

# Urbanization with Chinese Characteristics

## --The Socio-political Transformation of the Chinese Metropolises in the Era of Reforms

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Urbanization is a key issue in China, in terms of either reviewing the country's development in the past two decades or discussing the opportunities and challenges in the way ahead for this great nation in this century. Therefore, it is of particular value to include China in the comparative study of political change in the metropolis coordinated by the International Metropolitan Observatory. However as China has applied different standards in collecting and presenting data on the urban areas, it is not so easy to follow the guideline to prepare the paper and more difficult to put the data in a comparative perspective. So the aim of author is rather modest: to lay down a foundation for further research within the IMO network.

In the first part, figures provided by the authoritative State Statistics Bureau will be used to analyze the urbanization process in the era of reform. It will be put in the context of the longer timeframe since the founding of the New China. The second part will proceed from this background to focus on the metropolitan areas, trying to apply the IMO definitions to the extent possible. It will be followed by an analysis of some features of metropolises in the last two parts.

### **I. China's Urbanization Process in the Recent Two Decades**

Since 1978, the year China initiated the reform and open-door policy, the pace of urbanization has been accelerated along with the rapid economic growth. As the number of rural and urban inhabitants, a main index of urbanization shows, the urban inhabitants made up 40.53 per cent of the whole population in 2003, an increase of 22.61 percentage points over 1978. In comparison, in 29 years from 1949 when the People's Republic was founded to 1978, the number of urban inhabitants increased by only 7.3 percentage points, see Table 1. To understand better the characteristics of the recent two decades, a review of the pre-reform era is necessary.

#### **1.1. An Assessment of the Situation Prior to 1978**

From 1949 to 1978, the ratio of urban inhabitants increased from 10.6% to 17.9% as Table 1 shows. Such slow rate was out of step with the notable process of industrialization. Lacking GDP figures for that period of time, the ratio of industrial output value in the combined agricultural and industrial output value can serve as an indicator of the pace of industrialization. It increased from 30% in 1949 to 72.2% in 1978. The unsynchronized paces of urbanization and industrialization were inseparable from China's then development strategy. It was found that in the 1950s about half of the increased urban inhabitants resulted from migration from the countryside while in the 1960s and 1970s the growth in urban population was mainly attributable to the natural increments with little to do with the urbanization.<sup>1</sup>

In the eight years after the Communist Party came to power in 1949, China's urban population increased from 57.65 million to 99.49 million, with an average annual rate of

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<sup>1</sup> Xu Dixin, ed., *The Contemporary China's Population*, (Beijing: China Science Science Press, 1988), p. 300 & p. 493.

7%. In comparison, the overall population growth rate was 2.2%. As a result, the ratio of the urban population to the total population increased from 10.6% to 15.4%. If this pace would have been maintained, China's current urbanization rate should not be lower than 40%.

In mid-1950s China pursued a heavy industry dominated development strategy. In order to accumulate for the industrialization, a cautious policy of urban expansion was adopted. The separate residence registration systems were introduced for the rural and urban areas that discouraged farmers from moving to cities. This policy has been reformed only recently.

**Table 1. Annual Number of the Rural and Urban Inhabitants in China Since 1949**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Population (Unit: 10,000)</b>	<b>Urban Inhabitants (Unit: 10,000)</b>	<b>Urban Inhabitants %</b>
1949	54167	5765	10. 6
1950	55196	6169	11. 2
1951	56300	6632	11. 8
1952	57482	7163	12. 5
1953	58796	7826	13. 3
1954	60266	8249	13. 7
1955	61465	8285	13. 5
1956	62828	9185	14. 6
1957	64653	9949	15. 4
1958	65994	10721	16. 2
1959	67207	12371	18. 4
1960	66207	13073	19. 7
1961	65859	12707	19. 3
1962	67295	11659	17. 3
1963	69172	11646	16. 8
1964	70499	12950	18. 4
1965	72538	13045	18. 0
1966	74542	13313	17. 9
1967	76368	13548	17. 7
1968	78534	13838	17. 6
1969	80671	14117	17. 5
1970	82992	14424	17. 4
1971	85229	14711	17. 3

1972	87177	14935	17. 1
1973	89211	15345	17. 2
1974	90859	15595	17. 2
1975	92420	16030	17. 3
1976	93717	16341	17. 4
1977	94974	16669	17. 6
1978	96259	17245	17. 9
1979	97542	79047	18. 96
1980	98705	19140	19. 39
1981	100072	20171	20. 16
1982	101654	21480	21. 13
1983	103008	22274	21. 62
1984	104357	24017	23. 01
1985	105851	25094	23. 71
1986	107507	26366	24. 52
1987	109300	27674	25. 32
1988	111026	28661	25. 81
1989	112704	29540	26. 21
1990	114333	30195	26. 41
1991	115823	31203	26. 94
1992	117171	32175	27. 46
1993	118517	33173	27. 99
1994	119850	34169	28. 51
1995	121121	35174	29. 04
1996	122389	37304	30. 48
1997	123626	39449	31. 91
1998	124761	41608	33. 35
1999	125786	43748	34. 78
2000	126743	45906	36. 22
2001	127627	48064	37. 66
2002	128453	50212	39. 09
2003	129227	52376	40. 53

Sources: The Statistics Bureau, *China Statistics Yearbook* (for these years) (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2004);  
The Statistics Report on the National Economic and Social Development 2003; China Popin Website,  
<http://www.cpirc.org.cn/index.asp>, accessed on May 15, 2005

## 1.2. The Post-1978 Urbanization Process

The urbanization in the recent two decades has been pushed forward by the rapid economic growth and relaxation of the rural-urban dual social structure. The boom in village and township enterprises brought about the following characteristic of urbanization: the rapid increase in the number of towns that absorbed labour released from farming. In 1980 the central government formulated the policy of “controlling the size of large cities, rationally developing the medium-sized cities and actively fostering the small cities.” Its implementation was accompanied by the new system of the prefectural-level city administering the counties. As a result, more than 100 county-level cities were upgraded to the prefectural-level cities from 1983 to 1998.<sup>2</sup> The number of towns increased from 2,173 in 1978 to 20,312 in 2000.

Due to the policy restrictions when China is transiting from the planned economy to the market economy, two phenomena of “*de facto* urbanization” and “semi-urbanization” have to be taken into account. The former refers to two categories of inhabitants: (1) those who live in cities for a fairly long time but have yet to acquire the urban residence registration; and (2) those who live in the countryside but engage in non-agricultural activities for a long time. The semi-urbanization is a description of the quality of town life that does not meet the normal standard of urban life. Quite a few of towns are rather small with little urban facilities. According to some scholars, a viable town needs at least 30,000 inhabitants. But an investigation finds that in the economically developed Jiangsu Province, the average population size of towns was 6770 inhabitants in 2000.<sup>3</sup>

With the economic reforms initiated in the late 1970s, economy has grown at the annual rate of near double digit for two decades. This would have resulted in the accelerated pace of urbanization. But, while the rural-urban dual social structure remained, the policy of “farmers’ shifting away from farming without leaving hometown” affected the natural development trend of urbanization.

According to the “World Development Report (1997) released by the World Bank, in 1995 China’s per capita GNP was US\$620 and the rate of urbanization was 30%. In the same year, the average urbanization rate of the 11 countries with the per capita GNP in the range of US\$500-730 was 42.5%. If calculated in the terms of parity purchasing power, China’s per capita GNP was US\$2,920 in 1995, when the average urbanization rate of the 19 countries with the per capita GNP in the range of US\$2,000-3,800 was 50.8%. In short, China’s urbanization rate deviates from the world standard by 12 to 21 percentage points.<sup>4</sup>

## II. The Prevalent Chinese Classification Criteria

The concept of the city in China is basically administrative centred that does not accurately reflect the level of urbanization nor a given area’s level of industrialization. For the latter, the more relevant indicators are the ratio of the non-agricultural population

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<sup>2</sup> Zhu Shouying, “Research on the Reform Issues in the Process of Urbanization” in *References on Economic Research*, Vol. 6, 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Xian Zhude, ed., *On the Construction of Small Towns and the Transfer of the Rural Labour*, (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2001), pp. 38 & 95.

