Sampling Urban Poor Households in China: A Case of Nanjing City

For this course, I'll develop a research proposal for the urban poor household survey as a significant part of my dissertation project. In the proposal, I will review literatures on survey methods concerning rare population both in western societies and in the Chinese context, following a succinct summary of my research hypothesis on urban poverty in China. I will then convey my own design of survey on urban poor households in Nanjing City, China, including discussions on the sampling method, the questionnaire design, and the implementation of the survey. The implication of conducting door-to-door and face-to-face survey in urban China and its relevance to quantitative research on urban poverty in developing countries will be discussed.

I: Introduction

My dissertation titled ‘Landscape of Urban Poverty in China: A Case of Nanjing City’ focuses on the impact of economic transformation on the poor segment of urban society in China and its spatial implications. The main research hypothesis is: Contemporary urban poverty in China has a dual nature. It is shaped by both institutional and market-related factors, which operate at different geographical scales. At city level, the duality is reflected in the fundamental differences among the major poverty groups in their residential choices that can
be explained by two sets of factors ——— the *social economic factors* expressed by age, gender, income, education and occupation and *institutional factors* expressed by *hukou*¹ (household registration) status, welfare status, and type of work unit/employer in the city.

To elaborate on how different geographical scales matter, *first*, the relationship between individuals and the state has changed. As part of the institutional framework, the welfare system in China has gradually shifted from an economic development oriented and work incentive policy to a multi-tier safety network policy financed and operationalized by the joint efforts of local governments, enterprises and individuals. *Second*, local governments are playing important roles in determining the well-being of urban residents. The domicile (*hukou*) system reform is carried out unevenly in a number of large cities and thus contributes to the uneven formation of local citizenship for rural migrants (Smart and Smart 2001). Currently, the *hukou* system has been relaxed since the economic reform, and no longer functions as the social institutional barrier to labor movement; however, it is still regarded as “a half-free and half-closed policy” (Thakur 2002). The housing reform is also enacted differently amongst cities. Research has indicated that the urban poor in general are not fully addressed by current housing reform (Wang 2000). Employees in work units with higher political status benefit most from the new housing policy, while employees in private businesses have to totally depend on their own income in purchasing new housing. *Third*, communities are crucial in the allocation of resources important for the poor segment of urban residents. Residents’ committees in Chinese cities, the equivalent of neighborhoods in

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¹ According to Wang (2001), ‘China’s hukou system in the reform era’, EAI Background Brief No. 105, China’s *hukou* (household or residential registration) system has been used as a means of social control, especially in regulating domestic migration. Under the *hukou* system, Chinese citizens are divided into urban and rural residents. The majority of the population living in the rural areas, as rural *hukou* holders (74% in 2001), are excluded from the benefits and opportunities in the more developed urban areas.
western societies, are now functioning as the basic social welfare provider to the marginalized and disadvantaged portion of the population. For people with disabilities, communities are places where their employment potential is strengthened through working in community welfare enterprises, co-operatives, private businesses and other productive activities. Fourth, it would be erroneous to draw a/ the conclusion about urban poverty in China without considering the effect of family or kinship ties. Different from western countries, family has been the traditional basis of the welfare system in China that provides both income security and social economic support (Dixon 1981). Family is still the primary unit for the allocation of the MLSS (Minimum Living Standard Scheme) in each city, which to a certain extent has lessened the inequality among family members. Kinship ties also effect chain migration and the migrants’ choices of residence in the city (Van Lindert 1991; Gu and Liu 2002). Finally, individual capacity or human capital is an important determinant on the social economic well-being of each urban resident. While the empirical evidence shows the native urban poor are generally in lower education than new urban migrants, little is known about how much education affects the well-being of local poor residents.

To test the hypotheses, we propose a multi-scale research framework in our study. In the national level study, the 1990 and 2000 county level census data will be explored to articulate the spatial pattern of urban poverty at a macro level during the past decade of urban reform. A case study of Nanjing city will be conducted to explore the micro space of urban poverty and the differences of life chances among major poverty groups. More specifically, to explain the diversified residential pattern of urban poor in contemporary China, I use the method of multilevel logistic regression to find out the interaction among individuals, households, and communities in shaping residential choices. As the primary interest here is on the poverty
groups with incomes below a given amount, including the low income local residents and rural migrants, and no valid survey data or statistical data provides comprehensive and in-depth information about the specific groups, the regression will utilize a low-income household survey in Nanjing City. The sample will be collected using multi-stage sampling method and represent a sizable number of low income and poor households.

