
Citizenship in urban China: the case of points systems

Li Zhang

School of Social Development and Public Policy, Fudan University

220 Handan Road, Shanghai 200433, P.R. China

Email: lizhangfudan@fudan.edu.cn

Abstract

This paper contributes to scholarship on economic migration selection and citizenship in a country experiencing rapid urbanization but with restrictive policies for granting citizenship to domestic migrants. The paper focuses empirically on the points systems in China, which is the new architecture of the established *hukou* system for managing the massive flow of rural-to-urban migration at the city level. It explores how those points systems have actually worked on economic migrant selection and discusses their intended effects on urban citizenship. It shows that the points systems can be seen as an exclusionary strategy for inclusion of selected few but exclusion of many to urban citizenship. Policies of urban citizenship are intertwined with two functions of the urban *hukou*: as an aggressive means of competition for talent and investment which are regarded as crucial development resources, and as a “planning” instrument for controlling the number of beneficiaries who may share the outcome of development.

Key words: Points system; the *hukou* system; urban citizenship; China

Introduction

Urbanization is one of the most significant developments in China over the past three decades. Official statistics have revealed that, in 1980, 19% of 975 million China’s population lived in the areas that were officially designated as urban. By the end of 2010, almost half of the total population (49.95%) was counted urban (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). Urbanization has grown so rapidly in many cities that actual urban population tends to exceed in just a few years the planned population target set out for the entire span of the city’s socioeconomic development plan (usually 20 years). Most of rural-to-urban migrants are opportunity-driven, whose

choices of destinations are highly conditioned by an income disparity between the city and the countryside.

While massive economic migration has reshaped the geographic distribution of the country's population, the overwhelming majority of urban immigrants fall under the category of "non-*hukou*" migration (without local household registration, also known as "floating" population) in the Chinese household registration (*hukou*) system (China Development Research Foundation 2010). The *hukou* system, which has been established for over a half century, stipulates that each citizen must register only one regular residence in only one place of permanent residence. A conversion of regular *hukou* from one locale to another requires official approval, a process subject to conditions stipulated by a plethora of regulations.¹ The locality of one's regular *hukou* registration is the only place where one can claim all attainable entitlements. Many conventional dimensions of citizenship (namely access to government-funded welfare and other prerogatives) are, in effect, not operative for those without the local regular *hukou*.² Because of its role in entitlement exclusion and social stratification,

¹ The *hukou* regulations allow applications for the *hukou* conversion to be made through two schemes, social (marriage and family reunion) or economic (business/employment). Under the social scheme, the qualified applicant is a dependent child under the age of 18 whose parent is a local *hukou* holder, or the spouse of a local *hukou* holder. Those who have set up business or have taken up employment in the city are considered under the economic scheme. The eligibility under any scheme is dictated by specific requirements. Quotas are also introduced to regulate the number of qualified people assigned a local *hukou*. Requirements for *hukou* granting for social migration in some cities can be found elsewhere, such as Zhang (2010). They are not, however, part of this analysis.

² While not being barred from employment, non-*hukou* population cannot enjoy the same entitlements as those with the *hukou* in a wide range of areas in host cities. For examples, they are not entitled to unemployment allowance. They are ineligible for the minimum livelihood guarantee when facing economic hardship. They are not entitled to low-rent public housing which is provided for local low-income groups. They are not entitled to employment-related training sponsored by the city government. They cannot benefit from local preferential policies supporting the establishment of new enterprises when they start their own businesses. They have to pay school fees much higher than those paid by the *hukou* holders for the nine-year compulsory education of their children. They face a higher income threshold when applying for bank loans.

the urban *hukou* is commensurate with citizenship in any given city. The existence of non-*hukou* migrants in cities, who appear as an army of “undocumented” workers in their own country, has been criticized, within and outside China, for obstructing the development of a harmonious society that the ruling party envisages (Chan 2010).

Admittedly, there are many official attempts at the central level to improve migrants’ citizenship over years. The trend is to gradually lift some restrictions that prevent rural migrants from gaining urban permanent residence rights. The central government’s call for the opening of urban *hukou* registration to migrants is now crescendo. This is evident in a recent proposal for formulating the 12th Five-Year plan for China’s economic and social development (2011-2015), issued by the Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party on 16 March 2011. The Party has proclaimed that accelerating urbanization is an important solution to sustain economic growth and to reduce rural-urban inequality for the next five years. To facilitate urbanization, the proposal has rhetorically pledged to expedite the task of integrating rural migrant workers into the city harmoniously by offering them with urban *hukou*. City governments are asked to take effective actions and supply most of the funding for the pledge made by the central government.

The center’s rhetoric has not been translated into the commitment of local governments in a meaningful way under the country’s current decentralization reform, which the highly centralized power structure has experienced a transformation alongside significant devolution of administrative powers and social responsibilities to city governments. City governments perceive economic immigrants as both a

reward that promotes local growth and a problem that places a burden on local public finance. The huge influx of migrant workers makes cities enjoy demographic dividends and be low-cost production sites and dynamic economic spearheads.³ Nonetheless, city governments also concern the liberty of urban *hukou* could overwhelm their capacities to provide public goods.⁴ At the city level, government narratives on citizenship policies often convey a tension between the cost of services consumed by migrants and the shortage of necessary funds. Considering the fiscal burden of urban *hukou* and taking note of international experience, several cities have recently launched their migrant-selection systems, which are functions very much as international borders would do, to deal with the dilemma of immigration.

Numerous studies acknowledge that urban citizenship in the Chinese context is centered on the *hukou* system (Cheng and Selden 1994; Mallee 1995; Chang and Zhang 1999; Wang 2005). However, few offers significant empirical content to update what is happening to the selection of economic migrants in Chinese cities and to elucidate how the notion of urban citizenship is now interpreted in reality. Drawing on policy documents recently issued by city governments,⁵ this paper focuses on the actual workings of economic migration selection. Taking the newly introduced points

³ One study estimates that today the urban economy generates about 75 percent of China's GDP (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009).

⁴ For instance, one noteworthy study, based on the case of the country's most populous city--Shanghai, estimated that allowing all migrants currently residing in the city to stay on as urban *hukou* holders (meaning the government commitment to provide migrants with the same benefits of the locally registered population) would lead to fiscal deficit up to 5 per cent of the city's GDP, the level that was hardly affordable to the city government (The State Innovative Institute for Public Management and Public Policy Studies at Fudan University 2010).

⁵ Those policy documents have their law-like characteristics. They are issued using common legislative terms such as regulations (条例). Administrative authorities rely on such documents for enforcement and implementation of policy.

systems in several cities as an informative case, the paper explores the following questions which are generally overlooked in the literature. What are the working criteria used by city governments for assessing an economic migrant's qualifications for the urban *hukou*? What are important features of those criteria? To what extent is the newly implemented migration-selection system linked to the liberalization of urban *hukou* for economic migrants? In answering these questions, the paper demonstrates the new architecture of the Chinese *hukou* system at the city level for managing immigration. It shows that government-designated urban *hukou* emphasizes eligibility rather than entitlement. The points systems can be seen as an exclusionary strategy for inclusion of selected few but, in effect, exclusion of many to urban citizenship. Policies of urban citizenship are intertwined with two functions of the urban *hukou*: as an aggressive means of competition for talent and investment which are regarded as crucial development resources, and as a "planning" instrument for controlling the number of beneficiaries who may share the outcome of development.