<sup>4</sup> The Small Town Reform and Development Centre of the State Council Structural Reform Office, “The Outline on Sustainable Development of Cities and Towns in China in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, from the website of this center: <http://www.town.gov.cn> 09/13/2002, accessed on May 2, 2005.

to the total population, per capita GDP and the ratio of the non-agricultural sectors' contribution to the total GDP.

### 2.1. The Administrative Ranks of Cities

A special feature of classifying Chinese cities is the criterion of administrative rank besides that of population. There are four ranks:

a) Municipalities directly administered by the Central Government. There are four such municipalities of Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Chongqing. Their rank is equivalent to a province or an autonomous region;

b) Sub-provincial level cities. The latest available figure for 2002 is 15. They mainly fall into two categories of some provincial capitals like Nanjing and Shenyang or regional economic centers like Ningbo, Qingdao, Xiamen and Shenzhen. Their rank, half-grade between a province and a prefecture, allows these cities to receive special treatment by the central government comparable to provinces while the prefectural level cities are under the jurisdiction of a provincial government;

c) Prefectural level cities. They totaled 260 in 2002; and

d) County level cities. There were 381 in 2002. All first three kinds of cities can administer them.

The distribution of all kinds of cities according to the first tier of administrative division under the central government, namely the province, autonomous region or municipality, is shown in Table 2.

### 2.2. The Non-agricultural Population of Cities

The fact that the county-level cities can be administered by cities carrying a higher administrative rank explains why all these four kinds of cities have a relatively large portion of rural population and small percentage of the urban built-up area (i.e., the continuous built environment). In 2002, all 660 cities had a total population of 577.02 million and covered an area of 1.82 million square kilometers. But of them, only 244.30 million or 42.34% were registered as the non-agricultural and the urban built-up area totaled merely 30578.27 square kilometers or 1.68%.<sup>5</sup>

Table 2. Distribution of Chinese Cities According to Administrative Ranks in 2002  
(Excluding Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao)

Administrative Division	Total No.	Distributed according to the administrative ranks			
		Central Gov. led Municipalities	Sub-prov. Level Cities	Prefectural level Cities	County Level Cities
China	660	4	15	260	381

Source: China Urban Development Website; <http://chinacity.org.cn/content/tjzl/01.asp>; accessed on April 30, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> These figures are included in Table 3. This portion of data is based on the "Statistics of the Urban Population and Areas of the Country's 660 Cities in 2002" in China Urban Development Website; <http://chinacity.org.cn/content/tjzl/01.asp>; accessed on April 30, 2005.

Until recently, under the rural-urban dual social structure or two insulated loops, farmers were discouraged to move to cities. The relatively low growth of cities was accompanied with a low threshold for the status of a city. The central government stipulated in 1955 that a place with a settlement of 100,000 people or more could become a city. This requirement was even lowered to places with important plants and mines or trading centers. In 1986, the central government added an economic indicator to the criteria. Of the two cases under which a county could be converted into a city, for example, one was that a county with a population of half million or more could do so if the seat of county government had a non-agricultural population of 120,000 or more and the county's annual GNP exceeded 400 million yuan (40 million EURO). As a result, the areas that cities cover have expanded rapidly and the urban population calculated according to such administrative cities cannot reflect the actual distribution of population in the rural and urban areas. The international organizations including the United Nations and the World Bank have suspended publishing statistics on China's urban population since 1982.<sup>6</sup>

Table 3. The Distribution of Chinese Urban Inhabitants in Municipal Districts in 2002 (Excluding Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao)

	Total no. of cities	In groups of inhabitants in the municipal districts					
		+4 m.	2-4 m.	1-2 m	0.5-1 m.	0.2-0.5 m.	-0.2 m.
China	660	10	23	138	279	171	39

Source: China Urban Development Website; <http://chinacity.org.cn/content/tjzl/01.asp>; accessed on April 30, 2005.

While the urban population figures tended to be over estimated in the past, in recent years they have been under estimated, especially for medium-sized and large cities. Since the implementation of the reform and open-door policy in the late 1970s, ever increasing number of villagers has migrated to work in cities, especially in large ones. This is due to, on the one hand, the economic boom, which has created more jobs and, on the other hand, the availability of many socialized welfare benefits such as housing, education, and medical insurance, which has no longer linked to the urban residence registration. But these migrant workers and their families are usually not included in the urban census, ignoring the fact that they live and work in cities. The census remains based on the somewhat outdated rural or urban residence registration system. Further, the cities do include the migrant workers' contribution in their total GDP. This further complicates the calculation of urban per capita GDP.

<sup>6</sup> "Cities" in Wikipedia, <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%9F%8E%E5%B8%82>, accessed on May 5, 2005.

Table 4. Distribution of Chinese Cities According to Administrative Ranks and the IMO Definition in 2002 (Excluding Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao)

Province	Total	IMO	I	IMO	II	IMO	III	IMO	IV	IMO
China	660	338	4	4	15	15	260	214	381	105
Beijing	1	1	1	1						
Tianjin	1	1	1	1						
Hebei	33	11					11	11	22	0
Shanxi	22	7					10	7	12	0
Inner Mongolia	20	10					7	6	13	4
Liaoning	31	18			2	2	12	12	17	4
Jilin	28	15			1	1	7	7	20	7
Heilongjiang	31	18			1	1	11	10	19	7
Shanghai	1	1	1	1						
Jiangsu	40	33			1	1	12	11	27	21
Zhejiang	33	9			2	2	9	7	22	0
Anhui	22	14					17	14	5	0
Fujian	23	12			1	1	8	7	14	4
Jiangxi	21	10					11	9	10	1
Shandong	48	34			2	2	15	15	31	17
Henan	38	17					17	17	21	0
Hubei	36	21			1	1	11	11	24	9
Hunan	29	12					13	12	16	0
Guangdong	47	38			2	2	19	19	26	17
Guangxi	21	7					14	7	7	0
Hainan	8	2					2	1	6	1
Chongqing	5	4	1	1					4	3
Sichuan	32	14			1	1	17	12	14	1
Guizhou	13	5					4	4	9	1
Yunan	16	3					6	2	10	1
Tibet	2	0					1	0	1	0
Shaanxi	13	6			1	1	9	5	3	0
Gansu	14	3					10	3	4	0
Qinghai	3	1					1	1	2	0
Ningxia	6	2					4	2	2	0
Xinjiang	22	9					2	2	20	7

Note: I – Municipality under the Central Government  
 II – Sub-provincial level city  
 III – Prefectural level city  
 IV – County level city

Calculated based on the figures in *China Urban Statistics Yearbook 2003*  
 (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2004)

According to the number of non-agricultural population, China divides cities into four categories:

--small cities with a non-agricultural population below 200,000;

--medium-sized cities with a non-agricultural population between 200,000 and 500,000;

--large cities with a non-agricultural population above 500,000;

--extraordinarily large cities with a non-agricultural population above 1 million.

In light of this standard, grouping of the Chinese cities is shown in Table 3.

### **III. The Main Characteristics of China's Metropolitan Areas**

Taking these specialties of the Chinese cities in mind, we can try to analyze them in light of the IMO guideline.