II: Literature Review

a. Sampling Rare Population

During the past decades a variety of sample methods on rare population have been developed such as snowball sampling, network sampling, capture-recapture, et al (Sudman, Sirken et al. 1988; Frank and Snijders 1994). I will mainly review the sample methods that have been most widely used on rare population, especially the rare population that is geographically clustered, such as high/low income groups, students, occupants of substandard housing, and employees in specific industries.

As Sudman et al (1988) indicate, the sampling of general populations of individuals or households has become well understood; however, much of social research has dealt with special populations. In cases when lists are not available for rare populations, screening of the general population will be necessary. However, the costs of screening can equal or far exceed the actual costs of interviewing. There are efficient probability methods of sampling rare populations which produce useful population estimates at substantial reductions in cost.
For geographically clustered populations, standard cluster sampling methods are readily available. For the rare population that is not geographically clustered, other methods have been found to reduce screening costs. One of the successful methods is the use of large previously collected samples or the addition of screening questions to ongoing or future surveys of the general population. In the past years increasing attention has been given to the use of network samples for locating and measuring the size of rare populations (Czaja, Warnecke et al. 1984; Czaja and Blair 1988; Spreen and Zwaagstra 1994; Hirdes and Scott 1998). Capture-recapture, as a technique used to estimate the size of population that are difficult to find and count, or population that are mobile and can not be counted all at one time, has been widely used in epidemiological research on drug users, alcohol related disorders, substance abuse treatment, et al (Hook and Regal 1995; Corrao, Bagnardi et al. 2000; Maxwell and Pullum 2001).

For geographically clustered populations, cluster sampling technique stands out with two major advantages. First, when a list of units for the survey population is not available or is out-of-date, but lists of city blocks are available or can be easily obtained from such sources as the Census of Population, a proportional sampling is still possible using the lists of people only for selected clusters. Second, cluster sampling concentrates a sample into compact groups. This reduces costs associated with travel between units as well as the necessary supervision of fieldwork and the call backs of non-respondents.

b. Sampling Poverty Population in developing countries
Developing countries share the similarity in the poor quality and quantity of poverty or income data to certain extent. China is no exception. Very few of them have conducted survey of income or expenditure in a large scale and a consistent manner. Census data, however, is normally highly aggregated and unable to provide any detailed information on different social groups in smaller scales such as city blocks, neighborhoods, etc. In addition, as Rosenzweig (2003) argues, cross-country aggregate time-series data cannot provide information on economic mobility, or, in other words, little is known about which households and individuals are the beneficiaries of economic growth or about the degree of persistence of poverty over sustained time periods or generations as development proceeds. Recently, there have been rising concerns on the advantages of survey data and panel data (Rosenzweig 2003) against aggregate cross country data. Several attempts from developing and developed countries have been made to develop new methods which combine the Census Data with sample survey results (Hentschel, Lanjouw et al. 2000). However, most research on poverty in less developed countries still largely depends upon aggregate data, or on micro survey data conducted by individual researchers, mostly with ad hoc or inconsistent sampling strategies.

Some countries do have national surveys on household expenditure or household income, such as the NSS (National Sample Survey) in India and the UHS (Urban Household Survey) and RHS (Rural Household Survey) in China. These household income and expenditure surveys are designed to measure the distribution of income and consumption across a sample of households. Poverty estimates can be derived from the poverty line relative to the mean of the distribution and the shape of the distribution. However, there are important sources of error associated with the process of estimation, such as defects in the
sample design, variation in response rates, and inaccurate reporting of income and expenditure, which might contribute to measurement errors in the distribution of income or consumption, or the estimated average income or consumption, or errors in both (Karshenas 2003). These problems can be especially pronounced in transitional economies (Ravallion 2003).

