are available for use in the study of the general trend. According

[50] The rate was calculated by the following method. The rates of birth and death, and accordingly net rates of population growth in nine cities are given in the table. Simple average rate of these is 3.37 per cent.

City	Rate of Birth						Rate of Death						Net Rate of Population Growth					
	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Peking	35.0	39.6	43.1	43.2	39.3	42.0	9.3	9.3	7.7	8.1	6.7	7.1	25.7	30.3	35.4	35.1	32.6	34.9
Tientsin	27.1	39.5	44.9	43.9	40.2		6.0	8.6	7.6	8.4	6.6		21.1	30.9	37.3	35.5	33.6	
Shanghai	38.0	40.4	52.6	41.4	40.3	45.7	12.4	9.9	7.6	8.1	6.7	5.9	25.6	30.5	45.0	33.3	33.6	39.0
Harbin	47.0	48.1	53.1	47.3	41.3		14.8	15.9	9.7	10.6	8.5		32.2	32.2	43.4	36.7	32.8	
Sian	33.3	41.2	49.9	45.3	47.7		9.5	7.4	6.9	7.4	7.4		23.8	33.8	43.0	37.9	40.3	
Hangchow	40.1	40.6	45.4	39.6	36.8		12.4	9.7	9.0	9.6	8.5		27.7	30.9	36.4	30.0	28.3	
Kwangchow	36.7	41.8	43.7	39.5	39.0		9.2	7.9	7.2	7.0	6.8		27.5	33.9	36.5	32.5	32.2	
Changchun	—	—	—	—	45.5		—	—	—	—	7.2		—	—	—	—	—	
Hofei	—	—	—	—	32.4		—	—	—	—	6.0		—	—	—	—	—	

Sources: Figures for 1952–56 are from R. Pressat, "La population de la Chine et son economie," *Population*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October-December, 1958). Figures for 1957 are from S. Chandrasekhar, *China's Population*, Hong Kong, 1960, p. 54.

[51] This is a rough estimation neglecting the effect of birth and death of the migrant.

TABLE IV
URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION
(year-end, ten thousand person)

Year	Total Population	Urban Population		Rural Population	
		Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio
1949	54,167	5,765	10.6	48,402	89.4
1950	55,196	6,169	11.1	49,027	88.9
1951	56,300	6,632	11.8	49,668	88.2
1952	57,482	7,163	12.5	50,319	87.5
1953	58,796	7,767	13.2	51,029	86.8
1954	60,172	8,155	13.6	52,017	86.4
1955	61,465	8,285	13.5	53,180	86.5
1956	62,780	8,915	14.2	53,865	85.8
1957	64,200	9,200	14.3	55,000	85.7

Sources: Figures of 1949 to 1956 are in accord with Tungchi kungtso (Material Office), "Statistical Materials of Population in China," *Tungchi kung tso t'ung hsün* [Report on Statistical Work], Vol. 11, 1957. Figures of 1957 are based on Kuang-wei Wang, "Juho tsuchih nungyeh laotungli" [How to Organize the Agricultural Labor Force?], *Chihua chingchi* [Planned Economy], Vol. 8, 1957.
Note: Urban population in the Table means "*Ch'engchen jenk'ou*," which we mentioned in the former section as "urban population as a statistic conception," namely towns which have the population of more than 2,000 (yet some are less than) as well as exclude rural population in the suburbs, though its administrative division belongs to the city. "Annual average" is also given there while omitted here. Annual average is the median of two years (year-end), for example, the figure for 1953 was 74,650,000. Obviously this number is different from the figure for the census at the middle of 1953, that is 77,257,000.

to them, urban population increased by 20 million during the three-year period up to the middle of 1960.[52] Urban population was 1.3 billion at a certain period of the economic depression following the Great Leap Forward. This exceeded the capacity of the villages to support urban population. It was necessary, therefore, to reduce it to 1.1 billion.[53] Supposing that the annual average of natural increase in urban population from the end of 1957 (urban population was then 92 million) to the beginning of 1964 was 3.0 per cent[54] and that agricultural migration into the cities during that period was approximately 20 million, urban population at the beginning of 1964 would be estimated 1.3 billion which corresponds to the aforementioned figure. The Chinese Government tried to send 20 million back to the villages. However, no details have so far been made public.

As to the urban-rural population ratio by province, it seems appropriate to introduce here the results of Ernest Ni.[55] He studied the mid-year of 1953 and 1958. The results are given in Tables V–VIII.

Before discussing the figures in these tables, his method for estimation has to

52 [18, August 25, 1960].
53 [16, January 15, 1964].
54 See Footnote 50.
55 [23].