#### **3.1. The Relationship Between the Administrative Rank and Population Size of Cities**

There will be little problem to include the large and extraordinarily large cities in this research as they actually have more *de facto* permanent urban inhabitants when migrant workers are counted. Some medium-sized cities may not qualify our definition of metropolitan areas with populations of 200,000 or more because of China's criterion of a county-level city, where even non-agricultural population is scattered outside of the urban built-up area.

This becomes evident when comparing Table 3 and 4. Simply deducting 39 cities with populations below 200,000, China would have 621 cities meeting the requirement of this research. (It should be noted, there are eight cities each with a population between 191,000 and 199,400 among these 39 cities.) Should they be the targets of our research? We have reasons to question it as we find it necessary to exclude the non-agricultural population in the counties from that of the cities at and above the prefectural levels that administer these counties. This is because a sizable number of non-agricultural populations in such counties live outside of the urban built-up area, i.e., the central town. Then can we presume that all cities carrying an administrative rank at and above the prefectural level quality IMO criterion? As can be expected that all municipalities directly under the central government and sub-provincial level cities meet this criterion. The cases are complicated with the last two kinds of cities. A minority (17.69%) of the prefectural level cities and the majority (72.44%) of county level cities are disqualified. In short, when we count the non-agricultural populations in the urban built-up area only, the number of cities meeting our definition drops to 338, which should be the object of our research.

#### **3.2. The Basic Statistics of the Metropolises**

Some basic data of these 338 Chinese metropolises are presented in Table 5, which is put at the end of the paper for its length. In 2002, 30.41 per cent of the Chinese lived in metropolises. Of them 48.28% were rural inhabitants by the residence registration system and 16.75% were employed. The metropolises contributed 59.33% of China's GDP. Their per capita GDP was 195% of the national average. Each metropolis occupied an area of 2394 square kilometres on average, of which only 2.74% were built up. The average density of all metropolises was 482 persons per square kilometre while that of their central cities was 9126.7 persons per square kilometre.

It is important to keep in mind at least two factors when explaining these figures. Firstly, some non-agricultural population may live outside of the urban built-up areas.



Secondly, a sizable population without urban residence registration lives and works in cities on a *de facto* permanent basis is normally not included. More work is needed to adjust the figures by taking these factors into consideration.

### 3.3. The Distribution of Chinese Cities in Different Regions

A closer look at Table 3 reveals that 13 provinces and municipalities in Eastern China have 193 cities or 57.1% of the total. Further, three of four municipalities and 12 of 15 sub-provincial level cities locate in this region. Whereas there are only 81 cities or 24% of the total in Central China and Western China has the remaining 64 cities or 18.9%. It is more telling if the number is compared to each region's areas: East China covers only 14.2% of China's territory in contrast to West China's 56.5%. The Central China occupies the remaining 29.2%.<sup>7</sup> This partly shows the general picture of enlarging gap between the three regions in terms of economic and social development since the initiation of the reform and opening-up policy in 1978. While all regions have benefited from the reform, the eastern region on the coast has developed at a faster pace due the preferential policy, better invest environment and higher quality of human resources.

From 1949 to 1978, China's cities increased slowly in quantity and the pace of urbanization in the coastal areas in East China was particularly slow. In the period 1949-57, the average increase in the number of cities in the east was less than one-quarter of that in the west and less than one-fifth of that in Central China. In the period 1958-78, the number of cities in East China decreased by 2.04%.

Since 1978, while the number of cities has been increased quickly for the county as a whole, the east has surpassed the centre and west in growth. Since 1990, the economically developed coast areas in the east have entered the stage of high-speed urbanization. The population in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou has each increased by one million in 10 years. The latest census in 2001 reveals, the urban population in Guangdong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Liaoning Provinces has increased by 15 percentage points over the previous census. Their urbanization rate has approached or exceeded 50%.

The gap between these regions is also reflected in the income of urban residents. Before 1978, there was little difference between regions and because of the subsidies provided to workers in the west, the wages were slightly higher there than other regions. In the recent few years, the government has taken measures to help the central and western regions. The effect of such policies has become evident. The province with the highest per capita income versus that with the lowest reduced from 2001's 2.45:1 (Shanghai; Henan) to 2.23:1 (Shanghai; Guizhou) in 2002. The ratio between the average per capita income of the top five provinces and that of the five lowest decreased from 2.03:1 in 2001 to 1.92:1 in 2002. The top five provinces in terms of per capita income are all in the east: Shanghai (13250 yuan or 1325 EURO); Beijing (12463 yuan); Zhejiang (11716 yuan); Guangdong (11137 yuan) and Tianjin (9338 yuan). The bottom five

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<sup>7</sup> According to the division made by the central government in 1985, the Eastern China includes 13 provinces (municipalities) of Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Shandong, Guangdong and Hainan. The Central China comprises six provinces: Shanxi, Anhui, Jiangxi, Henan, Hubei and Hunan. The remaining 12 provinces (municipality or autonomous regions) locate in the Western China: Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, Chongqing, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Tibet, Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang. For political and economic reasons, Jilin and Heilongjiang Provinces have been put in a special category in recent years to receive special attention of the central government while the Inner Mongolia, geographically belongs to Central China, is reclassified to the west in order for it to benefit from the policy to develop the western region.

provinces are Guizhou (5944 yuan) ; Anhui (6032 yuan) ; Inner Mongolia (6051 yuan) ; Ningxia (6067 yuan) and Heilongjiang (6100 yuan) .

### **3.4. The Internal Differences in City Residents' Income**

Before 1978, the difference in average income of residents among large and medium-sized cities was negligible. The gap had been increasing until recently and has seen a slower pace of enlargement in the past two years thanks to the government's policy measures. The ratio between the five cities whose residents' average income is highest and the five lowest was 2.19:1 in 2002 compared to 2.37:1 in 2001. In particular, 35 large and medium-sized cities chosen as the national samples saw apparent increases in residents' income, amounting to 9,422 yuan annually, 1719 yuan higher than the national average. There were eight cities with average per capita income exceeding 10,000 yuan. They are Shenzhen (21,914 yuan); Guangzhou (13,361 yuan) ; Shanghai (13,250 yuan); Ningbo (12,970 yuan); Beijing (12,464 yuan); Xiamen (11,768 yuan); Hangzhou (11,432 yuan); Jinan (10,094 yuan) . The bottom five cities are Xining (6,433 yuan) ; Lanzhou (6,555 yuan) ; Yinchuan (6,845 yuan) ; Changchun (6,963 yuan) and Hohhot (6,996 yuan) .

However, the gap between the high and low income social strata within cities has continued to increase. According to a survey, 10% highest income families had an average per capita disposable income of 17,353 yuan in 2002, an increase of 2,238 yuan or 14.8% over the previous year. While the figures for the 10% lowest income families were 3,003 yuan, an increase of 200 yuan or 7.1%. Therefore, the ratio between the two groups continued to increase from 5.4:1 in 2001 to 5.8:1 in 2002.<sup>8</sup>

### **3.5. Suburbanization has Occurred in Some Metropolises while their Central Cities have kept Booming**

A survey of Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Guangzhou has found that their population is growing quickly and territory expanding rapidly. While there has been a population flow from the city centres to the nearby suburbs, the central city has not experienced decay.

Let's have a closer look at Beijing. In 2002, Beijing had 11.36 million permanent inhabitants, roughly equivalent to non-agricultural populations, an increased of 0.91 million over 1992, see Table 6. For the same period of time, the density increased from 620 person per square kilometres to 675. Also in this period, changes in Beijing's composing districts and counties are revealing. While the number of districts in the central city and near suburbs remained unchanged, six counties were converted into districts in its farther suburbs to increase the number of such districts to eight. Accordingly, the number of counties reduced from eight to two. This means more built up area of the city. The city's inhabitants increased by 8.7% and the density 23.39%. While the inhabitants in the central city decreased by only 5.36%, the increase of 22.37% in its near suburbs was impressive. So was the increase in density (22.39%) in the near suburbs. The changes in farther districts and counties are mainly due to their re-grouping.