c. Sampling Poverty Population in China

There are various sample strategies utilized by different research entities in China. The way Chinese central government monitors its number of urban poverty is through the Urban Household Survey (UHS) conducted by the National Statistical Bureau (NSB). The UHS together with the RHS (Rural Household Survey) combine urban and rural samples that include more than 100,000 households over the course of a year. Respondents selected through a stratified sampling procedure are required to keep a daily expenditure diary for a full 12-month period and the survey data is collected and coded by local statistical bureaus (Gibson, Huang et al. 2001). The UHS data set is so comprehensive that “there are 1,500 entries for each household including details of household composition, income and expenditure”, however the state had not effectively used the data to calculate urban poverty line nation wide until the 1990s. As Hussain (2003) documents, a number of Chinese organizations including the NSB, MOCA (Ministry of Civil Affairs) and the Institute of Forecasting of the Chinese academy of Sciences, have started to calculate an urban poverty line in terms of expenditures needed for a socially acceptable subsistence, using the UHS data.
Meanwhile, the NSB survey data is only accessible to a handful of institutions and scholars. Estimates based on the data set so far are not in great variation with the official estimates, except for an estimate based on the NSB grouped data of income distribution (Khan 1996). Taking an approximately 19% sample from the UHS parent data, Khan and Riskin (2001) used their own series of poverty lines—Urban Broad Poverty, Urban Deep Poverty, and Urban Extreme Poverty in terms of Head Count (HD), Proportionate Poverty Gap (PPG), and Weighted Poverty Gap (WPG) indexes and estimates that the HD indices for the three lines are 6.7, 2.2, and 1.1, respectively in 1988, and increase to 8.0, 4.1, and 2.7 respectively in 1995. The fact that the UHS data set excludes rural migrants apparently affects the result of their work.

Alternative sample surveys have been undertaken in individual researches on urban poverty in China. Ahmad and Wang (1991) take a set of expenditure based poverty lines including an absolute urban poverty line of 1985 at an income level of approximately 50% of mean urban income and a relative poverty line that equals to 50% of yearly mean urban income. They found much higher levels of urban poverty (8.75% and 9.12% respectively in 1988) than the official and the World Bank estimates during the 1980s. Wong (1995) uses the median-income-based international poverty line in his early sample survey on Guangzhou and suggests that approximately 13 percent of the respondents in his survey were reporting household income less than half of the median income and were conspicuously less well off than the rest. He later sees the widening urban income inequality and an Engel Ratio below 0.6 two requirements that justify the usage of the relative income-based measurement in the third world countries as China and estimates that 12 percent of the Shanghai population was poor in 1996 based on a sample household survey (Wong 1997).
For the reasons of the unavailability of a list or sampling frame for the poverty population, inaccessibility of income data on small areas units, limits of budget, and other unknown problems, individual surveys on poverty population in urban China often start out with standard procedure but only end up ad hoc in nature. Wang (2002), in presenting his research report on low income communities and urban poverty in China, has provided an example of how the sampling strategy becomes interestingly complex and heavily dependant upon/biased by field observations, once unexpected difficulties associated with gathering micro data on poverty population get unfolded.

“Initially, a target sample about 750 households was planned. This was split equally between the two cities. In each city, the sample was divided between the study areas roughly according to the size and type of these areas. Housing quality in these areas was very poor and most houses were not properly built units, but single rooms. There was also a higher proportion of rental houses in these areas, the residence registration lists kept by the local police did not include some of the households who occupied the properties. Because of the reasons, the samples in each area were selected on site. In the traditional housing area, this involved firstly, the identification of two main streets, which divide the whole area into roughly four quarters. Samples were selected along these two streets at a fixed interval of 3 households. …The aim of this method[s] was to spread the sample in the study areas as wider as possible.”

III: Method—Multi-Stage Cluster Sampling

For geographically clustered population, standard cluster sampling methods are efficient in reducing cost and increasing sampling variance. Screening of the general population is necessary in order to acquire a large enough sample of poor urban households for
researchers with limited resources. In our research, clusters will be identified based on an array of data capturing a wide range of socioeconomic, demographic, migratory and housing characteristics of the population at the community (jiedao, in Chinese) level of aggregation from the 2000 Census. The data from MLSS (Minimum Living Standard Scheme) in the city of Nanjing and the data of rural migrant in the city of Nanjing will be used to estimate the size of poor population and households in each community. Using a three-stage cluster sampling with probability proportional to estimated size (PPES sampling), we will conduct a total of approximately 300 questionnaire surveys of poor native urban households and poor migrant households. Lists of communities (jiedao or street office) can be obtained from the 2000 Census of Population.

Generally, multi-stage sampling refers to a process of selecting a sample in two or more successive stages. At each sampling stage, a good sampling frame is required. A specified number of first-stage units, or primary sampling units (PSUs), urban communities, is selected from a list of all the first-stage units. A list of smaller areas called segments may then be prepared to constitute the second stage of selection. Next, urban poor households from these selected neighborhoods may be listed and a sample of households selected from that list. The overall probability of selecting a poor household in the sample is now calculated as the product of the probabilities of selection of the sampling units at each stage.

