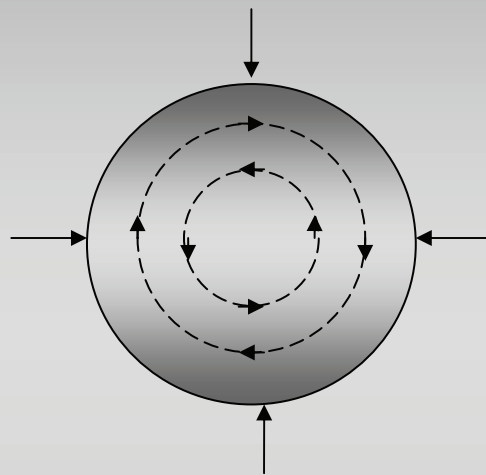


# MIGRATION AND SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

**Cases from the Coastal and Interior Regions  
in Contemporary China**



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**GUANGZHOU, P. R. CHINA**

**MIGRATION  
AND  
SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Cases from the Coastal and Interior Regions in  
Contemporary China**

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zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines  
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Yongning Li  
Guangzhou, China  
Kassel, 2007

**Dedication**

**To the land and the people**

**I always love**

Als Dissertation an der

Universität Kassel

Fachbereich Architektur, Stadtplanung, Landschaftsplanung

Henschelstraße 2, 34109 Kassel

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Tag der Disputation: 5. Juli 2007

## Declaration

I clarify that the submitted work for the Doctorate Degree to the Faculty of Architecture, Urban and Landscape Planning, University of Kassel, Germany entitled “ Migration and Spatial Development—Cases from the Coastal and Interior Regions in Contemporary China” is supervised by Professor Detlev Ipsen and co-supervised Professor Christel Drey.

I also declare that the work is completed and written without any aid from other party. I declare before this submission, I did not engage in any program or apply any work to pursue the doctorate degree in the same area of study concerning planning science either in homeland or abroad.

Some parts of this study have appeared in the following publications or events:

1. “Urbanization as Social construction and the Relationship with Natural Landscapes in PRD of South China”, a presentation to 2006 German Sociological Congress, Kassel
2. “Voices of Migrants” published in the book entitled *The Genesis of Urban Landscape: the Pear River Delta in South China*, Edited by Detlev Ipsen, Yonging Li and Holger Weichler, University of Kassel, Germany. , 2005. P.55
3. “From growth to development: the institutional arrangement and strategic planning for the Pearl River Delta”, Published in the book entitled *The Genesis of Urban Landscape: the Pear River Delta in*

*South China*, Edited by Detlev Ipsen, Yonging Li and Holger Weichler, University of Kasse, Germany. Pp 15-25

4. Guangzhou Daily, April 8, 2003, “Perspectives of Migrants’ Life—introduction of my remigration study in Sichuan”. Theory Column.
5. China Daily (Hong Kong Edition), April 30, 2003: “ 100 m migrants seek to feather nest—Many on the move save to become entrepreneurs, enriching home towns with knowledge”, A report on my research in Sichuan and Jiangxi. P.10
6. Lectures given on “migration issue as driving force of urbanization in contemporary China” to students when I worked as a guest professor in the faculty of Architecture, Landscapes and Urban Design, Kassel University from May to July, 2003.

## **Abstract**

This is an empirical study with theoretical interpretation and elaboration simultaneously on the migration process and the related spatial development in contemporary China. In so doing, there is always a combination of series of studies of the modernization of the migrants themselves with accumulation of forms of capital and changes of lebenswelt (life world) as well as the regions of their origins by the effective use of the gained resources from outgoing migration and remigration. With great efforts made to put the issues together for analysis, the author has taken three approaches to the study based on the political and economic institutional arrangements, the field work data and the elaboration of respective findings.

First, as the analytical parts of the institutional changes, which have gone through the whole research, many of the policies from state level to townships involved in the migration, remigration and spatial development have been interpreted with Chinese political and cultural insight. The making of these, as the means of understanding the contexts of macro level and micro level cases is served as key linkages between scholarly imagination and social reality. Indeed most of the discussions made to explain the phenomena such as the sudden upsurge of migration flows, the emergence of three generations, the strong and weak trends of remigration as well as the related spatial development planning, etc are mainly due to the domination, at least the impact of governments decision-making in spite of growing market functioning in often operative manners.

Secondly, case studies of the effects of migration and remigration are carried out between the years of 1995 and 2005 in the costal urban

regions as designations and the interior rural regions as origins. Conducted mainly by the author, the cases drawn in the research focus on the process of migration with an accumulation of forms of capital away from home and the effective use of the resources flowing back to home areas. As a result, ways of accumulation and utilization of the economic, social and cultural capital are described and interpreted in terms of the development and modernization of both the migrants themselves and the regions where they come out from or move to in the future.

Thirdly, in accordance with the findings generated from the cases, the author proposes in the final chapter an important argumentation as conclusion that the dual social-economic structure will inevitably be broken up and reformulated with flows of migrants and forms of capital they possess as types of future spatial development that will be put into practice. With scenarios and all the other conclusions worked out in the end, the research concludes that the pluralistic spatial development in the condition of constant space flows between regions can be a decisive line of thinking in the process of urbanization, industrialization and modernization in the long run in the future.

Since this is an exploratory study of the past and present, the author has left some space open for academic debates and put forward suggestions on the inclusion of future research before implementing policies necessary for migration associated spatial practice and development.