Until the new "Municipal General Zoning Plan" published last year that called to the suspension of demolition of the old residential areas, rebuilding of the old neighbourhoods in the central city had been going on for more than a decade while new satellite cities have been developed. But such changes do not correspond to the

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<sup>8</sup> Xinhuanet, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/zhengfu/2003-11/14/content\\_1178417.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/zhengfu/2003-11/14/content_1178417.htm); accessed on May 6, 2005.

archetypical pattern of “suburbanization” in North America urban regions in that different income groups mix in both central city and satellite cities. And in general, the average housing price in the central city is about 240% of that in the near suburbs and 300% of that in the farther suburbs.

Table 6. Changes in the Number of Inhabitants and Density in Beijing’s Component Districts (1992-2002)

Sub-divisions	Inhabitant (unit: 10,000)		Density	
	1992	2002	1992	2002
Beijing	1044.9	1136.3	620	765
<b>A. Central City</b>	<b>242.9</b>	<b>240.6</b>	<b>27620</b>	<b>27552</b>
Dongcheng District	64.5	63.8	26111	25847
Xicheng District	77.7	78.6	25910	26415
Chongwen District	43.1	41.2	27125	25625
Xuanwu District	57.6	56.6	33463	34027
<b>B. Near Suburbs</b>	<b>366.6</b>	<b>448.6</b>	<b>2850</b>	<b>3488</b>
Chaoyang District	131.7	157.4	2798	3343
Fengtai District	71.7	84.8	2358	2787
Shijingshan District	29.9	33.8	3517	3988
Haidian District	133.3	172.6	3130	4051
<b>C. Farther Suburbs</b>	<b>99.6</b>	<b>377.8</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>340</b>
Mentougou District	25.1	23.5	188	177
Fangshan District	74.5	74.8	399	401
Changping District*	41.1	44.5	287	311
Shunyi District*	53.1	54.4	541	555
Tongzhou District*	59.0	60.7	678	698
Daxing District*	49.7	54.1	491	534
Pinggu District*	38.2	39.1	355	364
Huairou District*	25.5	26.9	100	104
<b>D. Counties</b>	<b>335.8</b>	<b>69.3</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>161</b>
Miyun County	42.3	42.2	181	180
Yanqing County	26.9	27.1	136	137

● These are new districts converted from counties.  
Source: *Beijing Yearbook* (1994 & 2004)

Statistics show that the Xicheng District’s average ordinary housing price (11,744 yuan per square metres) is highest, followed by the Dongcheng District (11,036 yuan), Chongwen (7,571 yuan), Chaoyang District (7,436 yuan) and Xuanwu District (7,199 yuan). Except the Chaoyang District, the other four are within the old city wall. The Chaoyang District hosts the city’s Central Business District, diplomatic zones and main new residential zones like Wangjing Residential Zone. The lowest unit price is in Yanqing County (1,557 yuan) in the far north bordering Hebei Province.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> “The Guiding Prices of the New Housing for the Second Half of 2004 in Beijing” in Window on the Capita Website [http://www.beijing.gov.cn/zhuanti/jj/fangchan/fcpdty/fccsgh/t20050318\\_219204.htm](http://www.beijing.gov.cn/zhuanti/jj/fangchan/fcpdty/fccsgh/t20050318_219204.htm) accessed on May 15, 2005; original source: Beijing Municipal Construction Committee Website, published on March 18, 2005.

Currently, China's per capita GNP is only US\$1,000. Considering the fact that the sub-urbanization became prevalent in Western Europe and North America when the per capita GNP was around US\$4,000, it will still take some time before large Chinese cities encounter large-scale sub-urbanization.

#### **IV. The Enhanced Community Identity: A Basis for Political Participation**

As to the political participation of residents in local affairs, some conditions have to be considered. Firstly, a community identity needs to be fostered among residents. Secondly, the role and functions of government should be shifted to the provision of public service. The two factors are inter-related. China's administrative system was established in accordance to the planned economy. Inner city division is usually two levels for municipalities and sub-provincial level cities while one level for the prefectural-level and county-level cities. For example, there are municipal and district two levels of government in Beijing and Nanjing. But the district government has dispatched offices at street level. They are not a level of government according to the constitution, but actually administer the neighbourhood committees, which are an autonomous organization of residents. The guiding and functioning principle of the neighbourhood committee is "self-management, self-educating and self-servicing" by the residents. The neighbourhood committee should be elected by the residents for day-to-day management of the community following the decision made by the residents' assembly. But to date most committees are under the administrative control of the street offices. This has discouraged the initiatives of the residents, resulting in low rate of the community identity on the part of residents.

Many neighbourhoods are working unit based, meaning the apartment buildings belonging to the factory, school or office. Therefore the residents do not need to take care of communal affairs as the employing units manage them. The residents identify themselves with the working units rather than the neighbourhood. In the reform era, new communities developed by the real estate firms have outnumbered such neighbourhoods. They have fostered community identity among the property owners. The relaxation in the urban residence registration system has allowed non-local residents to purchase the housing in cities including Beijing and Shanghai.

As a result, experiments have been carried out on the direct and competitive elections of the neighbourhood committees in Nanjing, Beijing, Ningbo, Xiamen and Guangxi Autonomous Regions. Some cities have adjusted the role and functions of the district governments by withdrawing from the direct management of the community affairs. Xiamen City, for example, has clarified the government functions at the neighbourhood level and returning the pure community affairs to the hands of neighbourhood committees. Residents have shown more interest in community affairs as manifested in the high turn out rate (normally more than 90%) of the elections and assemblies.

The democratic development at the community level has influenced the local government. China has introduced direct elections of the deputies to the People's Congress at the district and county levels since the 1982 amendment to the constitution. These basic level People's Congresses elect deputies to the municipal, provincial and national congresses. To date the local electoral district is normally working unit based. The workers and employees vote in their working location rather than the communities where they live. The migrant workers from the countryside in most cases cannot take part in the local elections. As few of them go back to vote in the village committee elections

where they keep their rural residence registration, most migrant workers and their families actually do not have place to exercise their right to vote. Because of the same reason, most of them even do not show any identity toward the district or city where they live and work.

In recent years, some cities have reformed the electoral system by dividing the electoral districts based on the residence, allowing those migrant workers to register and permitting the independent candidates to contest the elections. In the last elections of the deputies to the local People's Congresses in Beijing and Shenzhen in 2003, some citizens stood for elections as independent candidates and got elected. This is new event as normally the working units nominate the candidates and to some extent the voters play a role of endorsing the officially recommended candidates.

The shift of identity to the community and the introduction of the direct and competitive local elections, coupled with the further stratification of the Chinese society, mean that in the near future it is more interesting to analyze the consequences of metropolitization for the political behaviour of citizens.