The Chinese points system: several samples

As early as 2004, Shanghai city took the lead in drawing talented migrants and excluding low-skilled migrants by introducing its points system. Table 1 details the specifics. A migrant who secures a long-term regular employment in the city can be awarded the Shanghai *hukou* if her/his qualifications can pass the point test. Those who fail in the test are tied to temporary, renewable residence permits (RP, 居住证),

which are official permission for conditional stay.⁶ By regulations of migration management, RP holders are not considered as having gone through the process of *hukou* conversion and are not treated as *bona fide* residents. As a supplementary policy of the points system, those, who are holding Shanghai RP for some years can apply for Shanghai *hukou* since 2009, if they can meet additional requirements such as paying taxes and social security fees for seven consecutive years, possessing at least a middle-level professional title or technical certificate, and having criminal-free record (Shanghai Municipal Government 2009). Though the requirements are stringent and the cases of *hukou* conversion under the new initiative are subject to the control of annual quotas, this initiative has opened an avenue for RP holders to change their residence status through qualification fulfillment. Shortly after its introduction, Shanghai's model generates a national impact, as it serves as a template of migrant selection that other cities have used.

(Table 1 about here)

On 7 June 2011, the authority of Guangdong province in southern China, a home of 30 million non-*hukou* migrants (about a quarter of the province's total population) from various parts of the country, promulgated a policy guideline of the points system that institutionalized the conversion process through which a non-local *hukou* holder could acquire a local permanent *hukou* in any cities of the province. This policy

⁶ Currently, Shanghai enforces three types of the residence permit under two administrative distinctions (one for professionals and the other for ordinary migrant workers) to manage different populations. By regulations, people of age 16 and over who have no Shanghai *hukou* and intend to stay in Shanghai for more than three months are required to apply for a residence permit (RP). Under the category of professional importation, type A of the RP is used for domestic professionals and business people and type B is issued to those from overseas. Migrants outside the professional category are issued type C of the RP. All three types of the RP are valid for a specified period and are renewable.

guideline provided a predictable path to an urban *hukou* via entry conditions. Under the proposed points system (Table 2), which was piloted first in Zhongshan city of the province in 2009 (Table 3), a migrant worker was qualified for urban *hukou* once he or she earned sufficient points. Unlike the Shanghai's policy which opened only to highly-educated migrants (particularly university graduates), Guangdong's policy was said to be applicable to ordinary migrants (particularly rural migrant workers). Following the provincial guideline, several migrant-receiving cities of the province, including Shenzhen, Guangzhou, and Dongguan, unveiled their points systems as the routine mechanism of recruiting wanted migrants and restricting unwanted migrants (Tables 4-6).

(Tables 2-6 about here)

Under the points systems, urban *hukou* granting is subject to simultaneous “qualification” and “quota” controls. Qualifications are connected to the eligibility criteria, whereas quotas regulate the number of qualified people. The eligibility is assessed by a number of variables under multi-tiered categories in a quantitative manner. It appears that some cities use more variables than other cities, and some variables are more common than other variables. The variables employed are an indication what city governments have prioritized in terms of the assessment of an applicant's attributes and what attributes have deemed the most valuable for local development. The applicant has to furnish necessary information/documents to satisfy the city government that (s)he has accumulated sufficient points to pass the qualification mark. The qualification mark is the total points that the applicant can

score for all items listed in the point-test sheet. If the annual quota of new *hukou* space, set by the city government and adjusted each year, is available, a qualified applicant will be granted an urban *hukou*. All qualified applicants will be ranked based on their maximum scores. The available *hukou* quotas will be assigned to those with the highest scores. If the annual quota is surpassed, an application will be deemed to fail even though the applicant can reach the points beyond the qualification mark. Unsuccessful applicants can re-lodge their applications in other rounds of application if they score enough points again.

By one nature, the points systems provide a remedy for under-registration of temporary migrants. With massive rural-to-urban migration, migrant management becomes a routine, but also a challenge for city governments. For the purpose of better management, migrants are required to register with the local police within a month after moving in and apply for a RP. However, migrants come and go, following job opportunities. A substantial number of migrants do not exist in the official registration. A low registration rate of non-*hukou* migrants is regarded as a perpetuated problem that frustrates the authorities of urban governance who always confuse the exact size of migrants under their administration. The situation is expected to be improved with the introduction of points systems. All RP holders (except for those from overseas) are put into a point-based management scheme that can lead to the path to the urban *hukou*. Contributions, merits and obligations of RP holders are linked to point accumulation. As they are offered the possibility of conversion to the host city's *hukou* after serving in the temporary category for some

years – provided that they accumulate sufficient points, RP holders are treated more like “preparatory” or “probationary” citizens in cities. The convertibility feature accruing from the possession of the RP, an official proof of documented residence, serves as elicitation and a stimulant for migrants to register as temporary residents.

Points systems in different cities are likely to have different categories and different requirements, but similarities exist. Several common intriguing observations can be drawn from those points systems. First, quality attributes (素质) of the applicant are rated significantly. The qualities are ranked in terms of the educational credentials (the type of degree granted) or the level of professionals (the type of professional certificate awarded). Table 7 lists the ratio of a variable to the qualification mark (RVQM) – a measure that quantifies the relative importance of each variable in the various structures of points systems proposed by Papademetriou et al. (2008). The ratio comprises the maximum number of points a variable can contribute as a percentage of the qualification mark. As shown in Table 7, applicants who score maximum points in the variables of education and job skill will garner a significant portion of points toward the qualification mark. As an extreme case, under the Guangdong’s guideline, an applicant can pass the qualification mark simply by gaining the maximum score for education (80) or job-skill variables (60). This is unique to the Guangdong’s guideline: no points systems at the city level have a RVQM over 100 percent. Judging from the weights of major variables in different points systems, it can be sure that all systems focus on selecting talented migrants. By contrast, demographic attributes of the applicant are a vague desirable factor. Only in

certain cases, age and marital status bear some credits, but are not particularly salient in the selection formula.

(Table 7 about here)

Second, the merit-based imperative is prominent. This can be seen most directly in the relative importance of certain variables that are used to calculate an applicant's contribution. The contribution can be calculated in terms of the amount of investment capital, awards from national/regional competitions or from outstanding work performance, participation in charity activities (e.g. donations made to local communities) and voluntary services (e.g. being volunteers to assist the operation of mega-events organized by local governments). Under the Guangdong's provincial guideline, an individual who receives a national-level award can sufficiently qualify. While variables under the contribution category serve as a reward for those who have made significant contributions to the locale as interpreted by the city authorities, the variables also provide applicants with an incentive and opportunity to purchase points. For instance, the Zhongshan system has placed no score cap on translating the amount of investment capital and tax payable into point terms. An individual who demonstrates to invest to the city totaling over 10 million Chinese *yuan* (roughly equivalent to US\$1,470,000) or pay tax amounting to over 1 million Chinese *yuan* (equivalent to US\$147,000) can be awarded sufficient points to satisfy the qualification mark. In cities like Shenzhen and Zhongshan in a case that an applicant has a marginal deficit of enough points required to qualify for the application, (s)he can make up the deficit by simply donating a certain amount of money to the city.