## **Zusammenfassung (abstract in German)**

Bei dieser Arbeit handelt es sich um eine empirische Studie über die Migrationsprozesse im heutigen China und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Raumentwicklung. Die empirischen Ergebnisse werden ausführlich erläutert und theoriegeleitet interpretiert. In der Arbeit werden Untersuchungen zur Modernisierung von Migranten, der durch sie erfolgenden Akkumulierung verschiedener Formen von Kapital und der Veränderung ihrer Lebenswelt mit Untersuchungen zu ihren Heimatregionen kombiniert, in welchen Ressourcen von Migranten und zurückgekehrten Migranten genutzt werden. Große Anstrengungen wurden unternommen, die in der Arbeit untersuchten, unterschiedlichen Themen zum Zwecke der Analyse zusammenzuführen. Die Arbeit gliedert sich in drei Teile: 1. der Analyse von politischen, ökonomischen und institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen, 2. der Erhebung von empirischen Daten und 3. der ausführlichen Darstellung entsprechender Ergebnisse.

Im ersten, dem Analyseteil der institutionellen Veränderungen sind viele Verfahrensweisen auf den unterschiedlichen Regierungsebenen vom Nationalstaat bis hin zum Stadtteil zu den Themen Migration, Remigration und Raumentwicklung untersucht worden. Sie dienen als Mittel, um die verschiedenen Kontexte der Makroebene und die der Fallstudien auf der Mikroebene zu verstehen und sind ein Schlüssel zum Verknüpfen von akademischer Vorstellung und sozialer Wirklichkeit. Tatsächlich wird Vieles in der akademischen Diskussion über migrationsrelevante Themen wie der plötzliche Anstieg von Migrationsströmen, das Hervortreten von drei Migrantengenerationen, die starken und schwachen Trends der Remigration sowie die verbundene räumliche Entwicklungsplanung mit der Dominanz oder zumindest dem Einfluss von Regierungsentscheidungen erklärt, obwohl sich in zunehmender Weise eine freie Marktwirtschaft entwickelt.

Zum Zweiten sind zwischen 1995 und 2005 Fallstudien in städtischen Küstenregionen als Zieldestinationen der Migranten und in ländlichen Regionen im Binnenland als Heimatregionen der Migranten gemacht worden, um die Auswirkungen von Migration und Remigration zu untersuchen. Die hauptsächlich durch den Verfasser durchgeführten Fallstudien untersuchen die verschiedenen Formen der Kapitalakkumulation durch die Migranten in den Zielgebieten der Migration und den effektiven Nutzen der Ressourcen, die zurück in ihre Heimatregionen fließen. Als Ergebnis werden die Wege der Akkumulation und der Verwendung des ökonomischen, sozialen und kulturellen Kapitals beschrieben und in Bezug auf die Entwicklung und Modernisierung der Migranten einerseits und andererseits ihrer Herkunftsregionen oder der Regionen, in denen sie sich in Zukunft niederlassen wollen, interpretiert.

Zum Dritten kommt der Verfasser in Übereinstimmung mit den Erkenntnissen aus den Fallstudien im letzten Kapitel der Arbeit zu dem Ergebnis, dass die duale sozioökonomische Struktur zwangsläufig ihr Ende finden wird und ersetzt wird durch eine Struktur, in der Migrantenströme und ihre akkumulierten Formen von Kapital als Grundlage einer zukünftigen Raumentwicklung genommen werden können. In den Schlussfolgerungen und Szenarios am Ende der Arbeit folgert der Verfasser, dass eine pluralistische Raumentwicklung in einem Zustand konstanter Fließräume (space flows) zwischen Regionen eine entscheidende Denkrichtung im Urbanisierungs-, Industrialisierungs- und Modernisierungsprozess in der Zukunft sein kann.

Da dies eine explorative Studie der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart ist, hat der Autor Raum für akademische Debatten gelassen und macht einerseits Vorschläge zur Ausgestaltung der zukünftigen Forschung in diesem Feld und andererseits zu den aus Sicht des Verfassers notwendigen Maßnahmen, das Thema Migration mit dem Thema Raumentwicklung zu verknüpfen.

## **Acknowledgement**

First of all, I would like to express my heartiest thanks to Professor Detlev Ipsen, my advisor of this dissertation study. I am deeply indebted to him for his intelligence and elegance in making this research a piece of art from beginning to end. Never before in my academic life have I ever enjoyed so much from an exploration of theories of migration and spatial development as well as any other sorts of field work like this time as he is always there showing the way or, at least standing behind me with both his insightful knowledge and spirit of benevolence to the sophisticated research area. I will never forget the valuable time he spent discussing with me the logics of the structural work and scientific interpretation of some phenomena in terms of regional sociological approaches. And I will always cherish the serenity of his apartment and the working atmosphere in his AEP office on Kassel University Campus, where, I did not only over half of the writing of this paper, but also had a thorough understanding of the essence of apprenticeship in either Chinese or German tradition. “A teacher for a day, a father for a lifetime,” a motto in Chinese, I think, is by all means adequate enough to condense my deepest respect to him.

For the guiding work, I am also grateful to Professor Christl Drey, the other advisor of mine for her significant suggestions, in either constructive or critical means, to some specific parts of different chapters.

Although the research work was mainly conducted in the period from 2001 to 2006, this is actually an almost ten-year study which grips my thinking now and then. When going over the pages while editing, I can hardly forget Dr. Ming Kwan Lee, a professor then from Hong Kong Polytechnic University, who first pointed out to me the academic as well as policy significance of the study of return migration in China. I owe a great deal to him because he is just the one scholar with generosity that initiated and financially supported the migrants' survey to find the embedding process of their life to the society of Guangzhou in the middle of 1990's. Accordingly, by using some of the data of one part of the survey and related results from the research, I would also thank Professor Jiangtao Li and Siding Huang from Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences. With their efforts taken, the joint research was successfully carried out with one report of it published as a reference for this study.