In most circumstances, zero segments are not known in advance, and optimum procedures can be used in this case. The method for improving the efficiency of RDD procedures described by Mitofsky (1970) and Waksberg (1978) may be adapted. Initially, a single unit should be screened within a geographic segment. If that unit is a member of the
special population, additional screenings are conducted in the segment until a predetermined cluster size $K+1$ is reached. The Waksberg Method uses a two-stage design to generate random telephone numbers. For each PSU, the banks of telephone numbers, the final two digits of the telephone number are generated randomly. If a household is not reached at this number, the PSU is simply dropped and the next generated PSU is considered. If a household is reached using this number, the PSU is retained and additional telephone numbers are generated within this PSU. These secondary numbers are generated on a continuing basis until: a) a pre-determined number of additional households (generally five or six) are reached in each retained PSU, or b) the PSU is exhausted, or c) the interviewing period ends. The difference is that in telephone sampling, banks of numbers do not differ in size, while in geographic sampling, initial segments differ in size. Thus the segments are selected by the standard procedure of sampling with probabilities proportionate to size (PPS). Once the segments are selected, sampling within segments is at a rate inversely proportional to size so that each selected unit, or household, has an equal probability of selection. Sampling of geographic segments is done with replacement (Sudman 1985). However, it has been estimated that the clustered screening methods yield no advantage if the proportion of units in zero segments ($t$) is less than 0.5 or 0.6, the proportion of special population to total population ($\pi$) is greater than 0.2, and the homogeneity of the special population within the geographic segments ($\varrho$) is about 0.1.

Although proved to be useful in some research, the application of the above new methods in my own research is limited due to several reasons. (1) It is impossible and also unnecessary to identify zero segments. Given the data on urban poverty from preliminary research in the case city, the above clustered screening methods do not apply to our research
context. The smallest spatial units in our research are the 46 communities, or *jiedao*, each with a population ranging from 800 to 5000. Each community (*jiedao*) has a non-zero percentage of rural migrants or MLSS recipients, which is indicative of the non-zero percentage of urban poverty population (See figure 1 and figure 2). (2) In the two-stage sampling described above, without a complete list of households in each community, it would be a clumsy procedure to seek a direct sample from the population. Also limited financial resources for junior researchers could imply that every few clusters would be sampled at the first stage, which could incur serious risk of under-representation of certain poverty groups due to regional idiosyncrasies (Barnett 2002).

As such we follow a standard procedure of multi-stage cluster sampling, facilitated by a short screening process. There are several steps of the procedure. (1) Through principle component analysis and cluster analysis based on a wide range of socioeconomic, demographic, migratory and housing characteristics of the population at the community (or *jiedao*, in Chinese) level of aggregation from the 2000 Census, we identify several clusters of sub-groups characterized with various combinations of attributes, i.e. High SES and low *hukou* status, low SES and low *hukou* status, low SES and high *hukou* status, and high SES and high *hukou* status, et al. (2) We would take a sample of *m* of the *M* clusters (primary units, in this case, areas comprised of communities with similar demographic and residential attributes). (3) We take samples of sizes *n*_1, *n*_2, …, *n*_m of the secondary units, communities, in the chosen clusters. (4) We proceed to the further stage of sub-sampling by drawing samples of individual households from chosen secondary units. (5) The probability sampling mechanism at each stage is a probability sampling proportional to estimated size, in which the probability of choosing a sample member is not constant but is in some way related to its
corresponding $Y$ value. Since each cluster contributes a different $Y_{iT}$ value towards the total $Y_T$, it might be sensible to give differed attention to different clusters, by giving clusters with larger $Y_{iT}$ values larger probabilities of occurrence in the sample. In our case, the cluster sizes, $N_i$, or the numbers of poor households in different clusters, are not known precisely, it may be necessary to use an estimate of $N_i$ or some other quantity likely to be positively related to the estimate, such as the number of households in the MLSS program in each community. (6) A screening process will be added to each interview with individual households in each selected secondary unit, or community in this case.