TABLE V

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1953 AND 1958

(mid-year population, thousand person)

Province or District	1953			1958		
	Sum	Urban	Rural	Sum	Urban	Rural
Total Sum	582,603	77,257	505,346	654,580	96,100	558,480
Northeast region						
Heilungkiang	11,897	3,697	8,200	15,242	5,383	9,859
Kirin	11,290	3,274	8,016	12,736	3,780	8,956
Liaoning	20,566	8,648	11,918	24,570	10,410	14,160
Inner Mongolia Autonomous District	7,338	782	6,556	9,442	2,010	7,432
North region						
Hopei	43,348	10,077	33,271	48,413	12,863	35,550
Shansi	14,314	1,846	12,468	16,203	2,316	13,887
Northwest region						
Kansu	12,928	1,108	11,820	14,511	1,929	12,582
Shensi	15,881	1,572	14,309	18,448	2,506	15,942
Shinkiang	4,824	526	4,348	5,745	809	4,936
Tsinghai	1,676	117	1,559	2,099	177	1,922
East region						
Anhwei	30,663	2,046	28,617	34,006	2,417	31,589
Chekiang	22,866	2,234	20,632	25,639	2,406	23,233
Fukien	13,143	1,583	11,560	14,872	1,759	13,113
Kiangsu	47,137	13,733	33,404	52,879	15,130	37,749
Shantung	48,877	3,356	45,521	54,800	5,007	49,793
Central south region						
Honan	44,215	2,889	41,326	49,344	3,879	45,465
Hunan	33,227	2,337	30,890	36,685	2,614	34,071
Hupeh	27,790	2,388	25,402	31,238	3,464	27,774
Kiangsi	16,773	1,269	15,504	18,881	1,566	17,315
Kwangsi	17,591	846	16,745	19,662	971	18,691
Kwangtung	36,740	4,494	32,246	38,233	5,138	33,095
Southeast region						
Kweichow	15,037	586	14,451	17,159	1,083	16,076
Szechwan	65,685	6,393	59,292	73,145	6,783	66,363
Yunnan	17,473	1,294	16,179	89,353	1,538	17,815
Tibet and Ch'ang-tu Tract	1,274	162	1,112	1,274	162	1,112

be clarified, since the reliability of the results depends much on it.

Urban and rural population by province in 1953 were obtained by the following method. (1) The result of census was used for the national urban population in mid-1953, which provided the figure of 77.26 million. As already mentioned, this figure implies the total population living in cities with a population of over 2,000 and agricultural population in the suburbs is not included. (2) M. B. Ullman's survey on the cities[56] showed the population of all cities with more than

[56] [31].

TABLE VI

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1953 AND 1958

(mid-year, %)

Province or District	1953			1958		
	Sum	Urban	Rural	Sum	Urban	Rural
Total Sum	100.0	13.3	86.7	100.0	14.7	85.3
Northeast region						
Heilungkiang	100.0	31.1	98.9	100.0	35.3	64.7
Kirin	100.0	29.0	71.0	100.0	29.7	70.3
Liaoning	100.0	42.0	58.0	100.0	42.4	57.6
Inner Mongolia Autonomous District	100.0	10.7	89.3	100.0	21.3	78.7
North region						
Hopei	100.0	23.2	76.8	100.0	26.6	73.4
Shansi	100.0	12.9	87.1	100.0	14.3	85.7
Northwest region						
Kansu	100.0	8.6	91.4	100.0	13.3	86.7
Shensi	100.0	9.9	90.1	100.0	13.6	86.4
Sinkiang	100.0	10.8	89.2	100.0	14.1	85.9
Tsinghai	100.0	7.0	93.0	100.0	8.4	91.6
East region						
Anhwei	100.0	6.7	93.3	100.0	7.1	92.9
Chekiang	100.0	9.8	90.2	100.0	9.4	90.6
Fukien	100.0	12.0	88.0	100.0	11.8	88.2
Kiangsu	100.0	29.1	70.9	100.0	28.6	71.4
Shantung	100.0	6.9	93.1	100.0	9.1	90.9
Central south region						
Honan	100.0	6.5	93.5	100.0	7.9	92.1
Hunan	100.0	7.0	93.0	100.0	7.1	92.9
Hupeh	100.0	8.6	91.4	100.0	11.1	88.9
Kiangsi	100.0	7.6	92.4	100.0	8.3	91.7
Kwangsi	100.0	4.8	95.2	100.0	4.9	95.1
Kwangtung	100.0	12.2	87.8	100.0	13.4	86.6
Southwest region						
Kweichow	100.0	3.9	96.1	100.0	6.3	93.7
Szechwan	100.0	9.7	90.3	100.0	9.3	90.7
Yunnan	100.0	7.4	92.6	100.0	7.9	92.1
Tibet and Ch'ang-tu Tract	100.0	12.7	87.3	100.0	12.7	87.3