Table 5. Basic Statistics on 338 Chinese Metropolises in 2002

Unit: Population in 10,000;  
Areas in square kilometers

Cities	total population	Non-agricultural	the employed	GDP	Per capita GDP	total area	Built-up area	Density of cities	Density of central cities
All cities	39065.33	20204.4	6543.84	607531300	15551.7	809210.1	22137.7	258	604
Beijing (1)	1067	787.5	467.4	31245124	29283	12484	1006	676	7878
Tianjin (1)	752.21	514.53	174.57	18192805	24260	7418	454	771	1014
Hebei (12)	1146.75	817.32	256.66	21293036	18568.2	4931	782	356	2326
Shijiazhuang	204.96	197.1	55.5	5101126	25508	456	118	570	4495
Tangshan	292.75	149.82	48.81	5448609	18663	1182	152	522	2477
Qinhuangdao	72.01	54.91	20.48	2119823	29861	363	77	346	1984
Hangdan	137.1	109.78	37.14	2012568	14828	434	99	705	3159
Xingtai	54.62	48.97	14.26	668818	12381	132	42	532	4138
Baoding	92.02	66.61	21.27	1643879	18156	312	75	484	2949
Zhangjiakou	85.26	68.83	19.82	1392416	16416	819	77	122	1041
Chengde	44.76	33	10.66	676530	15303	708	38	91	632
Changzhou	47.52	37.14	11.2	677829	14298	183	34	477	2597
Lanfang	72.67	27.79	9.03	928700	12850	292	43	597	2489
Hengshui	43.08	23.37	8.49	622738	14547	50	27	466	8616
Shanxi (7)	702.98	476.06	175.61	8556996	12172.5	8406	446	203	573
Taiyuan	245.65	197.02	72.91	3648816	15051	1460	177	461	1683

Yangquan	64.3	48.73	16.73	820311	12791	686	42	274	937
Changzhi	65.76	48.42	16.85	995927	15193	334	45	229	1969
Jinzhong	52.46	26.24	8.81	404823	7736	1327	27	185	395
Yuncheng	61.5	20.41	6.54	380789	6226	1203	30	228	511
Linfen	75.58	32.37	11.72	530600	7098	1316	38	202	574
Neimengu (10)	653.68	448.21	121.71	8741340	13372.5	49351.4	499.6	30	258
Huhehaote	109.58	82.64	29.33	2342930	21054	2054	120	124	533
Baotou	140.71	116.66	33.16	2867998	16589	2969	150	75	474
Wuhai	41.2	35.19	9.77	513994	12338	1685	56	245	245
Chifeng	112.8	49.2	13.3	899483	7974	7012	40	49	161
Tongliao	79.52	32.7	9.92	765132	9647	3212	29	52	248
Hulunbeier	24.97	22.62	4.42	257826	10384	1440	28	?	?
Yakeshi	40.4	39.9	2.99	204113.7	5052.32	27730	13		
Wulanhaote	28.3	22.2	9.45	235007.3	8304.14	781.4			
Jining	25.5	22.7	3.51	253600.6	9945.12	114	45		
Linhe	50.7	24.4	5.86	401255	7914.3	2354	18.6		
Liaoning (18)	2037.83	1502.31	405.1	42612412	20910.7	26324	1406	281	1155
Shenyang	488.66	399.55	102.73	12007666	24545	3495	249	531	1398
Dalian	273.23	218.16	71.8	10689387	39328	2415	248	444	1131
Wafangdian	103	30	3.36	1080108	10486.49	3794	24		
Anshan	145.54	128.65	38.56	4161312	28592	624	134	373	2332
Haicheng	111.8	23.3	3.92	2049952	18335.89	2732	25		
Fushun	138.98	124.36	28.09	2031047	14564	714	118	201	1946
Benxi	96.32	83.42	22.68	1440196	14030	1308	107	186	736
Dandong	76.01	60.2	13.18	899005	11801	834	51	159	911
Jinzhou	84.51	70.3	19.31	1235957	14326	440	60	298	1921
Yingkou	68.12	52.9	13.53	870994	12786	648	73	423	1051
Fuxin	78.37	69.04	15.38	606029	7714	448	49	186	1749
Liaoyang	71.38	58.69	14.65	1093783	11099	560	77	384	1275
Panjin	56.28	49.52	20.92	2360774	53193	266	52	304	2116
Tieling	43.25	33.3	10.03	395690	9022	643	41	231	674
Chaoyang	47.36	31.49	8.56	374563	1226	557	28	170	850
Beipiao	61.7	20.2	2.46	145158	2352.64	4545	14		
Hludao	93.32	49.23	15.94	1170791	12633	2301	56	260	406
Jilin (15)	1169.44	756.24	184.59	17876467	15286.3	49555	656	166	583
Changchun	303.94	228.38	72.05	8473666	28154	3603	169	346	844
Jilin	178.9	124.23	27.91	2973350	16430	3636	136	159	492
Jiaohe	47	21	2.90	432915	9210.96	6364	13		
Huadian	44.9	23.3	3.53	594022	13229.89	6542			
Shulan	67.3	25	5.71	572677	8509.32	4557	25		

Siping	50.85	50.85	8.75	535326	14459	407	38	232	1249
Gongzhuling	104	29.5	6.77	704167	6770.84	4058	22		
Liaoyuan	44.7	38.84	7.49	356775	7982	206	36	242	2170
Tonghua	45.43	39.28	7.74	508780	11226	761	39	149	597
Meihekou	62	25.7	3.70	503716	8124.45	2174	40		
Baishan	32.99	26.11	7.22	350217	10615	1388	24	76	238
Songyuan	51.24	31.51	9.22	653740	12811	1100	32	132	466
Baicheng	47.99	27.54	7.48	345198	5704	1864	33	78	257
Yanji	39.9	36	8.19	489878	12277.64	1350	32		
Dunhua	48.3	29	5.93	382040	7909.73	11545	17		
Heilongjiang(18)	1609.75	1102.15	352.97	27021462	16786.1	93930.3	2995.4	94	192
Haerbin	311.77	273.51	158.47	7158983	22963	1660	214	179	1878
Echeng	65.2	21.2	8.25	859117	13176.64	2814	17.6		
Shangzhi	61.6	25.4	4.78	743001	12061.7	8824.9	10		
Wuchang	95.6	24.3	5.32	549664	5749.62	7501.4	52		
Qiqihaer	143.85	112.53	28.94	1464611	10177	4365	103	132	330
Jixi	91.87	75.76	13.51	586521	6401	2300	73	87	399
Hegang	69.12	59.31	12.23	421384	6076	4551	58	76	152
Shuangyashan	50.67	43.66	8.57	507147	10133	1767	59	67	287
Daqing	114.91	87.93	36.48	9748817	85578	5107	144	120	225
Yichun	84.31	80.06	18.09	589473	6981	19566	157	40	43
Tieli	39.6	30.2	3.42	221190	5585.61	6444	1808		
Jiamusi	82.39	59.03	15.29	909691	11022	1875	55	74	439
Qitaihe	48.95	31.89	9.92	525552	10707	1767	67	139	277
Mudanjiang	80.45	66.07	14.5	997852	12320	1351	59	67	595
Hailin	44	28.2	4.32	286531	6512.07	9836	9.6		
Beian	47.7	29.4	3.17	122505	2568.24	7126	17.6		
Suihua	86.06	28.6	3.28	452535	5256	2743	23	157	314
Zhaodong	91.7	25.1	4.43	876888	9562.57	4332	68.6		
Shanghai (1)	1270.22	1003.08	343.03	53462740	42089	5299	550	2104	2397
Jiangsu (33)	4173.58	1718.06	472.8	85014466	20369.7	46283.2	1867.7	707	1123
Nanjing	480.35	323.14	89.97	11973437	24706	4729	439	855	1016
Wuxi	215.92	131.87	37.22	9289291	43307	1623	176	916	1330
Jiangyin	115.7	22.8	8.9	4100295	35439.02	987.5	46.9		
Yixing	106.9	24.7	5.37	2240149	20955.56	2177.4	33.5		
Xuzhou	164.55	121.09	35.04	3550223	21707	1038	82	803	1585
Xinyi	96.6	20.66	4.91	589613	6103.65	1571	22.2		
Pizhou	156.6	35.24	6.00	808834	5164.97	2088	20.8		
Changzhou	214.63	108.58	27.37	5604487	26744	1864	91	785	1151
Liyang	78.4	34.07	5.15	1021183	13025.29	1535	13.6		