IV: Questionnaire Design

The objective of our research is to sample a specific number of populations, representative of the two major subgroups of urban poverty population in a typical Chinese city, the native urban poor and the migrant poor populations. The basic sample units will be both poor households and individuals in poor households. In our research, face-to-face interview becomes necessary due to the purpose of determining residential choices in relation to current condition of housing units and the low telephone coverage for the urban poor households. In order to ensure the questionnaire is well constructed, we will conduct a pretest on the survey questions. 10-15 interviewees will be recruited and trained on how to conduct a face-to-face survey. Each interview will be tape recorded and the researcher will monitor their performances by reviewing completed questionnaires and recorded audio tapes.
In this survey project, a list of 50-100 or more questions will be asked, including household attributes such as household size, household income, expenditure, housing condition and tenure, and personal attributes such as age, education, income, occupation, welfare status, migratory status, duration of stay in the city, distance to work, and number of relatives in the city. Each questionnaire survey will last 30-60 minutes depending on the household size of the interviewed household. A selected number of respondents in the questionnaire survey will also be asked for a follow-up in-depth interview on relevant issues regarding poverty and access to community resources. Data on communities (jiedao) will be obtained from both the 2000 Population Census of Nanjing City and informants interviewed in local communities. A complete list of survey questions and the interviewing schedule (not including the interviewing schedule with informants in communities) in English are provided in the Appendix.

V: Discussion

In summary, considering the current situation, constraints on available data, and problems with contemporary sampling practices in developing countries including China, we suggest that it is important to develop standard survey procedures to sample poverty populations. This is especially important for quantitative analysis or non-exploratory (explanatory) research on poverty. In our research we use a three stage cluster sampling method to sample urban poor households including the native poor and migrant poor households, with the facilitation of the MLSS data and the Chinese Population Census Data for the case city.
There are possible caveats of the survey design due to the sample size, the sampling strategy, and the actual implementation of face-to-face interview, et al. As discussed above, compared to simple random sampling, the major advantage of cluster sampling is cost efficiency and administrative convenience as it concentrates a sample into compact groups, which reduces costs associated with travel between units as well as the supervision of fieldwork. However, a number of further considerations are necessary. First, the administrative convenience is contingent upon the variance and cost considerations in the specification of what sizes of sample to take at different stages. Second, since sampling at later stages at multi-stage design may use concomitant variables or ratio estimators, variance estimation can be highly complicated.

There are also potential errors resulting from the mode of interview. First, when respondents are to be chosen at random, the interviewers might take particular strategy to avoid non-response or to fill the quota, which often results in biased or inaccurate sample result. Second, there are potential interviewer effects or errors associated with face-to-face interview, as there are greater chances of face to face interaction, i.e. exchange of attitudes or values between interviewer and respondent in face-to-face interview than in other modes of interview.
Appendix: Survey Questions and Interviewing Schedule for Research on Urban Poor households in Nanjing, China

I: Questionnaire Part

Household NO: ____________

Reaching out to an adult in the house over 18 years old.
1. Are you employed or not? (Yes/No) ______________
2. Is there other family member unemployed? (Yes/No) ______________
3. Is there family member born in rural areas? (Yes/No) ______________
4. Is your family income per month below the average, XXX USD/month? (Yes/No) ______________

If all the answers to the above four questions are “no”, then PLEASE END the interviewing process. If not, please go ahead with the following questions.

Now, can I ask you some questions about your family?
1. How long has your family been living in the same neighborhood? _____Years _____Months
2. Where did you used to live in? Name of the City/County: _______ Name of the Community: ________ Name of the Neighborhood: ___________ Reason of migration: ______________
3. How many people are there in your family? _____________
4. How many people are employed in your family? ______________
5. How many people were born in the rural area? _____________
6. Is your family eligible for MLSS (Minimum Living Standard Scheme)? (Yes/No) ______________
7. If yes, how long have you been in the MLSS? _____Years _____Months
8. What best characterizes your housing? (Shack/flat/low-rise apartment/high rise apartment) ______________
9. What best characterizes the quality of your housing? (Extremely poor/very poor/poor/average/good/very good/excellent) ______________
10. What is the source of your current housing? (By renting from individuals/allocated by the housing bureau/allocated by Danwei/purchased from the market/purchased from Danwei/purchased as subsidiary housing) ______________

11a. If the house is rented, how much do you spend every month on the rents? ______________

11b. If the house is purchased, how much does it cost? ______________

12. How much does your family earn each month, including salaries, benefits, and incomes from self-employment? ______________

13. How much does your family spend on food every month? ____________

14. How much does your family spend on medical care? ____________

15. How much does your family spend on transportation fee each month? ____________

16. How much does your family spend on children’s education? ____________

17. How much does your family spend on leisure activities? ____________

Are you one of the householders in this house? If yes, can we ask you some additional questions on each of the household members?