2,000 population (when actual figures are unknown, the average of their size class are given). The results are grouped together by province to obtain total population in each group. They represent the population of the cities having more than 2,000 population in each province. (3) The ratio of each province is calculated against 100 which is the total of urban population of the cities with population of over 2,000. The ratio thus obtained is multiplied to 77.26 million which is the total urban population. The result is considered to be urban population in each province. (4) The agricultural population in each province

TABLE VII

POPULATION BY PROVINCE, INCREASE OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION

(mid-year of 1953 and 1958: unit of absolute value: thousand person)

Province or District	Sum		Urban		Rural	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total Sum	71,977	12.4	18,843	24.4	53,134	10.5
Northeast region						
Heilungkiang	3,345	28.1	1,686	45.6	1,659	20.2
Kirin	1,446	12.8	506	15.5	940	11.7
Liaoning	4,004	19.5	1,762	20.4	2,242	18.8
Inner Mongolia Autonomous District	2,104	28.7	1,228	157.0	876	13.4
North region						
Hopei	5,065	11.7	2,786	27.6	2,279	6.8
Shansi	1,889	13.2	470	25.5	1,419	11.4
Northwest region						
Kansu	1,583	12.2	821	74.1	762	6.4
Shensi	2,567	16.2	934	59.4	1,633	11.4
Sinkiang	871	17.9	283	53.8	588	13.5
Tsinghai	423	25.2	60	51.3	363	23.3
East region						
Anhwei	3,343	10.9	371	18.1	7,972	10.4
Chekiang	2,773	12.1	172	7.7	2,601	12.6
Fukien	1,729	13.2	176	11.1	1,533	13.4
Kiangsu	5,742	12.2	1,397	10.2	4,345	13.0
Shantung	5,923	12.1	1,651	49.2	4,272	9.4
Central south region						
Honan	5,129	11.5	990	34.3	4,139	10.0
Hunan	3,458	10.4	277	11.9	3,181	10.3
Hupeh	3,448	12.4	1,076	45.1	2,372	9.3
Kiangsi	2,108	12.6	297	23.4	1,811	11.7
Kwangsi	2,071	11.8	125	14.8	1,946	11.6
Kwangtung	1,493	4.1	644	14.3	849	2.6
Southwest region						
Kweichow	2,122	14.1	497	84.8	1,525	11.2
Szechwan	7,461	11.4	390	6.1	7,071	11.9
Yunnan	1,880	10.8	244	18.9	1,636	10.1
Tibet and Ch'ang-tu Tract	—	—	—	—	—	—

is obtained by subtracting urban population from the total.

Basically the same method was used for the year 1958. (1) National population for mid-1958 was obtained by taking the mean of the 1957 year-end figure given in *Ten Great Years* and the 1958 year-end figure provided by Chandrasekhar.[57] As for provincial population, the 1957 year-end figures are calculated using the growth ratio by province in 1953–57. The total thus obtained is checked

[57] [5].

TABLE VIII

CLASSIFIED URBAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1953 AND 1958

(mid-year, thousand person)

Province or District	1953			1958		
	Sum	more than 100,000	less than 100,000	Sum	more than 100,000	less than 100,000
Total Sum	77,257	39,975	37,282	96,100	52,025	44,075
Northeast region						
Heilungkiang	3,697	1,501	2,196	5,383	2,313	3,070
Kirin	3,274	1,385	1,889	3,780	1,693	2,087
Liaoning	8,648	5,028	3,620	10,410	6,405	4,005
Inner Mongolia Autonomous District	782	248	534	2,010	673	1,337
North region						
Hopei	10,077	6,032	4,045	12,863	8,148	4,715
Shansi	1,846	937	909	2,316	1,244	1,072
Northwest region						
Kansu	1,108	330	778	1,929	609	1,320
Shensi	1,572	762	810	2,506	1,287	1,219
Sinkiang	526	207	319	809	337	472
Tsinghai	117	78	39	177	125	52
East region						
Anhwei	2,046	890	1,156	2,417	1,113	1,304
Chekiang	2,234	1,053	1,181	2,406	1,200	1,206
Fukien	1,583	736	847	1,759	865	894
Kiangsu	13,733	8,423	5,310	15,130	9,819	5,311
Shantung	3,356	1,701	1,655	5,007	2,686	2,321
Central south region						
Honan	2,889	1,243	1,646	3,879	1,766	2,113
Hunan	2,337	1,092	1,245	2,614	1,294	1,320
Hupeh	2,388	1,278	1,110	3,464	1,963	1,501
Kiangsi	1,269	331	938	1,566	432	1,134
Kwangsi	846	506	340	971	615	356
Kwangtung	4,494	1,999	2,495	5,138	2,419	2,719
Southwest region						
Kweichow	586	225	361	1,083	441	642
Szechwan	6,393	3,276	3,117	6,783	3,680	3,103
Yunnan	1,294	714	580	1,538	898	640
Tibet and Ch'ang-tu Tract	162	—	162	162	—	162