Suzhou	212.4	121.6	34.17	7271525	34475	1650	129	688	1287
Changshu	103.6	20.2	9.89	3650132	35232.93	1094	67.9		
Zhangjiagang	85.3	26.8	8.26	3650218	42792.71	772.4	29.3		
Kunshan	60.7	24	13.61	3143412	51786.03	864.9	24.2		
Wujiang	76.9	22.1	6.88	2345583	30501.73	1092.9	67.9		
Nantong	81.23	56.47	20.42	2078833	25863	355	78	975	2288
Qidong	115.1	25.44	5.30	1379458	11984.87	1208	10		
Rugao	144.6	22.4	5.62	848914	5870.77	1492	17.4		
Tongzhou	129.2	37.59	5.46	1440062	11145.99	1166	11.2		
Haimen	102.8	36.56	5.56	1467587	14276.14	939	10.4		
Lianyungang	64.74	53.62	14.16	1284788	19981	898	61	619	721
Huaiian	266.58	74.79	21.13	2133912	8036	3171	75	514	841
Yancheng	64.97	41.92	11.89	844354	12977	423	47	531	1536
Dongtai	116.4	20	5.90	1177019	10111.85	2267	18.6		
Yangzhou	110.76	54.82	18.73	2567150	23293	980	54	682	1130
Gaoyou	83.2	21.5	4.25	612185	7357.99	1962	11		
Jiangdu	107.2	27.6	5.64	1209300	11280.78	1330	18.2		
Zhenjiang	100.04	59.73	18.84	2464483	24697	1082	72	694	925
Danyang	80.4	22.37	5.82	1703095	21182.77	1047.4	22		
Taizhou	61.31	31.23	9.82	1411975	23170	428	46	870	1432
Xinghua	155.2	26.9	5.30	913138	5883.62	2393	14.2		
Jingjiang	66.5	20.4	6.34	844030	12692.18	664.8	12.8		
Taixing	128.8	24.3	7.41	1150185	8930.01	1253.9	15.6		
Suqian	26	23.57	2.47	245616	9520	136	30	600	1912
Zhejiang (9)	1276.84	531.67	179.75	35550071	27842.2	12775	808	438	909
Hangzhou	387.01	205.98	67.47	13668231	35664	3068	256	384	1261
Ningbo	203.41	86.43	32.85	6656457	40853	1033	102	583	1969
Wenzhou	132.06	57.34	24.63	4596047	34892	1187	113	627	1113
Jiaxing	79.45	31.28	10.32	1663150	20978	968	51	849	821
Huzhou	107.68	35.15	7.15	2004196	18626	1567	56	442	687
Shaoxing	61.15	34.73	9.05	1488830	24593	344	40	525	1778
Jinhua	91.98	27.43	6.79	1208071	13179	2044	54	411	450
Zhoushan	69.1	25.33	8.68	1011424	14638	1028	50	679	672
Taizhou	145	28	12.81	3253665	22529	1536	86	584	944
Anhui (14)	1439.89	672.74	200.56	13218640	9180.3	17654	790	456	650
Hefei	146.5	117	33.31	3123456	21962	596	148	598	2458
Wuhu	67.09	56.7	18.35	1566926	23570	230	77	668	2917
Bengbu	78.53	55.33	13.68	925027	11882	456	55	577	1722
Huainan	140.84	87.78	24.23	1145340	8175	1091	79	991	1291
Manshan	55.12	44.35	15.4	1264954	23412	301	44	724	1831



Huaibei	81.71	62.93	22.82	829443	10230	326	43	738	2506
Tongling	38.37	32.3	11.42	729908	19022	280	33	632	1370
Anqing	58.79	38.47	13.42	762074	13031	466	33	392	1262
Chuzhou	50.1	21.14	6.77	407158	5240.13	1404	21	318	357
Fuyang	181.77	38.73	11.53	442073	7188.18	1796	48	918	1012
Suzhou	140.1	28.7	9.57	282776	3831.65	2868	63	570	488
Chaohu	85.42	32.06	6.09	633986	7450	2031	50	482	421
Luan	175.56	31.53	8.02	412164	2350	3583	46	371	490
Bozhou	139.99	25.72	5.95	693319	4973	2226	50	639	629
Fujian (12)	1192.93	581.47	202.03	20879069	17502.3	16418.7	437.5	271	594
Fuzhou	157.64	138.73	44.71	5333686	34125	1043	102	499	1511
Fuqing	120.2	29.31	10.28	2293207	19078.26	1932	20		
Xiamen	137.16	96.3	52.7	2293207	19078.26	1565	94	876	876
Putian	200.81	48.95	17.23	1818195	9058	145	28	738	998
Saming	27.95	27.95	7.5	643386	23027	1178	18	117	237
Quanzhou	96.33	49.77	24.37	574174	17999.18	530	49	607	1818
Jinjiang	102.1	29.64	13.13	3281609	32141.13	721.7	15.4		
Nanan	147.7	46.34	6.99	1701125	11517.43	2036	31.5		
Zhangzhou	51.44	35.68	8.71	1075385	35846.17	401	25	359	1283
Nanping	49.29	27.28	6.2	1091957	13963.64	2660	20	116	185
Longyan	46.01	29.92	8.45	363606	12039.93	2681	27	151	172
Fuding	56.3	21.60	1.76	409532	7274.1	1526	7.6		
Jiangxi (10)	857.2	416.33	123.87	7652385	8927.2	13877	368.5	253	682
Nanchang	180.99	141.98	42.99	3918905	22035	563	85	606	3215
Jingdezhen	41.76	33.55	7.52	601151	14510	423	35	280	987
Pingxiang	78.89	37.63	10.06	416223	5363.7	1090	51	461	724
Jiujiang	54.08	41.15	11.23	1134111	20971	699	48	242	774
Xinyu	77.49	27.92	22.33	158302	3724.75	1786	32	340	434
Ganzhou	49.92	31.97	6.64	151000	8340	479	31	208	1042
Ji an	51.16	22.2	4.24	204400	3423.79	1339	22	181	382
Yichun	95.54	23.11	5.8	76602	5072.98	2532	23	278	377
Fengcheng	126.4	29.3	5.51	488391	3863.85	2845	11.5		
Fuzhou	100.97	27.52	7.55	503300	4914	2121	30	196	476
Shandong(34)	4168.42	1724.22	602.89	59079899	14173.2	60531.2	1707.6	580	790
Jinan	327.55	234.6	66.15	9305137	28958	3257	190	703	1006
Zhangqiu	98.9	22.77	66.21	1279312	12935.41	1855	18.5		
Qingdao	241.74	193.02	66.21	1279312	12935.41	1349	133	655	1792
Jiaozhou	76.3	26.74	11.59	1512940	19828.83	1313	25.8		
Jimo	107.5	25.9	8.82	1594803	14835.38	1780	30		