Third, obligation requirement is considerably evident. In order to qualify for the application, applicants usually need to meet a number of requirements, including the proof of consecutive registration of temporary residency, evidence of employment formality, demonstration of house ownership, and participation in the social security program.⁷ This amounts to saying that applicants must have adequate means of living in the city and fulfill their social responsibility that is articulated and disciplined by government. For example, in almost all points systems examined, the points assigned to participation in the social security program account for nearly one third of the VQMR. House ownership comprises about a fifth of the qualification points. Moreover, successful applicants are asked to give up their claim to social and welfare rights (such as land-use right) in their native villages. Notwithstanding, obligation variables are the least likely, on average, to singly assist an applicant to qualify under any of the points systems discussed here. Conversely, one can immediately lose his/her eligibility status by violating laws/regulations or committing crimes. Obviously, observation of coercive family planning regulations is an important part of the calculus in Guangdong's cities. Offending convictions will lead to deficit in points. Apparently and intentionally, the urban *hukou* will not open to low-income people and regulation-breakers.

Fourth, the employer's role is incorporated into the points systems in relation to labor demand in particular industrial sectors. Unlike the explicitly employer-led

⁷ Employment formality refers to the requirement of authorization by the appropriate city government departments for the employment contract signed by both the employer and the employee. It also means the conditions and procedures which must be observed in making the employment contract in order to render the contract valid. In the case of self-employment, the formality means that all business certificates/licenses required must be authorized.

selection systems in some countries, employers on paper are not delegated power to determining the selection in the Chinese points systems. However, the Chinese systems do to some extent engage employers in the process of application. As shown in Table 1, for those wishing to obtain a Shanghai *hukou*, both applicants and their employers must satisfy a number of specified criteria. In addition to the applicant's qualifications, the qualifications, reputation and social responsibility of the applicants' employers are also rated, and the employer's points constitute part of the applicant's total points. The government may not process applications that are not sponsored by employers. The employer's sponsorship should take two forms: (1) provision of relevant certifications for the applicant; (2) dispatch of a representative to accompany the applicant to submit the application in person (there is no facility for postal or on-line submission). By awarding points for employer's role, the city government can ensure the selection of highly skilled applicants to serve in critical industrial sectors and enterprises in the city, and enable the Shanghai *hukou* to support important projects in the area of competitiveness building and in the implementation of political tasks mandated by the upper-level governments. In our Guangdong samples, certain points are allocated to applicants who have secured a job offer or sponsorship from the employers whose businesses are in the government-stipulated list of industry/occupation in demand, indicating that labor shortage in specific areas is addressed in the points systems.⁸

Fifth, like most of the selection systems effective elsewhere, Chinese points

⁸ All cities introduced points systems have their industry/occupation in demand lists, which include labor shortage industries/occupations and industries/occupations have potential development.

systems produce a “signaling effect” to affect the aspirations and behaviors of potential applicants. Requirements under points systems essentially serve as an announcement to prospective applicants about the relative weights attached to a variety of personal attributes, the critical threshold of qualifications, as well as various ways that they can meet the qualification mark. For some, the deciding factor in admissions may be their educational credentials, for others it may be the level of a specific skill. Migrants may secure some points by gaining diplomas and certificates, investing businesses, or purchasing property. As indicated in “contribution” variables, one can even pay for up to 10 points, or earn 10 points as a blood donor or by offering 250 hours of voluntary services. Overall, the qualification requirements would serve as a guideline for migrant workers to plan for the next seven or so years in terms of place of work and residence.⁹

Despite offering migrants a leeway through which the urban *hukou* is granted, first and foremost the points systems have placed the interests of city governments front and center in a number of ways. Under the points systems, city governments

⁹ The following two applications, taken from the application files, illustrate how the points system works in Guangzhou city. Mr. Li, a maintenance worker from Guangxi province, desires to settle permanently in Guangzhou city where he has worked in years. He has a senior secondary education certificate and a junior-level technician title (20 points), is 52 years old (1 point), owns a residential apartment in the city (20 points), has paid for four social insurance programs for 8 years (32 points), and has received two awards from the city government for his excellent job performance (120 points). With a total of 193 points, he has already met the minimum (131 points) required to apply for the city’s *hukou* in year 2011. After his qualifications are verified, the city government approves his application. Because of the quota constraint in Guangzhou city, the eligible applicants whose score was below 164 in that year were not successful in their *hukou* applications.

Mr. Yang, came from Hubei province 10 years ago, now intends to become a permanent resident in Guangzhou city. He has completed college education (60 points), works in a state-owned enterprise ranked AAA (10 points), and owns a residential apartment in the city (20 points). He is at age 37 (2 points). His participation in social security program gains him another 20 points. A total of 112 points put him 19 points deficit for the threshold mark (131 points). Over the next year or more, he plans to gain enough points by donating blood and contributing to voluntary services (possibly 20 more points).

possess paramount power to manipulate and control both the quality and quantity of migrants who are entitled for urban *hukou* within their jurisdictions. The desire to build the city's human-capital infrastructure by accruing talented workers and professionals from a large pool of migrants is at the heart of all points systems. City governments can tailor their choices by altering relative weights of variables. City governments also have a flexibility to adjust the inflow valve of newcomers by imposing a quota constraint for qualified applicants. Currently, the annual quotas under the points systems are exceedingly small, compared to the number of migrant population in cities. In 2010 when is the first year to implement the points systems in Guangdong province, Guangzhou, the city with 7.26 million migrant residents in aggregate, offered 3,000 *hukou* spaces for qualified applicants. Shenzhen, which had over 10 million migrants, provided 4,600 quotas. Judging from a high threshold of requirement and stringent quota, only a fairly small number of high-income migrants who can contribute to the city's fiscal revenue and help fund the city's social services can obtain urban *hukou*. Therefore, the points systems will not entail more local budget burden. As such, the points systems seem rather hollow at the current stage and provide no immediate solution to urban citizenship associated with non-*hukou* migration. Fundamentally, the points systems allow city governments flexibility in addressing their vested interests: in part as a means for securing human capital accumulation and in part as an instrument for avoiding social obligation to those who deem invaluable for city development from a government perspective.

Concluding remarks

One paradoxical dynamic of China's urbanization over the past three decades is the massive flow of rural-to-urban migration concomitant with the exclusion of the bulk of migrants from urban citizenship through the *hukou* system. While rural migrants are no longer barred from urban employment, they suffer from the denial of many entitlements supposedly to be associated with their relocation within the same country. The existence of such overt discrimination has already evoked voluminous calls to change. In response, several cities have enforced their points systems that are analogous to what typically happens in the case of international migration. More cities will likely be part of this trend soon.¹⁰ Perhaps in the foreseen future, millions of "undocumented" urban residents are expected to be "naturalized" through the local points systems.