Household Member NO: ______ #1

1. Age: _________

2. Gender: __________

3. Cadre: (Yes/No)____________

4. Education: __________ (Illiterate/Primary School/Junior School/Junior High/Professional School/College/Graduate)

5a. Employment Status (Employed/Self-employed/Not employed): ____________

If not employed please go to question 6.

5b. If employed, then which sector are you in? (Primary/Secondary/Tertiary) ____________

5c. What is your occupation? ____________

5d. Are you employed by a work unit? (Yes/No) ____________

5e. What type of work unit it is? (National-level/provincial level/city level/Community level/others) ____________

5f. Are you employed by a private employer? (Yes/No) ____________

5g. Do you get health care insurance from your employer? ____________

5h. Do you get any kind of housing subsidiaries from your employer? ____________

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6a. If not employed, which below best characterizes you? (Retired/Students/In working age but engaged with domestic work/Disabled/Seriously ill/Temporarily out of job/Long term jobless/Others) _________
6b. If retired, how much is the retirement pension? ____________
6c. If disabled or seriously ill, do you receive any assistance from the MLSS or other programs? ____________ Have you ever had working experience? ____________ What best characterizes your employer? (Self-employed/Private business/Community enterprises/City level work unit/Others)
6d. If out of job, how long have you been unemployed since your last employment? ____________
7. How much do you earn each month? ____________
8a. Have you ever been laid off? ____________ If not please go to question 9
8b. If so, how long have you been laid off before your next employment? ____________
8c. What type of employer it was where you were laid off? ____________
8d. Did you get lay-off insurance or enter the reemployment center? ______________
8e. How many jobs you have had ever since you were laid-off? ______________
8f. Can you describe each of them to us? ______________
9a. Were you born in the rural areas? ______________
If not then please continue the survey with another household member.
9b. When did you move into urban areas? ____________
9c. When did you move into this city? ____________
9d. Which below best characterize the reason why you moved into urban areas? Circle as many as apply. (For job opportunities/For education/For Marriage/To live with relatives/For investment and private business/Others) ____________
9e. Have you got the urban Hukou so far? ____________ If so, when? ____________
9f. Did you remember the first place (neighborhood) you choose to live in this city? ____________
9g. In what way did you find your first job in the city? (through relatives or friends/ through the job market/ through communities/ sought and employed by work units/ sought and employed by private employers/ other ways) ____________

Household member NO: _____ #2____
II: Interviewing Part (only part of the households would be asked for in-depth interviews)

1. How would you rate yourself and your family among the people living in the city? (Working Class/Lower Class/Middle Class/Higher Class/Others)
2a. If there is one or two laid-off workers in your family, how that might have affected your family positively or negatively?
2b. If there is one or more rural migrants in your family, how that might have affected your family positively or negatively?
2c. If there is one or more unemployed people in your family, how that might have affected your family positively or negatively?
2d. If there is one or more family members suffering from serious illness or disablement, how that might have affected your family positively or negatively?
3. In summary, what do you think is the greatest factor that has affected your life course negatively during the past years?
4. Community where you live in, kinship ties and friends, and your employers, all can help people in their most difficult times in different ways. Which one or ones do you think help you most when you or your family was not in a good shape? Why?
5. Can you describe the reasons why you chose to live in this community?
6. How would you rate the social environment in the community? How many friends and how many relatives you have in this community? How many friends you have in the city?
7. Do you have any plan for changing houses or relocating to other neighborhoods? What would be your consideration of that? Or in 5 years, do you think you would still live in the same place? Why?
8. Comparing your life 20 years ago, 10 years ago, and now, what is the greatest change you have experienced in working, living, and other aspects of your life? Do you think your life has changed for the better or the worse?
9. Can you tell us some history of your family? Where are they from? What your parents used to work as? Where your parents used to live and live? Where your other family members live?
10. Do you think friends are easy to make now?

11. What do you think are the most important thing for your child or children to have? 
   (Education/Income/Job Type/Marriage/others… open question.)

12. If you receive MLSS, what do you think is the major criteria of MLSS? Do you feel easy to apply for assistance from MLSS? How important you feel it is in your life now.

13. If there is any family member suffering from serious illness or disablement, can you describe how he/she makes a living and has his/her life changed ever since 5-10 years ago? How MLSS has affected on his/her life?
Figure 1. Urban Poverty Population in Nanjing based on Welfare Data, 2000: (MLSS Recipients)

Figure 2. Rural-Urban Migrant Population in Nanjing based on Census, 2000:
References