For the later and more important field work of the interviews, I am especially indebted to Professor Zheng Yuan from Dr. Sun Yatsen University in Guangzhou, who directly introduced me to the return migration wave in his home town named Nanchong City in Sichuan Province. Following that, my thanks should then go to others as Professor Dengyao Xu of Regional Research Center in Sichuan Normal University; Miss Jing Yang, postgraduate then from People's University in Beijing; Mr. Tomas Schneider, board director of Dewei (Tantec), a leather

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Finally, I must mention the helpfulness from all my family members for all the attention they have paid to the progress of this research project. I will indeed never forget some of the discussions over the migration issues often on the dinner table with my busy working wife and up growing son who is just over ten. Their concern and encouragements have long been a driving force for the continuity and consistency of the whole project.

Yongning Li

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# Chapter One

## Macro-Background and Theoretical Outline

### 1.1 Introduction

Of China's history, one of the most vivid and dynamic pictures of its shape of civilization, from social demographic viewpoints, could be the movements of migratory population<sup>1</sup> in scale and scope. It is comparable to the immigration credited for contributing to the rise of the Roman Empire and its fall, the expansion of European empires over much of the world, and the ascent of the United States and Russia to great power status in 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the demographic change happened in China in history when taking the form of migration with transfers and borrowings in its military, political, social or economic context in the past two to even three millenniums has always had a profound impact on the country's economic, cultural and spatial development.

However, migration is always too big an issue to study, not to say any efforts made to overview the influence of it to any spatial society. With the observation of that, it can be an elaboration of new sciences or at least the special field of study. A concrete and well-known example of it

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<sup>1</sup> Note: the "migratory" as well as "migrant" population used hereafter means to the moving group who makes change of places for living and working. In this sense, migration in China is often considered as legal or illegal action taken by law and by the society in times related.

<sup>2</sup> Koslowsky,( 2002), pp. 375-399

could be the early process of immigration from the European Continent to the New England. Yet compared to the *Mayflower* which brought forth the new type of social form in North America hundreds of years ago, hence even the sociology of immigration later<sup>3</sup>, the migration in China since Warring States before B.C within its boundary can be much more complicated and sophisticated. It is almost impossible for any scholar concerned to accomplish such researches on the issue for a country with endless social events related to migration and with very little detailed migration study as academic accumulation.

The ancient history might be so far away. Just only in the last century, when China forced its way either passively or actively to the globally recognized standards of industrialization and modernization, three of the rather impressive and huge waves of migration flow could be shocks big enough to anyone who is interested in the issue. The first was a reluctant population implosion from north-east and east of the country to the central and western part of it during the anti-Japanese war time from early 1930s to mid-1940s. It was initially aimless, later westward, a population flow of over 50 million driven by Japanese air-bombs and brutal

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<sup>3</sup> Portes, A (1995 ). In fine sociology-of-science style, Alejandro Portes notes that “the resurgence of the Sociology of Immigration has been event-driven. More precisely, it has paralleled the growing interest in the expanding immigrant population in the United States and Western European and concern about their consequence of their presence. To the extent that immigration has been perceived as a ‘social problem’, the growth of sociological research has followed the dynamics of other applied subfields of the discipline.

slaughters.<sup>4</sup> The second was a strategy-and-institution dominated one which was well organized from early 1960s to later 1970s, led by late top leader of CPC, Chairman Mao's seemingly naive but actually ambitious policy, a kind of anti-urbanism characterized with the purpose of narrowing the gap between urban and rural life style.<sup>5</sup> The result of it caused a large flow of migrant population of over 20 million at least migrated mainly from urban to rural areas.<sup>6</sup> The third and most recent one has been an even more influential tide of migrant population since the middle of 1980s. This still on-going upsurge is a spontaneous off-farm movement from rural to urban regions and from interior to coastal areas. By the turn of the new millennium, the peasant-turned-workers which consist 74% of the migrants flow from 1990s can be totaled up to 60-100 million.<sup>7</sup> The massive departure of increasing number of rural people especially younger generation from their home villages or towns for non-agricultural jobs elsewhere attracts so much attention to the issue that researchers from different disciplines of development not only inside China but also worldwide tend to show their interest in it.

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<sup>4</sup> Lin, (1935). There should be no official statistics in the war time, so the figure Lin cited was his or his counterparts' estimation.

<sup>5</sup> Craciun, (2001). pp 59-61.

<sup>6</sup> Zhong Shuiying, pp. 115-116. According to the author, the intellectual youth labor force moved from urban to rural between 1962 to 1979 numbered 35.531 million, though there was employment of over half of them back to cities, there is still neglected number of other population dispersed to rural area for periods of time.

<sup>7</sup> Hu, Angang(2002) .p. 297.

Although China's contemporary population movement, which is often focused on rural-to-urban migration, is both cause and effect of the economic and social reform in the country, the final goal of it is the realization of modernization. To make it practical and operative, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the general designer of China's reform and opening-up to the outside world, even had a systematic design of steps taken for over a half century with the aim of catching up with the medium level of developed countries by 2050<sup>8</sup>. In this sense, and to even a larger extent, the study of the issue, given the significances more or less on the process of industrialization and urbanization describing the migrants' status quo and analysis of it as most of the research results show, would never be fundamental enough to formulate any structural change of overall meaning of modernization. Some new terminology as "circulation" would be of help for paraphrasing or characterizing the movement of the migrant population<sup>9</sup>, but the construction of new development models still remain beyond its reach. To explore and go deep further, this dissertation study, with spatial theoretical approaches prepared and empirical study of migration and remigration as supporting base, takes the issue with a new type of academic practice: combination of migration and spatial development with studies on the accumulation from the former and the impact to the latter rather than rural-urban periphery

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<sup>8</sup> Deng, Xiaoping, (1982) p. 416-417

<sup>9</sup> Lei Guang, (1999), p.21, D.J.Solinger, (1999). P.22.

separated ones under the traditional circulated developmental conditions and reality<sup>10</sup>.