against national population. (2) National urban population for mid-1958 was obtained by extending the figures of 1956 by the use of 1949–56 growth ratio. (3) All cities whose population exceeded 100,000 in 1953 were selected to be grouped by province. The growth ratio in 1953–58 was calculated for each group (Ullman gave the population of these cities for both years). These ratios were multiplied by 1953 urban population in each province. The percentage of each province was calculated against 100 of the national total of the result

thus obtained. These ratios were multiplied by 1958 mid-year national urban population. (4) Agricultural population in each province was obtained by subtracting urban population from total population in each province.

Ni's study includes four most important assumptions:
(1) The population distribution of the cities with more than 20,000 population represents that of the entire *ch'engchen jenk'ou*; (2) Changes in population of the cities of over 100,000 population indicate those in the entire *ch'engchen jenk'ou*; (3) The ratio of urban population in the administrative division (including agricultural population in the suburbs) is the same as that in the statistical concept (agricultural population not included); (4) The growth ratio of urban poplation in 1956–58 equals to that in the prior years.

The following are our comments on these four assumptions:
(1) The first hypothesis is considered to be valid as one method of estimation. As pointed out by the author, some errors cannot be avoided. However, it should be taken into consideration that there is no better alternative.
(2) is similar to (1) in its nature. The point is a matter of degree whether eighty-seven cases can be representative of over five thousand cases. As a conclusion, it can hardly be so.
Concerning (3), it is known to us that the boundaries of the cities have been

TABLE IX
RATIO OF URBAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE (%)

	1953 Mid-year by Sun	1953 Mid-year by Ni	1957 Year-end by Sun	1958 Mid-year by Ni
Hupeh			13.7	11.1
Hunan			8.8	7.1
Kiangsi			12.7	8.3
Szechwan			8.78	9.3
Kweichow			12	6.3
Hopei	about 20*	23.2		
Shansi	11.6	12.9		
Liaoning			35.8	42.4
Kirin			31	29.7
Heilungkiang			36.1	35.3
Kwangtung			14.45	13.4
Kwangsi			8.68	4.9
Fukien			18.92	11.8

Sources: Figures by Sun are cited from his works as follows: Ching-chih Sun, *Hua-chung, tich'ü chingchi tili* [Economic Geography in Central China], K'ohsüeh ch'upanshe, (Peking, 1958) for Hupeh, Hunan and Kiangsi provinces; *Hsinan tich'ü chingchi tili* [Economic Geography in Southwest Region], K'ohsüeh ch'upanshe (Peking, 1960) for Szechwan and Kweichow provinces; *Huapei tich'ü chingchi tili* [Economic Geography in North China]; K'ohsüeh ch'upanshe (Peking, 1957) for Hopei and Shansi provinces; *Tungpei tich'ü chingchi tili* [Economic Geography in Northeast Region], K'ohsüeh ch'upanshe (Peking, 1959) for Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang provinces; for Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien provinces, *Huanan tich'ü chingchi tili* [Economic Geography in South China], K'ohsüeh ch'upanshe (Peking, 1959).
* Includes two direct control cities, i. e., Tientsin and Peking.

expanded since 1957 to include a great agricultural population in urban population. Ni made no comment on this point. However, Ullman's data on 1958 urban population seem to be mostly those prior to the expansion of the boundaries. (4) can hardly be approved. Urban population rapidly increased in 1958 but this fact is not taken into consideration. It can be regarded as a crucial weakness of his assumptions.

From the fore-going statement, it is concluded that the result of Ni's estimation can possibly be used as a basis of some analysis of 1953 mid-year data but cannot be used for any purpose at all for 1958 mid-year data. Ching-chih Sun gave the ratio of 1957 year-end urban population in eleven provinces. These are obviously not reliable. However, they are given in Table IX for reference togehter with Ni's figures.

3. *Distribution of Cities and Urban Population by Province*

Some analysis will be made of the distribution of cities and urban population in 1953. The subject of the analysis is the population in the cities with a population of over 20,000.

Ch'engchen jenk'ou in Chinese, the population in the cities over 2,000 population, which was included in Ernest Ni's study, was not taken up from the following reasons: (1) the names of the cities over 20,000 population and their population size are all given in the primary sources. Ullman already completed collecting those source materials;[58] (2) it corresponds to the international standard of the concept of city and also to that of *ch'engshih* of China; (3) cities with a population between 2,000 and 20,000 have no significance in terms of their relation to industrial location and future industrialization.

In this chapter, only the status of 1953 will be discussed and the changes thereafter will be taken up in the next chapter.

