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 the spread of slums in Shanghai, a seemingly urban housing problem, was evidence of the rural crisis of the nation as a whole.

NOTES

1. Hence G. E. Miller's well-known and multitranslated book, *Shanghai, The Paradise of Adventurers* (New York, 1937).
2. Xu Zhucheng, *Hatong waizhuan* (A Biography of Harpoon) (Shanghai, 1983).
3. Zhang Jundu, *Du Yuesheng zhuan* (Biography of Du Yuesheng) (Taipei, 1981); Fan Shaozeng, "Guanyu Du Yuesheng" (About Du Yuesheng), *Jiu Shanghai de banghui* (Gang Organizations in Pre-Revolutionary Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1986), 195-247.
4. Betty Peh-T'i Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China* (Hong Kong, 1987), 194.
5. Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949* (Stanford, 1986), 23.
6. To list just a few scholarly books on Shanghai published in English recently: Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890-1930* (Columbia, 1980); Christopher Howe, ed., *Shanghai, Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis* (Cambridge, 1981); Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State and Local Elite in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930* (Honolulu, 1985); Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers and Creating Chinese Ethnicity: Subei People in Shanghai, 1850-1980* (Yale, 1992); Parks M. Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalist Class and the Nationalist Government, 1927-37* (Cambridge, 1986); Kerrie Macpherson, *A Wilderness of Marshes: The Origins of Public Health in Shanghai, 1843-1893* (Oxford, 1987); Don J. Cohn, ed. and trans., *Vignettes from the Chinese: Lithographs from Shanghai in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Renditions Paperback, 1987); Betty Peh-T'i Wei, *Shanghai*; Marie-Claire Bergere, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie*, translated by Janet Lloyd (New York, 1989); Harriet Sergeant, *Shanghai: Collision Point of Cultures, 1918-1939* (New York, 1990); Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford, 1991); Yuen-sung Leung, *The Shanghai Tootai: Linkage Man in a Changing Society* (Honolulu, 1990); Ming K. Chan and Arif Dirlik, *Schools into Fields and Factories: Anarchists, the Guomindang and the National Labor University in Shanghai, 1927-1932* (Durham, 1991); Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Wen-hsin Yeh, eds., *Shanghai Sojourners* (Berkeley, 1992); Nicholas R. Clifford, *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s* (Hanover, 1992); Elizabeth J. Perry, *Shanghai on Strike: the Politics of Chinese Labor* (Stanford, 1992); Poshek Pu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937-1945* (Stanford, 1993); Christian Henriot, *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, translated by Noel Castolino (Berkeley, 1993); Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937* (California, 1995).
7. See William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago, 1987); and David Ward, *Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925* (Cambridge, 1989).
8. From 1862 to 1943, Shanghai was divided into three distinct areas, each under its own municipal administration: the International Settlement ruled by the Shanghai Municipal Council, a sort of city government mainly controlled by British and American citizens; the French Concession governed in the name of the French Consul in Shanghai; and the Chinese area under

Chinese jurisdiction. The foreign concessions comprised the core of modern Shanghai. The Chinese areas, except for the old Chinese city, were mostly peripheral. However, the whole city was overwhelmingly inhabited by Chinese; with few exceptions in the Republican period, foreigners made up less than 3 percent of the city's population. See Hu Huanyong, *Zhongguo renkou* (China's Population) (Shanghai, 1987), 60-61; Zhou Yiren, *Jiu Shanghai renkou bianqian de yanjiu* (Research on the Changes in Population of Old Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1980), 66-68, 141.

9. Economic status often served as a decisive measure for what we might call social "acceptance" of newcomers in the Chinese city. In Hankou (Hankow), for example, people tended to look on merchants as legitimate sojourners while discriminating against vagrants (*yumin*, many of them were shack dwellers) as unwanted "outsiders." See William Rowe, *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford, 1989), 298-299.
10. Ward, *Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925*, 2.
11. Emily Honig, in her recent research on Subei (or Jiangbei) people in Shanghai, has pointed out that the general discrimination against Subei people, who were the overwhelming majority in Shanghai's shack settlements, creates what she terms a "Chinese ethnicity." This, of course, is not to define the Subei people as a racial group per se. See Honig, *Sisters and Strangers*, 1992.
12. For a more detailed discussion on the definition of the homeless, see Kathleen Peroff, "Who Are the Homeless and How Many Are They?" in Richard D. Bingham, Roy E. Green, and Sammis B. White, eds., *The Homeless in Contemporary Society* (Thousand Oaks, 1987), 33-45.
13. Namely, the International Settlement Shanghai Municipal Police, Frenchtown's Concession Police, the Nationalist Garrison Command's Military Police, and the Chinese Special Municipality's Public Safety Bureau. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Policing Modern Shanghai," *The China Quarterly* no. 115 (September 1988), 408-440.
14. Wakeman, 408-440.
15. *Xinwen bao* (Daily News) (Shanghai), January 26, 1932. Here street beggars referred to those who did not have a regular shelter (or "home") in Shanghai.
16. Peroff, 34.
17. Charles Hoch, "A Brief History of the Homeless Problem in the United States," in *The Homeless in Contemporary Society*, 16-32.
18. In China today, people still refer to getting an urban job as "upward transformation" (*shangdiao*), and to going to the countryside to work as "downward exile" (*xiangfang*).
19. Normally, housing in their home villages was better than the shanty shacks of Shanghai. On China's rural housing, see Ronald Knapp, *China's Traditional Rural Architecture: A Cultural Geography of the Common House* (Honolulu, 1986); *China's Vernacular Architecture: House Form and Culture* (Honolulu, 1989), and *The Chinese House: Craft, Symbol, and the Folk Tradition* (Oxford, 1990).
20. After 1955, the Communist government pursued an extremely strict household registration (*hukou*) system which successfully prevented rural residents from entering cities. Although this system contributed to the gradual disappearance of squatter areas in Shanghai, the lure of Shanghai was not diminished. In China's present reform, for the first time in half a century, a huge number of rural residents are entering Shanghai in search of a better life. Today, the so-called "floating population" exceeds one million and, like their predecessors some fifty years ago, many of them stay illegally in those areas that lie between Shanghai proper and its suburbs. Shanghai's *tongjiju* (Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Statistics), ed., *Shanghai liudong renkou* (Shanghai's Floating Population) (Shanghai, 1989); *World Journal* (New York), April 29, 1992. Also see Tiejun Chen and Mark Selden, "The Origins and Social Consequences of China's *Hukou* System" and Harry Xiaoying Wu, "Rural to Urban Migration in the People's Republic of China," *China Quarterly* 139 (September 1994), 644-698.