In this chapter, I would highlight mainly the background of China's contemporary migration issue, make some critical comments on the related theoretical and empirical findings from home and abroad, and outline the intentions of the research for the following chapters. With some terms and conditions defined and explained to initiate the study of the field, a series of questions will be put forward in the entrance of it to arouse general arguments for the certainty and logics of the study:

What is the general political and economic background of this largest tide of migration in contemporary China? Are there any possibilities to use some new conceptual tools except the conventional ones for the interpretation of that? Who can be benefiting from this movement of migrants population with accumulation from the experience? How much and in what form the contribution of that would be? What can be the next mechanism that will drive the migration direction in outgoing or returning? Is it a way in global sense for developing countries like China toward national industrialization and modernization if we have spatial practice with the combination of migration and regional development? Or is it typically institution dominated phenomena as often and prevailingly

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<sup>10</sup> I should thank Professor Detlev Ipsen for his suggestion of employing the term of spatial development, which leads me away from the fixed way of thinking of dual structural tradition.



incurred in China's history? And what would happen to the spatial development in the country if the remigration and the option of urbanization would lead to as the outgoing flow declines? ...To answer all these and maybe more, the research hereafter is specially designed and conducted.

## **1.2 An Overview of Migration Wave in the Past Two Decades**

### **1.2.1 Definition and Scale of the Migrant Population**

Before the discussion of the migration issues in contemporary China, it is very necessary to distinguish, either estimated or accurate, the subject or main body of the migrant population and the scale of it. Believe it or not, for a long time, people always find it seemingly rather difficult to do so. Despite the countless statistics done by official or academic authorities, the number of the migrants varies from time to time and place to place. The term of migrants or floating population itself causes repeatedly endless confusion as well, for there have been dozens of ways to name the floaters in cities in the past two decades.

No matter how complicated it is, there are always efforts made to sort out the problem as to clarify the category and figure, one of the most interesting researches done by D. J. Solinger in the late 1990's is specially

explicated and can reveal the paradox that we Chinese might get puzzled ourselves. That is: What is the floating population?<sup>11</sup>

In her category of definitions of “the floating population” in contemporary China, she listed in a table as many as 35 titles of this social group with estimation of statistics cited from over 20 media sources and publications. Though detailed in description, there are too much overlapped sayings as, for example, “Peasants away from home, Peasants who sought urban jobs, Peasants who left their villages, Peasants away from land and home to work, Peasants living in cities, Peasants who migrated out of provinces, Peasants who left hometowns and moved to cities, etc”<sup>12</sup>.

Apart from Solinger’s collection of terms from some Chinese sources in the middle of 1990’s, which have not yet included all of that kind, in recent years there have come many more definitions of floaters mainly to name those from rural areas to urban ones, such as “temporary workers” or “contract worker”, “migrant or outsider labor”, “peasant workers”<sup>13</sup>, and “peasant-turned-workers”,<sup>14</sup> etc. In fact, common urban dwellers, research scholars, all sorts of job employers, reporters and officers may sometimes have their own habits of pointing to the same thing with

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<sup>11</sup> D.J.Solinger, (1999). p.p.15-23

<sup>12</sup> *ibid*, p.p.19-21

<sup>13</sup> See Lei Guang, (1999), p.32 and Li Peilin(2002,ed) in the book entitled “Peasant Workers”.

<sup>14</sup> Raymond Zhou (2003)

different languages, so we can never judge what really is from the so-called jargon. Officially, we find in some government documentations that the floating people are usually defined as “temporary dwellers”, as compared to the permanent residents; they are “outside population” who would have jobs other reasons and be registered to just short time stay in a certain area<sup>15</sup>. At present, the majority of the floating population is the group of rural to urban migrant workers, which is popularly regarded as “peasant workers”. If we try to classify them by the most frequently adopted official and unofficial use, I would have a category simply as in the table below:

Table 1.1: Category of the term to define migrant population<sup>16</sup>

Terminology in Chinese (pinyin)	Equivalents in English	Usually used by
liudong renkou	migrant or floating population	scholarly and administrative authorities
zanzhu renkou	temporary or outside dwellers	authorities from local urbanities
(nong)ming gong	peasant or migrant workers	news media & general public
huiliu minggong	returned migrants	---
all of the above (with interpretation)	all of the above (with interpretation)	academic circles

<sup>15</sup> See “Guangdong Provincial Administrative Rules for Migrant Population” (1999)

<sup>16</sup> State authority means MOL( the Ministry of Labor), MPS( the Ministry of Public Security) and the local urban authority means the urban organs concerned at regional levels.

As for the statistic figure of the migrant population, due to different data collection resources, the results would certainly vary from sources as we can find obviously from many documentations. As usual, the number from MOL is centered by employment records, but the failure occurs very frequently that some private enterprises, especially many small ones or some newly opened businesses, never report to them the changes of employees. In the meanwhile, with the definition of the duration of migrants in an urban place<sup>17</sup>, the MPS would focus its data from statistics of temporary dwellers with certain time stay registration, whereas there are always migrants nicknamed “blind floaters” who never register, hanging around now and then, here and there in the urban areas. Hence the reliability of the number often lies in the estimation of it. For instance, when the official number by Xinhua News Agency declaring in 1995 that the “floating population reaches 80 million<sup>18</sup>”, it could be almost matched with the scholarly estimation of it with migrants nationally close to the number 80 million at the time and some later statistic numbers of the kinds in threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>19</sup> showed the same that some of cases of the statistic number of migrants can just be seemingly and comparatively significant and meaningful.

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<sup>17</sup> .Yu Jing, (2004). According to her explanation of *Regulation of Management of Migrant Population in Guangzhou*, those whose duration of stay in the city is longer than three months are defined to be covered by the administrative system.

<sup>18</sup> D.J.Solinger, (1999). p.p.15-23

<sup>19</sup> See Zhao Shukai, (1996a) with the estimation of rural labor migrants as many as 80 million in 1995; also see Hu I cited in the Introduction of this chapter.