Pingdu	134	24.37	6.76	1563496	11667.88	3166	22.2		
Zhibo	271.84	151.93	40.19	1512940	19828.83	2960	153	694	918
Zhaozhuang	206.16	73.31	24.93	1733254	8441	3065	80	796	673
Tengzhou	156.1	31.1	13.27	1405276	9002.41	1485	23.2		
Dongying	77.46	53.96	25.8	4235519	55280	3220	85	221	241
Yantai	168.45	99.19	30.43	3921594	23228	2722	137	470	619
Longkou	62.6	23.6	6.66	1620027	25879.03	893.8	17.1		
Laiyang	89.4	20.4	5.26	919431	10284.46	1731.5	18.3		
Laizhou	86.5	21.52	3.50	1396531	16144.87	1878.1	15.5		
Weifang	136.42	71.88	21.18	1620027	25879.03	1472	76	534	927
Zhucheng	105.8	23.93	7.27	1131028	10690.25	2182.7	24.6		
Shouguang	106.4	21.79	7.78	1474662	13859.61	2200	19		
Gaomi	85.2	21.88	5.31	731600	8586.85	1602.9	24.7		
Jining	104.43	50.7	14.3	868998	9666.27	905	45	746	1154
Yanzhou	60.2	22.08	11.15	1006000	16710.96	648.2	16		
Zhoucheng	111.7	26.8	16.38	839970	13145.07	1618.7	24.1		
Taian	157.17	64.12	15.15	1993093	12759	2088	59	704	753
Xintai	134.8	32	13.09	1198545	8891.28	1933	36.5		
Feicheng	96.7	23.8	10.98	1042075	10776.37	1277.3	18.5		
Weihai	55.15	39.29	15.94	1884530	35031	731	44	456	754
Wendeng	65.6	21.93	6.58	1880399	28664.62	1645	20.6		
Rongcheng	67.5	26.15	6.09	2206600	32690.37	1392	42		
Rizhao	116.67	37.03	9.53	1880399	28664.62	1915	40	523	609
Laiwu	123.88	41.67	13.33	1419000	11468	2246	48	552	552
Linyi	187.22	67.93	16.64	2232300	11990	1749	70	587	1070
Dezhou	55.58	36.1	10.55	976961	13804	539	35	525	1031
Liaocheng	98.91	34.96	9.17	420800	6595.61	1254	45	644	789
Binzhou	60.98	23.79	6.97	501316	6943.43	1042	33	386	585
Hezhe	133.61	33.98	9.72	492024	3713	1415	38	706	944
Henan(17)	1540.59	960.62	333.93	16424650	10661.3	12573	944	583	1225
Zhengzhou	236.71	177.08	64.7	4420871	18984	1010	156	872	2344
Kaifeng	78.75	59.49	18.29	1226282	15601.55	362	70	735	2175
Luoyang	147.81	105.98	34.66	2506135	17071	544	111	417	2717
Pingdingshan	91.25	68.7	27.03	1009430	12235.52	459	49	615	1988
Anyang	76.93	57.08	21.37	213801	6765.85	247	69	709	3115
Hebi	51.55	33.15	11.16	506665	5185.93	609	38	664	846
Xinxiang	78.64	64.79	20.66	996479	12785	187	62	674	4205
Jiaozuo	78.36	57.67	19.07	834469	10695	424	57	827	1848
Puyang	50.76	32.84	21.93	246457	5113.22	260	30	843	1952

Xuchang	37.94	30.55	8.56	581986	15528	88	26	890	4311
Luohe	34.97	32.86	9.36	923804	7828.85	80	32	984	4371
Sanmenxia	27.85	21.36	7.08	347365	12618	198	21	209	1407
Nanyang	167.57	53.12	26.88	164078	10450.83	1981	67	397	846
Shangqiu	151.91	80.02	12.56	771015	5082.5	1600	55	767	949
Xinyang	136.33	41.04	13.55	619182	4586.53	3604	40	399	378
Zhoukou	36.22	22.18	8.6	341690	9568	148	25	892	2447
Zhumadian	57.04	22.71	8.47	714941	6200.7	772	36	544	739
Hubei(21)	2889.07	1224.44	382.89	29333096	10153.1	53019.3	1012.9	340	639
Wuhan	768.1	459.34	136.09	14927435	19792	8494	214	904	904
Huangshi	65.92	59.88	16.49	1209400	18405	234	57	553	2817
Daye	89.1	23.9	5.84	736034	8260.76	1566.3	16.8		
Shiyan	49.07	40.48	16.45	1353100	27459	1193	52	143	411
Yichang	122.35	65.79	21.82	404946	8349.4	527	62	189	2322
Xiangfan	217.67	83.52	24.63	355444	9304.82	3564	77	293	611
Zhaoyang	109.9	30.9	5.68	724307	6590.6	3277	37.2		
Ezhou	103.64	32.56	14.02	1113400	10627	1504	43	689	689
Jingmen	71.81	38.96	7.03	1286503	22826	2171	41	242	331
Zhongxiang	103.5	32.3	5.64	776900	7506.28	4488	15		
Xiaogan	88.2	24.4	6.82	496176	5628	946	32	568	932
Hanchuan	106.8	28	7.13	744269	11108.49	1663	16		
Jingzhou	109.79	61.92	14.16	987021	8494	1558	53	456	705
Songzhi	86.9	20.7	3.88	500760	5762.49	2235	13		
Huanggang	35.75	20.12	5.27	312260	8778	353	24	415	1013
Macheng	116.3	29.6	51.92	591345	5084.65	3599	22.8		
Xianning	55.56	22.26	5.14	50437	6909.55	1494	31	282	372
Suizhou	165.71	34.91	8.54	498462	9773.76	6989	69	267	237
Xiantao	160	34.7	7.66	415326	4539.08	2538	29.8		
Qianjiang	101.3	49.5	13.58	854400	8434.35	2004	65.3		
Tianmen	161.7	30.7	5.10	995171	6154.43	2622	42		
Hunan(12)	1087.19	621.55	171.04	10013497	9210.4	14727	674	323	649
Changsha	188.98	156.22	50.21	5369085	29042	556	129	504	3399
Zhuzhou	77.22	58.05	19.16	821483	6228.07	542	69	331	1425
Xiangtan	69.21	56.17	15.65	677933	6813.4	278	56	561	2490
Hengyang	89.98	83.23	15.97	515559	5779.81	559	90	464	1610
Shaoyang	61.35	34.64	8.89	531632	4287.35	436	36	350	1407
Yueyang	92.39	52.28	15.16	240079	3284.25	1044	72	350	885
Changde	135.77	43.7	9.56	429932	6106.99	2749	61	329	494
Yiyang	127.03	32.07	8.38	160632	6154.48	1935	40	374	656

Chenzhou	63.89	29.37	8.3	361874	4977.63	2246	29	236	284
Yongzhou	108.16	29.57	7.69	327318	8943.11	3183	32	255	340
Huaihua	32.65	21.78	4.87	433602	14979	773	28	178	422
Loudi	40.56	24.47	7.2	144368	2836.31	426	32	495	952
Guangdong(38)	4700.15	2106.23	612.55	80428837	17112.0	68905.2	2331	427	975
Guangzhou	583.89	465.31	162.72	27311112	47053	3719	554	969	1570
Zengcheng	83.4	22.68	8.58	1783415	21383.87	1741.4	18.2		
Shaoguang	53.07	46.33	11.58	1783415	21383.87	339	48	171	1565
Shenzhen	139.45	112.04	102.64	218893	4258.62	1949	168	715	715
Zhuhai	78.61	55.84	31	4062651	32682	1688	76	466	466
Shantou	120.12	120.12	19.53	2422338	20213	294	99	2323	4086
Caoyang	268.2	79.1	5.68	1400800	5222.97	1271.1	13.5		
Denghai	83.8	22.7	3.26	924506.7	11032.3	402.5	17.9		
Foshan	338.98	174.53	46.6	11759169	34850	3813	115	889	889
Jiangmen	131.53	60	17.45	3069024	23365	1818	74	400	723
Taishan	99	24.14	4.62	1236261	12487.48	3286	21.5		
Kaiping	67.9	28.19	6.03	1106829.7	16300.88	1659.6	24.4		
Zhanjiang	143.14	71.97	15.31	1236261	12487.48	1460	70	567	980
Lianjiang	150	26.38	5.66	673826.5	4492.18	2840	13		
Leizhou	148.2	25.14	5.87	517237.7	3490.13	3532	32		
Wuchuan	99.9	27.58	3.33	338334.7	3386.73	848.5	14.4		
Maoming	118.73	45.54	9.04	673826.5	4492.18	907	33	577	1309
Gaozhou	157.1	24.6	5.97	1194832	7605.55	3276.4	28		
Huazhou	140	20	5.64	1056728	7548.06	2354.2	32		
Xinyi	123.4	28	3.52	924551	7492.31	3080.5	19.6		
Zhaoqing	47.31	35.25	10.02	924551	7492.31	664	41	263	713
Huizhou	40.03	35.45	17.37	1276086.7	17456.73	419	33	254	955
Huiyang	63.8	22.89	17.23	1336208	20943.7	2178	32.5		
Meizhou	30.64	23.64	3.98	1336208	20943.7	298	48	308	1028
Xingning	112.7	30.08	4.04	399482.6	3544.65	2104	12		
Shanwei	45.6	22.34	3.76	399482.6	3544.65	432	11	574	1056
Lufeng	150.5	42.7	4.15	448486	2979.97	1681	56		
Heyuan	30.82	24.36	4.24	197945	6469	450	8	210	685
Yangjiang	55.22	31.43	6.26	508000	11390	437	29	331	1264
Yangchun	104.7	21.39	5.23	520168	4968.18	4054	7		
Qingyuan	54.34	20.48	5.52	520168	4968.18	927	33	203	586
Yingde	104.5	21.5	3.69	369891	3539.63	5671	19		
Dongguan	156.19	56.27	17.39	369891	3539.63	2465	345	634	634