The Chinese points systems provide an illuminating window through which one can understand changes in migration control and citizenship granting in a socialist country undertaking economic marketization and experiencing fast urbanization. One is that the *hukou* system, as one of the major tools of social control employed in the early 1950s, no longer impedes individual physical movements but still matters for defining citizenship. In the centrally planned period, *hukou* regulations were intrusive in preventing rural people moving into cities. Reforms of the centrally planned economy, characterized by decentralization and marketization, have set in motion a variety of dislocation forces that stimulate rural-to-urban migration. Urbanization has

¹⁰ While I am writing this study, Beijing is going to introduce its points system. Shanghai is considering expanding the scope of its points systems to all categories of migration.

become one of the most visible features of China's development. However, the *hukou* registration remains an official identity of a person's access to government-provided welfare and other prerogatives in a given city. At the local level the *hukou* system is still strong in producing the exclusionary effect on citizenship on those who have moved to the city but are not deemed as qualified for urban *hukou*.

The introduction of points systems has signaled that *hukou* reform has entailed the localization of urban citizenship within a unitary state in the process of decentralization of administrative and fiscal powers as well as the devolution of social responsibility for public goods provision. On the municipal finance side, the local budget constraint is hardened by a fiscal regime in which local expenditures depend more on local incomes than on redistribution of national revenues. Financial pressures lead to the preference for development strategy that maximizes short-term revenue over long-term needs and that pays too little attention to distributional and welfare priorities (Saich 2008). The assignment of health care, education, public housing, low-income assistance, and pensions to city governments hinders their provision to a large number of migrants. In terms of administration, the central government has deregulated management of *hukou* registration to a city level of government. Under current practices, city governments possess discretionary power to endorse the numbers of additions to the eligibility of local citizenship in their administrative jurisdictions. Localization of urban citizenship views processes of entitlement and exclusion as accomplished locally rather than through national-level institutions. This forms a potent barrier to the introduction of more liberal citizenship policies that

allow socioeconomic rights of rural migrants to be transferable from one of rurality to one of urbanity.

The Chinese points systems also demonstrate that the granting of urban citizenship has been justified as promotion of growth at a cost of equity. The points systems, used primarily to trade urban *hukou* with human resource and capital, translate urban citizenship into commitment to urban prosperity. Using the points systems, city governments tend to prioritize talent and capital, which are the key to economic prosperity, over social objectives. Note that the cities that have introduced the points systems are those ranking top in terms of GDP per capita on the China Urban Competitiveness Report.¹¹ This suggests that the wealthier the city, the more stringent restrictions they impose onto the acquisition of local citizenship. This observation is supported by the finding of one study on the city's entry barrier, which demonstrates that an increase in fiscal capacity of a city does not necessarily reduce its resistance to admitting more low-skilled migrants (Wu and Zhang 2010). The points systems reflect the government-induced conflict on the competing values of economic growth and equality at the local level. The majority of migrants, who can participate in urban employment without official citizenship, are treated as necessary contributors of the economy but not as qualified beneficiaries. On this account, the *hukou* system not only survives during the China's transition to market-based economy, but also retains an equal, if not more, important control role in the materialization of urban citizenship. The introduction of points systems has not been

¹¹ The report is published annually by a think-tank of the central government, the Chinese Academy of Social Science.

sufficient to assure the liberalization of urban citizenship. It remains to be seen, with a wider application of points systems among Chinese cities, how the *hukou* system evolves to make urban citizenship less exclusive and more accommodating.

References

- Chan, Kam Wing and Li Zhang. 1999. "The hukou system and rural-urban migration in China: processes and changes," *The China Quarterly* 160: 818-855.
- Chan, Kam Wing. 2010. "The household registration system and migrant labor in China: notes on a debate," *Population and Development Review* 36(2): 357-364.
- Cheng, Tiejun and Mark Selden. 1994. "The origin and social consequences of China's *hukou* system," *The China Quarterly* 139: 644-668.
- China Development Research Foundation. 2010. *China Development Report 2010: Promoting People's Development as China New Urbanization Strategy*. Beijing: People Publishing House.
- Dongguan Municipal Party-Government Joint Conference. 2011a. 东莞市积分制入户暂行办法 (*Provisional regulations for the point-based hukou granting in Dongguan city*), issued on 25 April 2011.
- Dongguan Municipal Party-Government Joint Conference. 2011b. 东莞市积分入户管理实施细则 (*Detailed guidelines for the implementation of point-based hukou granting in Dongguan city*), issued on 25 April 2011.
- General Office of Shenzhen Municipal Government. 2010. 深圳市外来务工人员积分入户试行办法 (*Provisional implementation of point-based hukou granting for non-local workers in Shenzhen city*), issued on 12 August 2010.
- Guangzhou Municipal Government. 2010a. 广州市农民工及非本市十城区居民户口的城镇户籍人员积分制入户办法 (试行) (*Provisional regulations for the point-based hukou granting for migrant workers and urban residents without Guangzhou hukou*), Municipal Government Document [2010] no.82, issued on 4 November 2010.
- Guangzhou Municipal Government. 2010b. 广州市农民工及非本市十城区居民户口的城镇户籍人员积分制入户办法实施细则 (试行) (*Tentative detailed*

- guidelines for the implementation of provisional regulations for the point-based hukou granting for migrant workers and urban residents without Guangzhou hukou*), issued on 4 November 2010.
- Luo, Jiwei and Shuilin Wang. (Eds.) 2008. *Public Finance in China: Reform and Growth for a Harmonious Society*. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Ma, Laurence J.C. 2005. "Urban administrative restructuring, changing scale relations and local economic development in China," *Political Geography* 24(4): 477-497.
- Mallee, Hein. 1995. "China's household registration system under reform," *Development and Change* 26(1): 1-29.
- McKinsey Global Institute. 2009. *Preparing for China's Urban Billion*. www.mckinsey.com/mgi, accessed on February 2, 2010.
- National Bureau of Statistics. 2011. *China Statistical Yearbook 2011*. www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/2011/indexch.htm, accessed on April 8, 2012.
- Shanghai Municipal Government. 2009. 持有《上海市居住证》人员申办本市常住户口试行办法 (*Provisional regulations on the application for the hukou conversion for residency card holders*), issued on February 12, 2009.
- Shanghai Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, Shanghai Municipal Reform and Development Commission. 2008. 非上海生源进沪就业评分办法 (*The point-test scheme for employment of college graduates without Shanghai hukou*). Internal Document.
- The General Office of Guangdong Provincial Government. 2010. 关于开展农民工积分制入户城镇工作的指导意见 (*Suggestive guidelines for the implementation of point-based urban hukou granting*), document no. [2010] 32, issued on 23 June 2010.
- The State Innovative Institute for Public Management and Public Policy Studies at Fudan University. 2010. *An Economic Analysis of Issues of Floating Population and Hukou Reform*. Unpublished Internal Research Report.
- Wang, Feiling. 2005. *Organizing through Division and Exclusion*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wong Christine. 2010. "Paying for the harmonious society", *China Economic Quarterly* June: 20-25.
- Wu, Kaiya and Li Zhang. 2010. "发展主义政府与城市落户门槛：关于户籍制度改革反思 (*Developmentist government and urban hukou threshold: rethinking hukou system reform*)", *社会学研究 Sociological Studies* 25(6): 58-85.