In the research for this dissertation, I do not have the intention to focus on the terms and figures of the floating population in China. This is not because that statistic surveys of it started in earnest in 1990's are plagued with definitional and measurement problems<sup>20</sup>, but for the reason that I will pay more attention on what causes the process of it and what may result from it. In this sense, the rough approximation rather than the scientifically accurate counts, though not so reliable, serves just as the bases of reality. It is a reality that there has been a number of migrant people who's movement from rural to urban or who's remigration back to home area are changing development models from place to place. This population in the research is mainly made up with the present day named migrant workers with a certain duration in certain working places for purpose as accumulation of development resources, which we would discuss in the next chapters.

### **1.2.2 Institutional Background of Migration in China**

In China, the Confucius tradition has long witnessed the social changes by political impact from "top to bottom", although once or twice in a while, there came some exceptions which sooner or later again may inevitably lead to a new overwhelming policy, like the experimental

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<sup>20</sup> See Wu Xiaoying and Li Zhou (1996)

practice of “household responsibility system” to challenge the “people’s commune” institution and caused its collapse at the turn of 1970’s to 1980’s<sup>21</sup>. This was especially true not only under the political and economic planning regime since early 1950’s but also evident as relief found in the population mobility control cases even up to now.

Although in common people’s minds that the Chinese tradition with agricultural means of life and production always stresses on “stable stay on a piece of land rather than movement” in order to keep the status of survival, the state never gave up the use of migration as its mechanism for meeting a number of diverse, but ultimately governing, goals. These include expanding and guaranteeing control over new lands, especially along the borders; developing the country’s resources; relieving the victims of natural disasters; relocating its own powerful domestic contenders; pacifying the unruly; and shifting people from denser to more open areas. As James Lee concluded, it was just from the second century B.C. until approximately the seventeenth century A.C. that the central governments had been routinely involved in organized migration. He calculated that there were periods when this flow clearly outpaced

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<sup>21</sup> See Yao Xianguo(1999). This is a famous and dramatic story of the start of China’s rural reform. It is said that in the year of 1978, right after the ending of cultural revolution, 18 households in Xiaogang village, Fengyang county of Anhui Province, signed a secret contracts for farmland distributed to each family, which led to the approval of household responsibility system as main policy of rural reform and the collapse of people’s commune later.

voluntary movements.<sup>22</sup> To be specific, the institutional arrangements for controlling the mobility of population are really complicated in all dynasties.

Yet history always serves only to imply what may happen to modern times. In contemporary China, especially from 1949 when the Chinese Communist Party succeeded in the take-over of the governance of the country, the state, following the historical routine, has been heavily involved in the control of movement of people. As means of governance, different types of institutions to be consent with the state development strategies have been formulated and implemented for population migration. For all these institutional arrangements, the most important ones can be elaborated as three: the *hukou* (household registration) policy; the urban welfare policy and the urban employment policy.

*Hukou* policy started in China before Qing-Han Period around two thousand years ago and became a systematic regime mainly in Ming dynasty around 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> In the long run in history, the construction and elaboration of it, according to numerous researches, varies from political, economic and demographic reasons. What can be obvious is that the governments, especially the central one, never gave up using it as an important tool for strict and smooth governance. In the following discussion on the *hukou* system from the time of early 1950's, we can

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<sup>22</sup> See James Lee (1978)

<sup>23</sup> Medieval Times-Ming Period, First part of Volume 9, China General History

simply find how tremendously the policy impacted the movement of population with the purpose of stabilizing the society and balancing the rural-urban segregation.

China's recent *hukou* system has served very well for its strategic positioning by controlling the migration mainly from rural to urban area. If making a summary of the changes of the *hukou*-related policy, dozens of laws and regulations could be cited. Judging from the implications for population mobility, I think it is possible to classify by periods of the stages of controls of migrant population.

The first stage was the period from 1950 to 1957. Due to the development strategy for recovery from war time, considerably free movement of population or even migration into cities was allowed, although there were documents signed by Zhou Enlai, the first premier in the year of 1953, 1956 and 1957 to stop jobless peasants (then called "blind floaters") from moving into cities by persuasion or later prevention orders.<sup>24</sup> The second one started from the year of 1958 when the *hukou* registration regulations of PRC<sup>25</sup> was legislated to symbolize the concept of approval system for rural-to-urban migration and continued to the year of 1963 which saw the emergence of dual society where the types of agricultural and non-agricultural *hukou* were introduced as an "invisible

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<sup>24</sup> Zhou, Enlai, (1953)

<sup>25</sup> See State Council: the Hukou Registration Regulations of PRC, 1958



wall” cutting off the rural-urban linkage<sup>26</sup>. As it was hard times with the shortage of supply, considerably highly subsidized non-agricultural (urban) population with entitlement for food rations took advantage ever since. After that came the third stage from 1963 to 1977 when political campaigns like the Cultural Revolution made the migration rather politics-oriented. Following the strict regulations from stage two, the counter-urbanization idealism and as well as the control of mobility to identify people’s status by certain categories even lead to the abolishment of the clause related to freedom of migratory living in the Amendment of Constitution in 1975<sup>27</sup>. The fourth stage lasted much longer from late 1970’s to the end of 1990’s during which there came out several new regulations to relieve the population mobility control and to allow peasants to work and reside in small towns at the beginning and then to big cities where necessary.<sup>28</sup> Finally, by entering the new millennium, the fifth stage brought about even more loosening of policy, which Mark Yaolin Wang named “the small-city-free policy”<sup>29</sup> and *hukou*-related

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<sup>26</sup> Chan (1994), Knight and Song (1999)

<sup>27</sup> See the Constitution of PRC in 1975, from then on the clause of “freedom of migration” has never been put on again yet in later amendments of it.