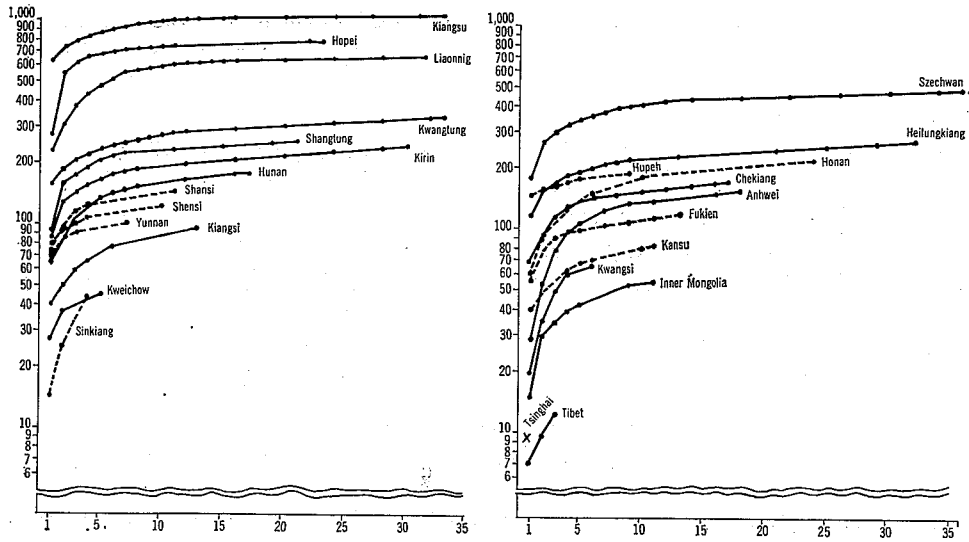
In accordance with the purpose of this chapter, Figures 1–3 are prepared. In Figure 1, the number of cities and population by province are given for comparative study. Figure 2 represents the size ranking of cities by province. The population of the provinces is given in Figure 3 in addition to the data of Figure 1, representing urban population ratio. Further detail will be given in the following:

In Figure 1, the axis of the abscissa is the rank of cities. For instance, "n" is the city with the population of "n" rank in size in its province. All cities with a population of over 20,000 are registered here; therefore the end of the curve indicates total number of cities in each province. The vertical-axis shows the cumulation of urban population. For instance, "n" point on the horizontal-axis represents on the vertical-axis the inclusive number of population of the cities beginning with the largest population to the "n" rank. The beginnnig of the curve indicates the city with the largest population and the end the urban population in each province.

Figure 2 is prepared to show the distribution of rank size of cities in each

58 [31].

Fig. 1. Urban Population and Number of Cities by Province
(Unit: ten thousand person)



Notes: 1. Cities whose population is unknown but only size group to which it belongs are given the mediam of the group represented it. Most of these cases are small cities under 50,000.

2. All figures include rural population residing in the suburbs. The ratio of 1953 must be in the 10 per cent level.

3. Municipalilies governed by the Central Government are included in provinces to which they belong geographically.

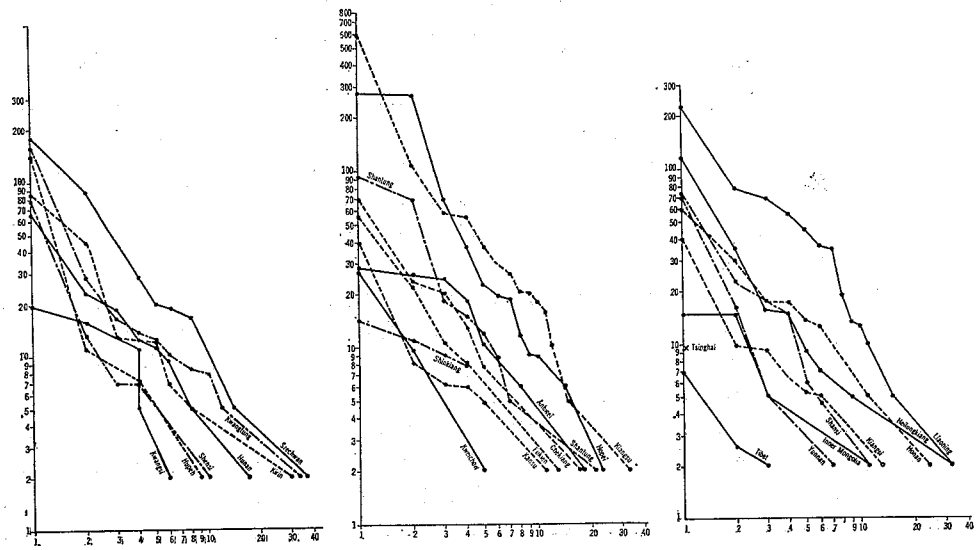
province. The city ranking is on the horizontal-axis and population of each city on the vertical-axis.