Zhang, Li. 2010. "The right to the entrepreneurial city in reform-era China," *China Review* 10(1): 129-156.

Zhongshan Municipal Government. 2009a. 中山市流动人口积分制管理暂行规定
(*Provisional regulations for the point-based administration of floating population in Zhongshan city*), Municipal Government Document [2009] no.113.

Zhongshan Municipal Government. 2009b. 中山市流动人口积分制管理实施细则
(试行) (*Tentative detailed guidelines for the implementation of provisional regulations for the point-based administration of floating population in Zhongshan city*).

Table 1 The rating scheme for qualifying for Shanghai *hukou* for college graduates¹

Qualifications of candidate		Qualifications of candidate's employer ²	
Category	Point	Category	Points
Highest academic qualification earned		Basic qualification	
● Ph. D.	27	● An excellent track record for observing regulations for recruitment of university graduates	5
● Master's degree	24		
● Bachelor's degree	21		
Reputation of universities and institutions which awarded a candidate's degree		Requirements with regard to the importation of talents in key areas	
● Key universities and institutions designated by the Ministry of Education, universities located in Shanghai and on the "Project 211" list, research institutes affiliated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences but located in Shanghai and with the right to award master's degrees ³	15	● Employers recruiting graduates whose specialties are listed in the <i>Directory of Development of Manpower for Key Areas</i>	3
● Non-Shanghai universities on the "Project 211" list, institutions directly under the administration of the central government and with the right to award master's degrees, universities and research institutes under the administration of the Shanghai government	12	● Employers recruiting graduates whose specialties are listed in the <i>Directory of Development of Manpower for Key Areas</i> and who graduate with master's degrees from key universities and institutions designated by the Ministry of Education or by the Shanghai government	3
● Other universities and research institutes	8		
Academic ranking of the principal subject during the period of university study		Considerations for undertaking key projects or meeting urgent needs for qualified graduates	
● First rank (top 25%)	8	● Employers undertaking key projects in socio-economic development contracted by the state or the Shanghai government, and recruiting graduates with high qualifications for these	3
● Second rank (top 26% -- 50%)	6		
● Third rank (top 51% -- 75%)	4		
● Fourth rank (76% -- 100%)	2		

Qualifications of candidate		Qualifications of candidate's employer ²	
Category	Point	Category	Points
		organizations bearing responsibility for serving public sectors such as education and public health in remote suburbs of the city	
Foreign language proficiency			
● Passed College English Test Level 6 with a score over 425 or Professional English Test Level 8	8		
● Passed College English Test Level 4 with a score over 425 or Professional English Test Level 4	7		
● Passed foreign language courses for those specializing in foreign languages, arts, and sports	7		
Computer competence			
● Post-graduates	7		
● Science graduates with advanced level computer competence (exemption for those specializing in mathematics, e-information, electronic information, management science and engineering)	7		
● Arts and social science graduates with intermediate computer competence (Grade 2 in the provincial-level test)	7		
● Science graduates with intermediate computer competence (Grade 2 in the provincial-level test)	6		
● Arts and social science graduates with elementary level computer competence (Grade 1 in the provincial-level test)	6		
● Pass in computer-related courses for those specializing in foreign languages, arts, and sports	6		
Awards and honors			

Qualifications of candidate		Qualifications of candidate's employer ²	
Category	Point	Category	Points
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Awards and honors granted by national-level authorities ● Awards and honors granted by provincial-level authorities ● Awards and honors granted by university (one point for each award, 2 points maximum) 	<p>10</p> <p>5</p> <p>2</p>		
<p>Awards from national competitions such as the National Undergraduate Electronic Design Competition, China Undergraduate Mathematics Competition in Modeling, National English Competition for College Students, and National Undergraduate Challenge Cup during the period of university study (15 points at maximum)</p> <p>(1) Certified international competitions or the above national competitions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● First prize ● Second prize ● Third prize <p>(2) Local qualifying heats for the above national competitions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● First prize ● Second prize ● Third prize 		<p>10</p> <p>8</p> <p>6</p> <p>5</p> <p>3</p> <p>1</p>	
<p>Scientific inventions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Holding a patent for an invention ● Holding a patent for a utility model ● Holding a patent for product design ● Submission of an application for a patent for invention (An acknowledgement letter from China Patent & Trademark Office is required) 		<p>5</p> <p>3</p> <p>3</p> <p>1</p>	

Qualifications of candidate		Qualifications of candidate's employer ²	
Category	Point	Category	Points
Establishment of own businesses			
(1) Establishing scientific firms with a grant from the City Fund for University Graduates to Set Up Scientific Enterprises			
● As a legal representative	5		
● As a member of a founding team	2		
(2) Establishing other firms			
● As a legal representative	5		
● As a director	2		
Participation as a graduate volunteer in government-led projects serving Western China			
	5		

Notes:

1. The scheme applies to college graduates who have no Shanghai *hukou* and who have job offers in Shanghai.
2. Qualifications of employers are certified by the relevant authorities and are reported to the Office of Shanghai Joint Conference for Employment of College Graduates for confirmation.
3. "Project 211" refers to the central government's plan to strengthen a number of tertiary institutions and key disciplinary areas for the twenty-first century.
4. The qualification mark is the total accumulated points for all relevant items and is the score essential to qualify for application for the Shanghai *hukou*. Those with accumulated points below the qualification mark should apply for a residence permit.
5. The annual qualification mark will be decided by the Office of Shanghai Joint Conference for Employment of College Graduates in accordance with the city government's plan for regulating the increase of the Shanghai population.

Source: Shanghai Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, Shanghai Municipal Reform and Development Commission (2008).