<sup>28</sup> Cai, Fang (1998) p.p.17-18

<sup>29</sup> See Wang, Mark Yaolin (2002). P.23 The small-city free policy started in late 2001, when the Chinese government allowed its peasants to become legal urban residents in all small cities and towns as long as they can prove that they have a legal static dwelling place and a stable source of income . These migrants are entitled to the same housing, medical, education and employment benefits as local urban residents. They are also entitled to contracted farmland in their home villages, or they can transfer it to others. ( <http://www.china.org.cn>, December 24, 2001).

policy have started the routine of reform in a big way. This has already caused and will certainly result in much freer mobility of migration in the country with world's largest would-be migrant population.

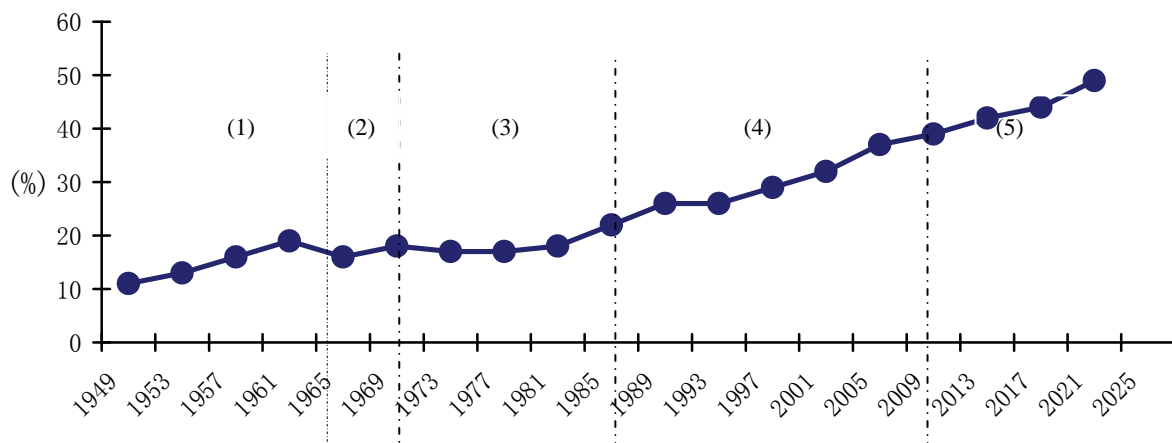
The *Hukou* system from the surface has had great impact only on the mobility of migrant population, but when we go further and deeper for analysis of the speed of China's urbanization, the result tells a truth in a much clearer meaning: the *Hukou* policy did make great differences in the urbanization process. In 1953, there was a rural population of 509.7 million, accounting for 86.99% of the nation's population, while 25 years later in 1978, the rural population, in spite of the long run of so-called industrialization, added up to 790.14 million, consisting 82.08% of the whole population. To the same extent, from 1978 to 1998, although there was a relative decrease in percentage of rural population in the proportion from 82% to 69.6%, there was still an increase of net number from 790.14 to 869.69 million.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the *Hukou* system acts not only as a barrier to separate the agricultural and non-agricultural sector and the rural and urban area but also hold the country on a road of low urbanization. The statistics shown in figure 1.1 is explicit enough to prove that the more restrictive the policy was on population mobility control, the slower the process of urbanization in China.

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<sup>30</sup> Xiong, Jingming, ed (2000)

Figure 1.1:

China's urbanization level during different *Hukou* periods (1949 to 2001)



Source: Wang, Mark Yaolin (2002) p.25. All data has been rounded from urbanization data in China Statistical Yearbooks (various years); data in 2001 from People's Daily, June 7, 2001; post-2001 data are from <http://www.unhabitat.org><sup>31</sup>

The *Hukou* application and registration in China is so important that everyone in the country must have their life-long personal data input in an officially printed household register. It seems at least in certain period in one's life as we discussed above that the *Hukou* register plays a magic role for changes of fate, which would often bring about so many kinds of dramatic stories recorded in abundant literatures. But as Tiejun Cheng noted: "If the state only controlled the paperwork tracking migration, but

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<sup>31</sup> As I define it, the stages indicated in the figure can be entitled with: 1. pre *hukou* period, 2. strict *hukou* period, 3. politics-oriented *hukou* period, 4. period of *hukou* relaxation and 5. the new reform period of *hukou* policy.

did not control the means of migration, the *hukou* system would have had little effect on mobility”.<sup>32</sup> Closely related with the *Hukou* policy, the welfare institution which always benefits the non-agricultural population as the “means of migration” have been, to more realistic extent, decisive to hold the rural population back in homelands instead of migrating otherwise.

Stemmed from the Soviet model of planning system, the urban welfare institution was taken in shape and characterized by the “unified sale and purchase” of grain, a policy promulgated in 1953.<sup>33</sup> The essence of the policy by then was the close-down of the free grain markets except for the brief period in the wake of famine in early 1960’s. When grains were purchased with official prices from rural peasants only by governments and in the meanwhile supplied with limitation of amount to respective urban residents, the urban life became dominated by grains rationing. The situation then could really be expressed by the Chinese proverb that “common people regard food as important as earth and sky”. Since grain could only be bought in designated stores with “grain books” issued for urban residents or with special kind of “rice coupon” circulated locally or nationally, people would either stay where they had the supply or move to be suffered from starvation. Transferring as a middle school student, I still remember myself the time when I had to prepare the rice

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<sup>32</sup> Tiejun Cheng, (1991) p.109

<sup>33</sup> See State Administrative Council,(1953), p.p.458-462

coupon from my non-agricultural grain book with me even going from rural to rural areas. Those students with agricultural *Hukou* would only carry bags of rice from their village supply each term to schools no matter how far it was from their homes. In a word, this policy had a great success in preventing most of the population from movement for even a very limited duration. And the central government did not give it up until the mid-1980 when the new regulations practiced to allow freer markets for grains again<sup>34</sup>. Apart from the grain rationing, the urban welfare institution includes supply of clothing, fuel, housing; healthcare; children's education, marriage and family planning, etc, of which some cast great shadows to migrants life, especially those from rural to urban. All these institutions have been almost without any exception in favor of the population registered in urban *Hukou*<sup>35</sup>. Thus, on one hand, they have shown to the world the total injustice between the rural and urban population which attracts great attention from scholarly criticism. On the other hand, they have proved the hardness for and even threatening to the migrants life in urban destinations. One can hardly imagine how difficult it is when rural migrants, jobless and hungry, helplessly entering the