In Figure 3, urban population ratio was taken up instead of urban population in Figure 1. The other data are same as Figure 1. Accordingly, the end of the curve shows number of cities in each province on the horizontal-axis and the ratio of urban population on the vertical-axis.

These figures indicate some points of interest, which will be discussed in the following:

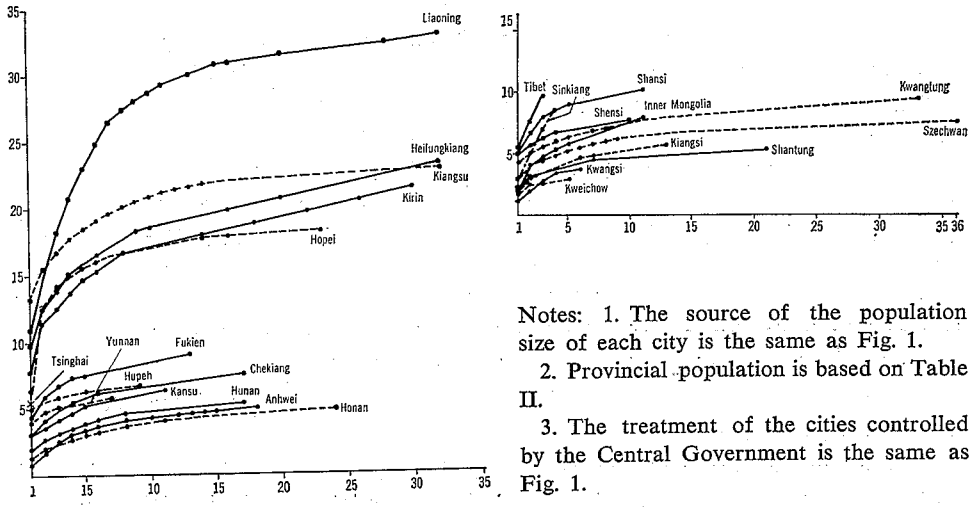
(1) The axis of all three figures represents the number of cities in each province. Provinces can be divided into several groups according to the number of cities. It seems proper to make the first group of those provinces with over twenty-six cities, the second group, twenty to twenty-five and the third group, nine to nineteen, the fourth group, five to eight and the fifth group, less than four. In the first group included are six provinces of Szechwan, Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Liaoning, Heilungkiang and Kirin; in the second, three provinces of Honan, Hopei and Shantung; in the third, ten provinces of Anhwei, Chekiang, Hunan, Fukien, Kiangsi, Shansi, Inner Mongolia, Kansu, Shensi, and Hupeh; in the fourth, three provinces of Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kweichow; and in the fifth, three provinces of Sinkiang, Tibet and Tsinghai. Of the six provinces included in the first group, three provinces belong to the seven provinces of the coast and also the three

Fig. 2. Distribution of Size Rank of Cities by Province
(Unit: ten thousand person)



Notes: City whose population is known but whose size group is given are treated in the following manner. We assume that the cities have different populations and they are distributed in the following way. Suppose there are ten cities whose population is unknown in a province, and that these ten cities are in the group of 20,000-50,000. In this case the largest city is supposed to have a population of 50,000 and the others decrease by equal amounts down to the smallest one which is 20,000. For this reason, the smallest cities of all provinces except Sinkiang and Tsinghai are all represented with a population of 20,000.

Fig. 3. Ratio of the Urban Population by Province (%)



Notes: 1. The source of the population size of each city is the same as Fig. 1.

2. Provincial population is based on Table II.

3. The treatment of the cities controlled by the Central Government is the same as Fig. 1.

northeast provinces. Szechwan does not belong to either of the two. Szechwan is similar in its nature to an independent state in terms of geography and economy. It seems to be well characterized by the Cressy's thesis of "large population involved in the agricultural development and the resultant development of cities." Kwangtung is similar to a certain extent. Those included in the second group are all advanced provinces of north region, presenting the complexity of agricultural development and modern urbanization. The third group symbolizes the traditional society in China. The fourth group forms the borderline of the area with high population density and that of low density. The fifth group is extremely thinly populated areas.

(2) The vertical-axis in Figure 1 shows the absolute number of urban population. Based on this, provinces can be divided into four groups; the first group consisting of those with over 2,000,000 population, the second, 1,000,000 to 2,000,000, the third, 500,000 to 1,000,000 and the fourth, less than 500,000. These which belong to the first group are nine provinces of Kiangsu, Hopei, Liaoning, Szechwan, Kwangtung, Heilungkiang, Shantung, Kirin, Honan; the second group, eight provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Chekiang, Anhwei, Shansi, Shensi, Fukien, Yunnan; the third group, four provinces of Kiangsi, Kansu, Kwangsi, Inner Mongolia; and the fourth, four provinces of Kweichow, Sinkiang, Tibet and Tsinghai. Of nine provinces of the first group, five provinces are included in the seven provinces of the coast and also in the three northeast provinces. Both Honan and Szechwan are not included either of the two.