Table 2 A guideline for the rating scheme for qualifying for urban *hukou*, Guangdong province

Category/indicator		Point	Note for the category/indicator
Part I Province-wide common assessment			
A. Personal quality			
Educational attainment	Junior secondary school	+5	The applicant can score in only one of the indicators in the category of educational attainment.
	Senior secondary school or vocational school	+20	
	College	+60	
	An undergraduate degree or above	+80	
Professional qualification	Junior-level technician title	+10	The applicant can score in only one of the indicators in the category of professional qualification.
	Middle-level technician title	+30	
	Senior-level technician title	+50	
	Professional title equivalent to the associate professor level	+60	
B. Contribution to social security program			
Participation in social security program	Number of years to contribute to social security plans	+1 for one-year contribution to one plan	(1) Plans in this indicator include urban basic pension insurance, urban basic medical insurance, unemployment insurance, work injury insurance, and maternity insurance. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 50 points.
C. Contribution to the local community			

Category/indicator		Point	Note for the category/indicator
Participation in community services in the past 5 years	Donation of blood	+2 per donation	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
	Participation in voluntary services	+2 per reference unit	(1) 50 hours of service is taken as one reference unit. (2) The maximum score is 10 points in this indicator.
	Philanthropic donation	+2 per 1,000 <i>yuan</i>	(1) The beneficiary must be a philanthropic organization authorized by government. (2) The maximum score is 10 points in this indicator.
Award and honor	An award or honor granted by governmental authorities at the county-level	+30 per award/honor	The maximum score is 60 points in this indicator.
	An award or honor granted by governmental authorities at the prefecture-level or above	+60 per award/honor	The maximum score is 120 points in this indicator.
D. Punishment			
Violation of family planning regulation	Any case of unpermitted birth	-100 min.	(1) A 5-year ineligibility period for application is applied if the applicant receives any family-planning related punishment. (2) Upon the expiration of the ineligibility period, 100 points are deducted for the first case of violation and double points are deducted for the subsequent cases.
Crimes in the past 5 years	A record of reeducation through labor camp	-50	
	A record of imprisonment sentence	-100	
Part II Locality-specific assessment			

Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator
Subject to stipulations by individual cities		

Source: The General Office of Guangdong Provincial Government (2010).

Table 3 The rating scheme for qualifying for urban *hukou* in Zhongshan city, Guangdong province

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator	Required document
Part I Essential requirements				
A. Personal quality				
Educational attainment	Senior secondary school	+15		The certificate of degree and the certification letter from the educational authorities at the province-level or above
	Part-time college	+40		
	Full-time college	+55		
	Undergraduate	+80		
	Post-graduate and above	+100		
Professional qualification	Junior technician title	+10		The certificate of professional title and the certification letter from the government who issues the certificate
	Professional title equivalent to the assistant professor level	+15		
	Professional title equivalent to the associate professor level	+55		
	Professional title equivalent to the professor level	+90		
B. Employment formality				
Status in social security program	Contribution to local social security program	+2 for one-year contribution	The maximum score in this indicator is 20 points.	The documentary proof by the relevant department of the municipal government

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator	Required document
Period of employment	Number of years of continuous employment	+2 for one year	(1) The continuous employment refers to the employment without a break of more than 3 months in a consecutive contract after the termination of a previous contract. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.	(1) The original employment contract with the employer's stamp. (2) The employer's declaration for satisfaction of the applicant's fulfillment of the contract
C. De facto residency				
Regular dwelling	Ownership of residential property	+10	The family's living space per capita cannot be less than the threshold requirement of application for low-income housing (10 sq. meters).	(1) The certificate of property ownership. (2) The certificate of land-use right
Period of abode	Number of years of continuous residence	+2	Continuous residence refers to the continuity in the residence period without a break of more than 3 months.	The temporary residence certificate or the residence permit
Part II Incentive offers				
D. Personal particular				
Age	Over aged 16 and under aged 35	+5		The personal identity card
Marital status	Single	+5		The documentary proof from the Department of Civil Affairs in the place of the applicant's <i>hukou</i> registration
E. Personal competence				
Talent	Possession of skills which are in the list of industry/occupation in urgent	+50	The list of industry/occupation in urgent demand is announced by the municipal government and is updated	The acknowledgement letter from the relevant departments of the municipal

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator	Required document
	demand		annually.	government
Invention or patent	Possession of one national-level patent within the past 5 years	+30	There is no maximum score in this indicator.	The patent certificate
F. Personal contribution				
Award and honor	An award granted by authorities at the city level	+10	(1) The awards must be granted by governmental departments within the past 10 years. (2) The level of the award-granted authority refers to the authority's administrative ranking. (3) For multiple awards of the same case, the applicant can score only one award. (4) Points can be accumulated for awards of different cases.	The certificate of award
	An award granted by authorities at the provincial level	+20		
	An award granted by authorities at the national level	+30		
Honor for action in the cudgels for a just case	A honor granted by authorities at the city district level	+10		The certificate of honor
	A honor granted by authorities at the city level	+20		
	A honor granted by authorities at the provincial level	+30		
	A honor granted by authorities at the national level	+50		
Participation in	Number of years of voluntary	+1 for one-year	(1) One-year service is defined as 100 hours or more of	The acknowledgement letter from the

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator	Required document
philanthropic services	services in the municipality	service	service within a calendar year. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.	relevant organization
	Donation of money	+2 per 10,000 <i>yuan</i>	(1) The beneficiary must be a philanthropic organization authorized by the municipal government. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.	The acknowledgement letter from the beneficiary
	Donation of blood	+1 per 200 milliliters	(1) The donation must be made to the organizations of the municipality. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 5 points.	The acknowledgement letter from the relevant organization
	Donation of marrow	+2 per donation	(1) The donation must be made to the organizations of the municipality. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.	The acknowledgement letter from the relevant organization
Investment and tax payable	Amount of investment	+1 per 100,000 <i>yuan</i>	There is no maximum score in this category.	(1) The business license; (2) The documentary proof of investment
	Amount of tax payable	+1 per 10,000 <i>yuan</i>		The tax receipts issued by the municipal taxation department
G. Honesty and abidance by law				
Obedience of family planning policy	Holding a national-standardized certificate of family planning for non- <i>hukou</i> population	+2	The certificate must be issued by the family planning authority in the place of the applicant's <i>hukou</i> registration.	The certification letter from the relevant family planning authorities of the municipality
	Voluntary implementation of	+3	Long-term contraceptive measures include intrauterine	

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator	Required document
	long-term contraceptive measures		device, vasoligation, and ligation of oviduct.	
	Regular participation in maternal examination	+1	The applicant has participated in no less than 3 examinations organized by relevant family planning authorities each year.	
Participation in the program of epidemic control	Voluntary participation in the national immunity program for children	+1	The specifics of epidemic control program must be in line with the relevant national and provincial regulations.	The official record of inoculation
	Voluntary participation in the mother & child care program	+1		The documentary proof issued by the authorized hospitals or medical organizations of the municipality
	Participation in the pre-marriage medical examination	+1		
	Qualification for employment in businesses that have special requirements for personal health	+1		The health certificate issued by the authorized hospitals or medical organizations of the municipality
Residence registration	Registration for co-residing children under 16	+1		Relevant residence cards
Personal reputation	Good track records in financial matters	+5		The letter of credit record issued by an authorized bank
H. Criminal convictions				

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator	Required document
Punishment for criminal activities	Surveillance under the law authority	-40 min.	(1) Points deducted are calculated by the number of months of surveillance multiplied by 3. (2) The minimum deducted points are 40.	
	Detention sentence	-60 min.	(1) Points deducted are calculated by the number of months of detention multiplied by 12. (2) The minimum deducted points are 60.	
	Imprisonment sentence		Points deducted are calculated by the number of months of imprisonment multiplied by 12.	
Violation of state or municipal regulations	Custody sentence	-5 per case	Points deducted are accumulated by the number of cases.	
	Reeducation through labor camp		Points deducted are calculated by the number of months of reeducation multiplied by 2.	
	Violation of family planning regulation	-200 per case	Points deducted are accumulated by the number of cases.	
	Violation of the city's sanitary regulation and the guides of epidemic prevention	-2 per case		

Sources: Zhongshan Municipal Government (2009a; 2009b).