Zhongshan	136.03	43.56	14.39	4156701	30693	1800	30	756	756
Caozhou	34.36	31.12	5.08	474564	13812	155	69	800	2217
Jieyang	68.07	45.99	3.55	838500	12385	181	27	1116	3761
Puning	200.1	60.4	5.08	1555557.2	7773.9	1620	22		
Yunfu	28.12	20.89	3.25	315552	11222	762	18	334	369
Luoding	108.7	36.3	4.29	787383	7243.63	2328	19		
Guangxi(7)	648.05	332.68	108.99	7436262	11474.8	9115	424	203	313
Nanning	140.39	103.17	36.41	2690634	19340	1834	120	297	765
Liuzhou	94.38	83.05	29.47	1799368	19249	658	94	354	1434
Guilin	69.09	53.49	16.91	1278236	18809	565	58	175	1223
Wuzhou	34.01	26.19	7.12	621123	18371	307	23	231	1108
Beihai	52.9	24.06	5.73	243001	3123.41	957	33	436	553
Guigang	167.58	22.48	6.62	451777	9543	3543	51		
Yulin	89.7	20.24	6.73	352123	2098.47	1251	45	457	717
Hainan(2)	152.48	89.28	26.14	1985847	13023.7	3471	52	526	526
Haikou	63.88	55.18	18.19	1627047	26226	236	34	2707	2707
Danzhou	88.6	34.1	7.95	358800	7313	3235	18		
Chongqing	1402.05	490.97	147.69	13171842	9394.2	23423	490	378	613
Chongqing	999.05	423.97	130.98	10497075	6881.65	16291	438		
Jiangjin	146	21	6.72	1004248	6878.41	3200	8		
Hechuan	151	21	5.77	963328	6379.66	2356	23		
Yongchuan	106	25	4.22	707191	6671.61	1576	21		
Sichuan(14)	1789.67	738.89	232.2	18648882	10420.3	26688	812	407	676
Chengdu	439.79	266.41	94.29	10073662	23477	2176	290	830	2021
Zigong	106.41	48.6	13.51	1071048	10088	813	43	720	1309
Panzhihua	65.76	50.74	19.49	1057069	16156	2018	42	141	326
Luzhou	138.64	40.46	13.6	978926	7254	2155	33	380	643
Deyang	61.64	27.47	9.67	705857	11534	648	48	638	951
Mianyang	108.29	46.68	15.26	554020	9470.43	1570	49	258	690
Jiangyou	87.4	23.1	5.38	792733	9070.17	2720	23		
Guangyuan	90.18	28.73	6.53	432291	4809	4535	50	186	199
Suining	143.18	27.15	5.82	581455	4076	1875	49	701	764
Neijiang	137.88	33.46	8.34	644568	4681	1569	26	780	879
Leshan	112.65	42.22	12.33	766713	6733	2514	68	270	448
Nanchong	182.49	50.88	9.88	319366	7427.12	2527	43	573	722
Yibin	76.06	31.25	11.43	258711	3050.84	1123	31	386	677
Dazhou	39.3	21.74	6.67	412463	3429	445	17	383	883
Guizhou(5)	505.44	251.2	76.06	4285827	8479.4	8708	234	273	715
Guiyang	194.92	136.57	47.14	2809254	14652	2404	128	424	811

Liupanshui	42.88	26.53	8.74	314952	6273.94	476	27	292	901
Zunyi	62.7	37.9	9.21	898880	14355	706	47	229	888
Anshun	78.34	21.9	5.93	135854	4652.53	1710	18	269	458
Bijie	126.6	28.3	5.04	126887	3765.19	3412	14		
Yunnan(3)	321.19	204.29	75.48	6465429	20129.6	7173	192	164	360
Kunming	220.04	159.78	61.58	5692650	26653	4033	155	234	546
Qujing	62.65	23.01	6.79	426783	16105.02	1553	25	193	403
Gejiu	38.5	21.5	7.11	345996	2631.15	1587	12		
Xizang(0)									
Shanxi(6)	856.89	460.45	167.1	10402005	12139.3	8766	357	175	422
Xian	497.38	276.64	108.11	7480800	15155	3502	187	704	1420
Tongchuan	74.53	37.98	10.27	390752	5243	2406	20	216	310
Baoji	60.39	49.61	18.08	964538	16089	555	43	201	1088
Xianyang	82.33	48.67	16.28	1107438	13451	526	47	472	1565
Weinan	90.52	23.95	6.78	255718	4607.53	1221	32	406	741
Hanzhong	51.74	23.6	7.58	202759	5252.82	556	28	136	931
Gansu(3)	358.62	218.9	71.96	4187952	11678.0	9960	281	48	202
Lanzhou	191.7	157.64	49.4	3401401	17459	1632	180	230	1175
Baiyin	46.87	28.5	10.47	240336	14443	2478	51	82	135
Tianshui	120.05	32.76	12.09	546215	2852	5850	50	240	205
Qinghai(1)	115.72	65.46	16.54	822828	7110.5	350	61	264	3306
Xining	115.72	65.46	16.54	822828	8050	350	61	264	3306
Ningxia(2)	102.5	85.5	30.46	1312728	12807.1	1824	110	110	273
Yingchuan	69.28	53.28	18.28	935728	13883	1295	60	186	535
Shizuishan	33.22	32.22	12.18	377000	11375	529	50	157	628
Xinjiang(9)	462.94	370.59	96.84	6500310	14041.4	40918.8		95	97
Wulumuqi	167.74	140.2	47.77	3495926	18500	10800		146	155
Kelamayi	29	23.79	11.54	1704788	62493	9500			31
Hami	39.9	30	7.89	150232.9	6009.32	85587.2			
Changji	37.5	27.7	4.36	383975	10239.33	7963.9			
Kuerle	38.9	32.3	8.02	212612	13716.9	7117			
Akesu	56.1	43.3	3.35	244281.1	4354.39	18183.6			
Kashi	34.9	24.9	4.37	52186	2570.74	198.1			
Yining	29	20.3	1.30	135792	4682.48	1109			
Shihezi	29.9	28.1	8.24	120517.1	6410.48	460			