(3) Considering the first point (city number) and the second point (number of urban population), the following can be pointed out. First, city numbers parallel the urban population. The province in the first group of city numbers are all classified also in the first group of urban population. Second, the provinces with a higher population in the largest city tend to be also large in city numbers and urban population. This is indicated by the resemblance in the curve of size rank of city shown in Figure 2.

(4) Figure 3 which indicates the urban population ratio provides us with the most interesting question. Provinces of China can be divided into three groups according to the urban population ratio. The first group is Liaoning with the highest ratio of approximately 33 per cent. The second group consists of four provinces, i.e., Heilungkiang, Kiangsu, Kirin, and Hopei with ratio between 18 per cent and 25 per cent. The other twenty provinces are all less than 10 per cent. There is obviously a considerable gap among those groups. The national average is somewhere in the middle of the second and the third groups. The high urban population ratio of the five provinces in the first and the second groups must have been resulted from the high industrial or non-agricultural population. This is certainly indicative of urbanization in modern sense and these five provinces differ from other provinces in nature. Three of the five provinces are among the seven provinces on the coast and also in the three northeast provinces. All belong to either of the two.

(5) Simultaneous study of Figures 1 and 3, i.e., urban population and its ratio indicated that, generally speaking, the urban population ratio is higher in those

with a larger urban population or city number. However, there is an important exception. That is, three provinces of Kwangtung, Szechwan, and Honan belong to the first or the second group in city number, nevertheless drop to the third group in urban population. This is due to the large agricultural population in these three provinces. The size of the land is large in all these provinces and agriculture is highly developed. With some exceptional cases, they have not experienced urbanization in the modern sense despite the large number of urban population. The fore-mentioned Cressy's thesis is once more suggested.

(6) The distribution of city size in each province indicates that among the provinces with a large urban population Liaoning, Kiangsu, Szechwan show straight or "bunt" curve, indicating even distribution of cities of large, medium and small sizes. The "bunt curve" tendency of Liaoning is particularly distinctive, showing the solid base of urbanization. Hopei, Peking, and Tientsin seem to form one "primate city," although the development of medium and small cities cannot be ignored. In Kwangtung, only Canton is particularly large with few medium cities and many small cities. Anhwei lacks in large cities but is ample in medium-sized cities. The total picture of Sinkiang, Tibet, Tsinghai is made of small number of cities. Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan and Inner Mongolia all have similar natures.

4. Changes under the New Regime

The study conducted by Yuan-li Wu[59] is introduced in this chapter. As already stated, the data is insufficient to tell the changes in urban population in each province. The result of the estimation by Ernest Ni can hardly be used for the basis of analysis. Plotting of Figures 1–3 is possible by using Ullman's data on the population of 129 cities as of 1958 mid-year.[60] However, this will not be tried here on the ground that Wu's study is more suggestive if the analysis is limited to the available data on large and medium cities.

In order to study the changes from 1953 through 1958 mid-year, Wu took up 117 cities for which the data on population at these periods are available. In a similar way, ninety-eight cities were selected for 1948 and 1953. Based on these, an analysis was made of the following three points: (1) distribution of cities by size and by province at these three period; (2) classifying cities according to the increase in absolute population and growth rate in 1953–58; and (3) calculation of "urbanization index." Relatively detailed discussion will be made of the second point, although the first point will also be briefly stated.

His conclusion concerning the first point includes two points. First, growth rate of large cities proved to be higher than that of medium cities which in turn was higher compared to that of small cities (which as a matter of fact decreased). Large city is defined as the one with the population over 1,000,000, medium city as 300,000 to 1,000,000 and small city as 100,000 to 300,000. Wu emphasizes the fact that such a result was obtained despite governmental policy of

59 [32].
60 [31].

control over the development of large cities. The author's comment on this point is that it is of no great significance to discuss long-term policy with little data on such a short period when city numbers and urban population are small compared to the total population. It is also a matter of course that such a conclusion was drawn from the same number of cities for both 1953 and 1958. This conclusion is not reliable until a proof is given that no new city was added to the group over 100,000 in 1958. And the fact remains that it was not so.

Secondly, there was observed no radical changes in the distribution of cities by province in 1953–58 and no general changes in 1948–58. The development of cities was particularly marked in the already developed regions—Northeast, East and North regions. However, Hunan showed considerable development while Kiangsu and Chekiang were rather backward. This was exceptional in the whole pattern and the author has no comment to make on this point.