Table 4 The rating scheme for qualifying urban hukou in Shenzhen city, Guangdong province

Category / indicator		Point	Note for the indicator
A. Essential requirements			
Age	Aged 18-35	+5	Number of years in participation in social security program in Shenzhen municipality can be used for lowering the equivalent years of the applicant of a given age. For example, if the applicant has 5 years of participation in social security program and is aged 50 in the time of submitting the application, the applicant can score 2 points rather than 1 point.
	Aged 36-45	+2	
	Aged 46-60 for males, aged 46-55 for females	+1	
Status of health	Good condition of health	+3	The status of the applicant's health must be complied with the municipal regulation on the health requirement for recruiting technical workers.
Registration of abode	Possession of the Shenzhen residence permit	+2	The applicant without registration or without holding a valid residence permit cannot score any points.
<u>Notes for the category</u>			
(1) Relevant certified documentary proofs are required. (2) If the applicant cannot score any points in this category, she or he cannot score in the subsequent categories.			
B. Personal quality			
Educational attainment	Junior secondary school	+5	The applicant can score in only one of the indicators in this category.
	Senior secondary school	+20	
	Part-time college	+30	
	Full-time college	+40	

	Part-time undergraduate degree	+50	
	Undergraduate degree or above	+60	
Professional qualification	Junior-level technician title	+10	The applicant can score in only one of the indicators in this category.
	Middle-level technician title	+20	
	Senior-level technician title	+30	
	Professional title equivalent to the associate professor level	+60	
Skill competence	Awards from national skill competitions organized by relevant authorities of Guangdong within the past 3 years	+30	In the case of multiple awards, the applicant can score only one award.
Scientific invention	Granting of a national-level patent for invention	+5	(1) If the patent is granted to a team in which the applicant is a member, the points assigned to the applicant will be calculated as 5 divided by the number of team members. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 30 points.
Award and honor	Awards and honors granted by the municipal government or the Guangdong government within the past 5 years	+60	In the case of multiple awards, the applicant can score only one award.
	Awards and honors granted by other prefecture-level municipal governments within the past 5 years	+5	(1) The applicant who holds a Guangdong agricultural <i>hukou</i> and who scores some points in the above award cannot score any points in this indicator. (2) The applicant who holds an agricultural <i>hukou</i> of other provinces rather than Guangdong cannot

			score any points in this indicator. (3) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
<u>Notes for the category</u>			
(1) The applicant can score only in one of the following sub-categories: professional qualification or professional title, skill competence and scientific invention. No points can be accumulated across these sub-categories. (2) Relevant certified documentary proofs are required.			
C. De facto residency			
Ownership of the property	Number of years owning the property	+2 per year	(1) The issuing date indicated in the property certificate is used as the starting point to calculate the number of years. (2) If the applicant owns more than one property, only one property will be considered for score. (3) The maximum score in this indicator is 20 points.
Period of abode	Number of years holding the Shenzhen residence permit	+1 per year	(1) The issuing date indicated in the applicant's residence permit is used as the starting point to calculate the number of years. (2) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
<u>Notes for the category</u>			
(1) The applicant can score only either in the sub-category of ownership of the property or in the sub-category of period of abode. (2) No points can be accumulated across the sub-categories. (3) Relevant certified documentary proofs are required.			
D. Contribution to social security program			
Participation in Shenzhen social security program	Number of years to contribute to social security program	+3 per year	The maximum score in these two indicators is 30 points.
	Number of years to contribute to	+1 per year	

	commercial insurance program		
Participation in social security program in other places of Guangdong	Number of years to contribute to social security program	+1 per year	(1) The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points. (2) The applicant who holds an agricultural <i>hukou</i> of other provinces rather than Guangdong cannot score any points in this indicator.
<u>Notes for the category</u>			
(1) The maximum score in this category is 30 points. (2) Relevant certified documentary proofs are required.			
E. Incentive offers			
Social contribution to Guangdong within the past 5 years	Donation of blood	+2 per case	The maximum score is 6 points in this indicator.
	Participation in voluntary services	+2 per reference unit	(1) 50 hours of service are taken as one reference unit. (2) The maximum score is 6 points in this indicator.
	Philanthropic donation	+2 per 1,000 <i>yuan</i>	The maximum score is 6 points in this indicator.
<u>Notes for this category</u>			
(1) The maximum score in this category is 10 points. (2) For the applicant who holds an agricultural <i>hukou</i> of Guangdong, social contribution must be made to Guangdong province. (3) For the applicant who holds an agricultural <i>hukou</i> of other provinces rather than Guangdong, social contribution must be made to Shenzhen municipality. (4) Relevant certified documentary proofs are required.			
F. Punishment			
Violation of family planning regulation	Each case of unpermitted birth	-100 minimum	(1) A 5-year ineligibility period for application is applied if the applicant receives any family-planning related punishment. (2) Upon the expiration of the ineligibility period, 100 points are deducted for the first case of violation and double points are deducted for the subsequent cases.

	Each case of non-marital birth or unregistered adoption	-50	
Crimes	A record of reeducation through labor camp within the past 5 years	-50	
	A record of imprisonment sentence within the past 5 years	-100	
	Participation in illegal organizations or illegal activities	-100	
Immoral record	One immoral record of personal credit in financial matter	-20	
<u>Notes for this category</u> Points deducted in this category must be accumulated.			

Source: General Office of Shenzhen Municipal Government (2010).

Table 5 The rating scheme for qualifying urban hukou in Guangzhou city, Guangdong province

Category/indicator		Point	Note for the category/indicator
A. Basic point			
Age	Under 35	+5	
	Aged 36-45	+2	
	Aged 46-55	+1	
Education and skill	Professional title equivalent to the associate professor level or above	+100	The applicant can only score in one of the indicators in this category.
	Ph.D.	+100	
	Master degree with a professional title equivalent to the assistant professor level	+100	
	Master degree	+90	
	Undergraduate degree with a professional title equivalent to the assistant professor level	+90	
	College education with a professional title equivalent to the assistant professor level	+80	
	Senior secondary school or vocational school education with a senior-level technician title	+80	
	College education	+60	

	Middle-level technician title	+60	
	Junior-level technician title (grade 3)	+50	
	Junior-level technician title (grade 4)	+30	
	Senior secondary education or equivalent	+20	
	Junior-level technician title (grade 5)	+10	
	Junior secondary school	+5	
Social security	Urban basic pension insurance	+1 per year	The maximum score in this category is 50 points.
	Urban basic medical insurance	+1 per year	
	Unemployment insurance	+1 per year	
	Work injury insurance	+1 per year	
	Maternity insurance	+1 per year	
Housing	Ownership of residential property in the city	+20	
B. City-oriented point			
Special industries and occupations	Industries and occupations in high demand	+10	
Sectors	Key development sectors designated by the city government	+10	
Regions	Key development regions designated by the city government	+10	
C. Bonus point			

