

renewal program. The dwellings there were much improved after 1949, although some straw shacks remained as late as the 1970s.

49. *Shanghai chungku*, C6.

50. Chen Gang, *Shanghai gang matou de bianqian* (The Changes in the Wharves of the Shanghai Port) (Shanghai, 1966), 39-41.

51. *Shanghai chungku*, C6-C7.

52. Xue Yongli, "Jiu Shanghai penghuqu de xingcheng" (The Formation of Shantytowns of Old Shanghai) in *Jiu Shanghai de fangdichan jingying* (Real Estate Management in Old Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1990), 231-239.

53. The following table shows the number of the straw hut slums in Shanghai in 1949:

Households/Per Slum	Number
over 2,000	4
over 1,000	39
over 500	36
over 300	150
over 200	93

Adapted from *Shanghai penghuqu*, 7.

54. In March 1949, two months before the Communists took over the city, Shanghai's population was 5,455,007. See *Jiu Shanghai renkuo*, 91.

55. *Sisters and Strangers*, 79-93.

56. Informant Zhang Xinomei (born 1922, a former resident of the Nanshi slum).

57. Bureau of Social Affairs, the City Government of Greater Shanghai, *Standard of Living of Shanghai Laborers* (Shanghai, 1934).

58. Official statistics in 1936 show that there were 226,718 factory workers in Shanghai at that time, of which 136,665 (60 percent) were woman and 27,091 (12 percent) were children. Most of the child workers were between the ages of twelve and fourteen. There was also a considerable number of child workers who were under twelve years of age; the youngest were only six or seven years old. Feng Rungu, "Shanghai tonggong nugong zhi shenghuo gaikuang" (The General Situation of the Lives of Child Laborers and Woman Laborers in Shanghai), *Laogong yuekan* (Labor Monthly), 5 (Shanghai, 1936).

59. Cheng Shi, "Yaoshuilong de gushi" (Story of Yaoshuilong), *Jiu Shanghai de gushi* (Stories About Old Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1974).

60. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 5.

61. Honig, "Invisible Inequalities: The Status of Subei People in Contemporary Shanghai," *China Quarterly* (June 1990), 273-292.

62. Informant Lai Lifu (born 1941, Yaoshuilong resident).

63. Currently available Shanghai population statistics that indicate native place specify only the province. Shanghai's native-place associations (*tongxiang hui*) left about 1,500 volumes of documents dated from 1912 to 1959, which are now available in the Shanghai Municipal Archives. However, data on residents' origin below the provincial level (i.e., county or prefecture) are still extremely fragmentary. In any case, no matter where they came from, shantytown dwellers were generally ignored by these associations. Native place associations were in many ways dominated by the middle and upper classes and issues related to shantytown dwellers were usually not on their agenda—another illustration of the "outcast" status of shanty squatters. On Shanghai's native-place associations, see Bryna Goodman, "The Native Place and the City: Immigrants Consciousness and Organization in Shanghai, 1853-1927" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1990).

64. According to *Xinwen bao* (Daily News), January 26, 1932, there were about twenty thousand beggars in Shanghai at that time. Among them about three thousand were said to be street people.

65. *Shanghai chanye*, 90-91.

66. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 9-10.

67. The result of this survey is published in Yang Ximeng, *Shanghai gongren shenghuo chengdu de yige yanjiu* (Research on the Standard of Living of Shanghai Laborers) (Beiping, 1930).

68. The result of this survey is published in *Standard of Living of Shanghai Laborers*, compiled by Bureau of Social Affairs, the City Government of Greater Shanghai (Shanghai, 1934).

69. These were so-called alley-way houses (*lilang fangzhi*), also commonly known as *shikumen* (wooden door with stone frame) houses, a distinctive type of dwelling that housed about half of the people of Shanghai in this century. Information provided by Lu Hanlong of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences; also see Luo Suwen, *Shikumen, xunchang renjia* (Shikumen, common households) (Shanghai, 1991).

70. This type of house is very common in Pudong (the area east of the Huangpu River) and other suburbs in Shanghai. Although structurally similar to the alley-way house—that is, both have brick walls and tiled roofs—they are decidedly inferior in construction so that these houses could not bear the weight of a second story.

71. *Shanghai gongren shenghuo*, 71-72.

72. An official survey of working hours and income of Shanghai's workers in 1930-1934 shows that among the sixteen industries surveyed, cotton spinning workers had the longest working hours and their pay was ranked the fifteenth. Bureau of Social Affairs, the City Government of Greater Shanghai, *Wage Rates in Shanghai* (Shanghai, 1935), 60. Also see Hanchao Lu, "The Workers and the Neighborhood of Modern Shanghai, 1911-1949" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), 173-99.

73. *Standard of Living*, 60.

74. H. D. Lamson, "The Problem of Housing for Workers in China," in *Chinese Economic Journal* XI (August, 1932).

75. Zhang Jingyu, *Shelui diaocha, Shenjiahang shikuang* (A Social Survey of Sung-Ka-Hong) (Shanghai, 1924), 59-61; H. D. Lamson, "The Effect of Industrialization Upon Village Livelihood," *Chinese Economic Journal* IX (October, 1931).

76. Luo Zhiru, *Tongji bian zhong zhi Shanghai* (Shanghai as Shown in Statistics) (Nanking, 1932), 86.

77. *Standard of Living*, 14.

78. *Shanghai shi nianjian* (Yearbook of Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1947), C17-C19.

79. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 64-65.

80. *Ibid.*, 65.

81. *Ibid.*, 15.

82. *Ibid.*, 9-10.

83. *Ibid.*, 64-66.

84. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 8.

85. Pedicabs were introduced in the early 1940s as a result of the gasoline shortage during the war. They gradually replaced rickshaws and became one of the main forms of transportation within the inner city of Shanghai after 1945. Under a government program, rickshaws, which were increasingly considered "inhuman and unscientific" by the public after World War II, were