Concerning the second point, Wu divided the entire cities into four groups in terms of both absolute increase and growth rate in his study of the development of cities during 1953–58. The first group is characterized by a high growth of absolute number and low growth ratio, the second group by large increase of both absolute number and growth ratio, the third group by high growth ratio but low absolute number and the fourth group by low in both absolute growth and growth ratio. The standard for growth ratio and increase in number was as follows: 12 out of 117 cities where number was decreased were placed out of consideration. The median of the values of remaining 105 cities was taken, i.e., growth rate of 31.6 per cent and the absolute number of 87,500.

Each group divided in this way is provided with the following characteristics; the first group is already existing large economic center and continuously utilized and developed; the second group is the newly developed large economic center; the third group used to be small city to develop rapidly into large city but far from a large city in 1958; and the fourth group is behind development including important industrial cities with limited employment opportunity. The distribution by province is shown in Table X.

Geographically speaking, the first group consists mainly of East Region, followed by North, Northeast and Southwest Region. In the second group, Northeast Region is dominant with North, Central, East and Northwest regions following in this order. The third group shows even distribution in various regions except Southwest Region. In general, development is remarkable in Northeast, North, and Central regions. Northwest Region has just started developing and South and Southwest regions are rather behind.

Such is the analysis made by Wu, who also discussed of index for urbanization, and the relationship between the distribution of urban population, industrial productivity and railway commnuication. These will not be mentioned in the present paper.

The following are the comments on Wu's study.

(1) Wu utilized various techniques in order to make full use of given data and obtained several interesting findings.

(2) In spite of this, insufficiency of statistical data proved to be crucial in dis-

TABLE X

VITAL CLASSIFICATION OF 105 CITIES BY AREA AND PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Region	Province	Number of City in Each Group			
		Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Northeast	Liaoning	1	4	—	5
	Kirin	1	1	1	2
	Heilungkiang	—	6	2	—
	Sum	2	11	3	7
North	Hopei	2	4	—	3
	Shansi	—	1	2	2
	Inner Mongolia	—	2	1	—
	Sum	2	7	3	5
East	Kiangsu	1	3	—	5
	Shantung	2	1	—	2
	Anhwei	—	1	—	2
	Chekiang	1	—	2	3
	Sum	4	5	2	12
Center	Kiangsi	1	1	—	—
	Honan	—	3	—	4
	Hunan	—	—	3	2
	Hupeh	—	1	—	1
	Sum	1	5	3	7
South	Kwangsi	—	—	1	3
	Kwangtung	—	2	—	3
	Fukien	—	—	1	2
	Sum	—	2	2	8
Northwest	Shensi	—	1	1	—
	Shinkiang	—	1	—	1
	Kansu	—	1	—	1
	Tsinghai	—	—	1	—
	Sum	—	3	2	2
Southwest	Szechwan	1	1	—	2
	Kweichow	—	1	—	—
	Yunnan	1	—	—	1
	Sum	2	2	—	3
Total Sum		11	35	15	44
Coastal provinces		7	14	3	23
Inland provinces		4	21	12	21
Developed provinces		8	23	8	24
Underdeveloped provinces		3	12	7	20

Source: Yuan-li Wu, *The Spatial Economy of Communist China*, P. 49.

cussing the general trend in terms of quantity. Of the twenty years history of the new regime, the data for feasible comparative study are available only for the five-year period and besides they are insufficient even for that period.

(3) In relation to point (2), newly developed cities were not included in Wu's study.

(4) The period for study being too short for the data, the changes may have been more clearly grasped qualitatively rather than quantitatively. This leaves us a question for future study.

III. CONCLUSION

As clear from the afore-going statement, the study on the distribution of population and urban population has just started although it is one of the important fields of the study on the economic geography of China. Labor and employment have not even been taken up. This is partly due to the fact that the economics has allowed us to leave out space element. On the other hand, what is more important is that the statistical materials in this field are particularly scarce.

The study of this paper showed the economic geography of China is characterized by the distinctive contrast between the well developed regions of three provinces in Northwest Region, as well as Hopei and Kiangsu and other undeveloped regions. In association with the future policy on industrial location, such a classification is obviously more valid than the conventional classification of coast and inland.

The long-term policy on industrial location in China is based on several principles but practically aims at the locational dispersion of industry and furthermore elimination of differences in income standard as well as industrial structure among regions. On the contrary, such a difference was inclined to grow in the First Five-Year Plan period. It is of no significance to discuss long-term policy with inference from a short-term policy such as the First Five-Year Plan. However, the profit brought out by "accumulation" is generally larger than the loss when the standard of economic development is low and this relation is reversed only when industrialization reaches considerably high level. The relationship of dispersion of industry and economic rationality in China, and the embodying policies will certainly be the subject of future study for outside researchers and the Chinese authorities as well.

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