Reputation of universities and institutions which awarded an applicant's degree	Key universities and institutions designated by the Ministry of Education, or universities on the "project 211" list, or universities on the "project 985" list, or key universities under the administration of the Guangdong government	+10	The "project 211" and the "project 985" refer to the central government's plan to strengthen a number of tertiary institutions and key disciplinary areas for the twenty-first century.
Harmony of employment relationship	Employees of the enterprises ranked AAA	+10	The ranking of enterprises is undertaken by the Municipal Bureau of Human Resources and Social Security.
	Employees of the enterprises ranked AA	+5	
	Employees of the enterprises ranked A	+3	
Contribution to social services within the past 5 years	Donation of blood	+2 per donation	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
	Voluntary services	+2 per 50 hours	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
	Philanthropic donation	+2 per 1,000 <i>yuan</i>	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
Award and honor	An award granted by authorities at the city level or above	+60 per award	The maximum score in this indicator is 120 points.
	An award granted by authorities at the district level	+30 per award	The maximum score in this indicator is 60 points.
Investment and tax payable	Amount of investment totaling over 5 million <i>yuan</i>	+20	The applicant can only score in one of the indicators in this category.
	Amount of tax payable totaling over 100,000 <i>yuan</i> in each of three consecutive fiscal years	+20	

Sources: Guangzhou Municipal Government (2010a; 2010b).

Table 6 The rating scheme for qualifying urban hukou in Dongguan city, Guangdong province

	Category/indicator	Point	Note for the category/indicator
A. Personal quality			
Education	Junior secondary school	+15	
	Senior secondary school or equivalent	+20	
	College	+60	
	A bachelor degree	+80	
	A master degree or above	+100	
Professional qualification	Junior-level technician title (grade 5)	+10	
	Junior-level technician title (grade 4)	+30	
	Middle-level technician title	+50	
	Senior-level technician title	+60	
	Professional title equivalent to the associate professor level or above	+80	
Occupational qualification	An award of a national registration certificate for special occupations	+50	
Social security	Urban basic pension insurance	+1 per year	The maximum score in this category is 50 points.
	Urban basic medical insurance	+1 per year	
	Unemployment insurance	+1 per year	

	Work injury insurance	+1 per year	
	Maternity insurance	+1 per year	
B. Contribution to the society			
Social services within the past 5 years	Donation of blood	+2 per donation	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
	Voluntary services	+2 per 50 hours	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
	Philanthropic donation	+2 per 1,000 <i>yuan</i>	The maximum score in this indicator is 10 points.
Award and honor	An award granted by authorities at the district level	+30 per award	The maximum score in this indicator is 60 points.
	An award granted by authorities at the city level or above	+60 per award	The maximum score in this indicator is 120 points.
C. Employment			
Period of employment in the municipality	Employment period less than 3 years	+1 per year	
	Employment period between 3 and 6 years	+2 per year	
	Employment period over 6 years	+3 per year	
D. De facto residency			
Period of abode	Residency period less than 3 years	+1 per year	
	Residency period between 3 and 6 years	+2 per year	
	Residency period over 6 years	+3 per year	
Regular dwelling	Ownership of residential property	+30	The family's living space per capita cannot be less than the threshold requirement of application for low-income housing

			in the city (18 sq. meters).
E. Investment and tax payable			
	Amount of investment	+2 per 100,000 <i>yuan</i>	The maximum score in this indicator is 30 points.
	Amount of tax payable	+2 per 5,000 <i>yuan</i>	The maximum score in this indicator is 30 points.
F. Incentive offer			
Scientific invention	Holding a patent or a principal investigator of an outstanding scientific project	+60	
Talent competition	A winner of a job-skill competition organized by relevant authorities at the city level or above	+60	
Family planning	Registration in the city's family planning system	+5	
	Implementation of long-term contraceptive measures	+5	
Regional factor	Application for settling down in the towns classified as type B	+15	The classification of towns is based on the level of economic development. Towns in type A are the most developed ones.
	Application for settling down in the towns classified as type C	+30	
	Applicants who come from the areas received economic aids from Dongguan as required by the upper level government	+30	
G. Punishment			
Violation of family planning	Any case of unpermitted birth	-100 min.	(1) A 5-year ineligibility period for application is applied if

regulation	Illegal marriage or illegal adoption	-50 per case	the applicant receives any family-planning related punishment. (2) Upon the expiration of the ineligibility period, 100 points are deducted for the first case of violation and double points are deducted for the subsequent cases.
Criminal activities	Surveillance under the law authority	-50 per case	
	Imprisonment sentence	-100 per case	

Sources: Dongguan Municipal Party-Government Joint Conference (2011a; 2011b).

Table 7 Weights of major variables in different points systems, 2010

Variable	Shanghai		Guangdong		Zhongshan		Shenzhen		Guangzhou		Dongguan	
	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM
		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
Positive weight												
Education	27	31	80	133.3	100	93.2	60	60.0	100	76.9	100	76.9
Job skill	15	17.2	60	100.0	90	76.3	60	60.0	80	61.5	80	61.5
Industry/occupation in demand	10	11.5	n/a	n/a	50	42.4	n/a	n/a	20	15.4	n/a	n/a
Awards received	10	11.5	120	120.0	50	42.4	60	60.0	60	46.2	60	46.2
Scientific invention	5	5.7	n/a	n/a	min.30	P.Q.	30	30.0	n/a	n/a	60	46.2
Social service	n/a	n/a	10	16.7	10	8.5	10	10.0	10	7.7	10	7.7
Donation	n/a	n/a	10	16.7	10	8.5	6	6.0	10	7.7	10	7.7
House ownership	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	8.5	20	20.0	20	15.4	30	23.1
Years of residence	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	min.2	P.Q.	10	10.0	n/a	n/a	18	13.8
Participation in social security program	n/a	n/a	50	83.3	20	16.9	30	30.0	50	38.5	50	38.5
Investment	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	min.1	P.Q.	n/a	n/a	20	15.4	30	23.1
Tax payable	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	min.1	P.Q.	n/a	n/a	20	15.4	30	23.1

Variable	Shanghai		Guangdong		Zhongshan		Shenzhen		Guangzhou		Dongguan	
	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM	MP	RVQM
		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
Age	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	4.2	5	5.0	5	3.9	n/a	n/a
Marital status	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	4.2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Negative weight												
Violation of family planning regulations	n/a	n/a	min.50	P.D.	min.200	P.D.	min.50	P.D.	n/a	n/a	min.50	P.D.
Criminal convictions	n/a	n/a	min.50	P.D.	min.40	P.D.	min.100	P.D.	n/a	n/a	min.100	P.D.

Notes: n/a = not available; MP = maximum points; P.Q. = possibly qualified; P.D. = possibly disqualified.