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<sup>34</sup> From 1980 to 1985, a series of government documents were put into practice, among which the most important ones is the No.1 document passed by the politburo of CPC entitled "Push forward and deepening the rural reform". Guided by that, there came out the solution of "Allowance of movement for surplus rural labor force to areas short of labor" and a related temporary regulation by ministry of public security. See "Selected key documentation after the third plenary session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Party Congress"(1987)

<sup>35</sup> Guo, Shutian & Liu, Chunbing ( 1990)

urban world that they could rarely understand with no shelters to stay, no social security policies to cover, no schools to accept their children, in short, no one cares their being there. In this situation, they will find it quite a problem for survival, not to say being involved or assimilated in urban life and making their own development.

The final obstacle that migrants encountered with when moving from rural areas to urban ones before 1980's was the traditional institutional arrangement for employment. For around 20 years in China's contemporary history, urban employment was exclusively beneficial for urban household registered residents. Actually guided by the principle of "unified allocation" which meant that the government control would replace the market in assuming a direct role in workforce allocation from early 1950's,<sup>36</sup> a series of policies started to take effect on urban employment. Although at the very beginning, the policies did not intend to restrict the rural to urban migration, instead, there was encouragement for urban recruits from peasants. For example, in 1953, over 70% of the factory workers in the cities came from the countryside and most of the increase of urban employment during 1952-1957 (from 5.1 million to 23.2 million) was due to rural-urban migration.<sup>37</sup> Things changed later on.

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<sup>36</sup> See Lei Guang (1999) p.39

<sup>37</sup> Han Jun (1995). p. 3

Terms in policy are often double-edged swords, however, “unified allocation” of labor forces, with the situation of urban labor growth and migrant population outpaced by the economic expansion and capacity, was soon interpreted by the government as a policy mandating the employment of all urban dwellers rather than rural residents. The sharp turn again was from the top to bottom by decision-makers. By the late 1950’s, when the policy was explained as “allocation of urban labor force in cities and rural force in the countryside”, wherein lies the real beginning of rural-urban segregation in the area of employment and labor allocation.<sup>38</sup> Derived from this turn and formed up step by step in later years, an institution characterized by employing rural workers with special job titles as “temporal worker” and “fixed worker” started, and the duration by the impact was so long that even in the late 1980’s the state-owned enterprises took it for granted to employ only urban residents as “fixed workers”.<sup>39</sup> Since “temporal workers” could hardly in general enjoy and have any real benefits from the systematic welfare policy for “fixed workers”, again this institution proved to be an obstacle or an invisible wall to hold rural migrants back only to farm work in the countryside.

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<sup>38</sup> Song Ping (1957) p.26

<sup>39</sup> The term of “Fixed and Temporary “ worker system is quite of Chinese style. For the understanding of it, see Zheng Yonghui, (1994) and Marc Blecher (1984).

### **1.2.3 Motivation Overlapped: from Policy to Market or Combined?**

In his study on migrant issue, Cai Fang from Chinese Academy of Social Sciences once describes the institutional indebts like “*hukou*, unified sale and purchase, and people’s commune” as “a troika”.<sup>40</sup> While he emphasizes the institutional changes taking place in the rural society before 1980’s, my understanding of it, in a broader sense as discussed above, is that the institutions as *hukou*, the urban welfare policy and the mechanism of employment means are “three blockades”, which all those intend to migrate from rural to urban for city jobs and modern life must make efforts to break through.

Anything would happen under certain conditions. The breakthrough of the “blockades” in China was made in a new setting of political and economic institutional changes. That was brought forth by the country’s reform and opening policy initiated since late 1970’s, when the political era ended with the conclusion that the Cultural Revolution was a disaster to the nation and the economic era started with new purposes of modernizing the country. The essence of the new set of the institutions is the overwhelming focus of economic construction, or in other words, nothing is more important than economic development and all decision

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<sup>40</sup> Cai Fang (2000) P.22



making should be centered on the demands of emancipation of productivity<sup>41</sup>

When going over the pages of history of development in the new era, no one would deny the magic effect of rural reform resulted in great liberation of productivity and labor force itself. Acting as the starting engine of China's new move, the reform, different from any political campaign, was a kind of practice exercised by rural people themselves, taking the experimental model of land contract with free market oriented economy in early 1960's.<sup>42</sup> With a new term of "household responsibility system", the reform was so dynamic that not only the output of grain reached a satisfactory height to meet the demands for the whole country's population, which was seldom possible in history, but also there came soon a large number of surplus labor forces. When the peasants found their life free from farmland and, even more, from the "People's Commune" management regime, the first breakthrough of the blockade for population movement with migration in coastal urban areas was realized silently with some new policies following suit. By the time of mid-1980's, step by step there came out a series of new institutions

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<sup>41</sup> See "Selected key documentation after the third plenary session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Party Congress"(1987)

<sup>42</sup> There used to be a pragmatic policy designed and lately criticized during the Cultural revolution by ex-Chinese President Liu Shaoqi, which should be considered the original source for the new practice. See Liu Yuan, (2005)

including abolishment of grain rationing, urban employment for temporary peasant workers, free market for food and even housing, etc<sup>43</sup>.

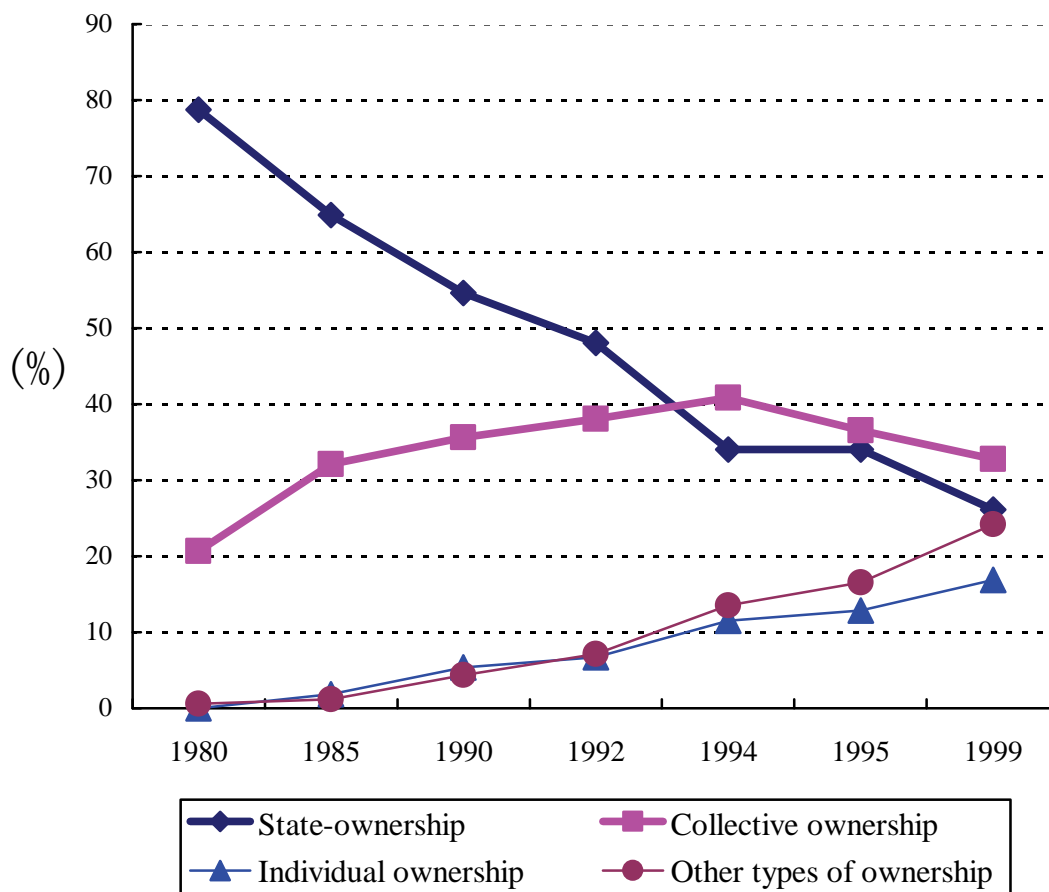
Apart from the first breakthrough gained with the rural reform, the second breakthrough for long-duration and large-scale movement of rural population in China was accompanied by the structural changes of economic ownership sectors. The change of ownership sectors, when discussed in economic sense, would often have focuses on degree of privatization, but here I would prefer to make it in an institutional sense with management models. Since the different institutions from different sectors would not only reveal the respective effect of output but would also bring about as a whole a new kind of total different base characterized by means of competition which makes enterprises no matter what ownership they might be much more flexible than before in the management of many areas such as employment or renewed organizing of human resources.

If we observe the actual importance of each economic sector by its industrial output, in the last twenty years of the past century, the structural changes of ownership can be proved in the figure 1.2 below.

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<sup>43</sup> See Liu Chunbin (1996)

Figure 1.2: Structural change of economic sectors with industrial output  
(1980-1999)



Source: China Statistic Yearbook (2000, 1996, 1986).<sup>44</sup>

The proportion of industrial output from different economic sectors reflects two facts: One is the multiplicity of the investment parties, which changed the fixed assets mainly originated from the state; and the other is the emergence of neo-economic departments, which provide to society with many kinds as well as large numbers of new jobs. If we try to divide the economic departments into traditional and contemporary or, in other

<sup>44</sup> Other types of ownership here mainly indicate the foreign investment sector.

words, formal and informal ones, we often find that in the informal or neo-economic departments, according to development economic theory, there are opportunities much more smooth, flexible and equal in competition for the payment and entrance of employment market than the former.<sup>45</sup> It is just because of the neo-departments in addition to the traditional state-ownership ones with flexible payments instead of welfare institutions that the urban employment market became open to rural labor force and employment institutions started to turn from the planning orientation to the market one. The regulating practice of it was the adaptation of the labor contract policy and related regulations in 1996.<sup>46</sup>

Simultaneously with the two breakthroughs of blockades is the constant desire for development, either in urban and rural area for both the individual and the social group. On the one hand, the government as dominant body in organization of the development never gives up in the role-play of making economy dynamics by supporting different ownership departments in terms of policy reform and innovation. On the other hand, the individual peasant migrants themselves became progressively eager to raise their income from other than grain production as the most important and even only means for their goal. When combining the two desires into one, I would define it as an overlapping

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<sup>45</sup> See International Labor Organization: *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Productive Employment in Kenya*, Geneva, 1972. There used to be seven characters describing job opportunities in informal departments, the “smooth, flexible and equal in competition” is just a summarized saying.

<sup>46</sup> See Dong Keyong, (1996)

motivation. This, as liberation of consciousness and ways of thinking, when turning into action, can be regarded as another breakthrough of population movement blockade. In other sense, it can also be explained partially by the “push and pull” theory, a conventional tool for the analysis of migration from rural to urban by so many scholarly researchers, which will be discussed later in the this chapter. Indeed, with the push factors generated from the rural reform and the pull factors stemmed from the urban economic expansion, when overlapped in the same time, the tide of migration started to be overwhelming.

Resulting from the breakthroughs, the changes of institutional arrangements took place one after another, which have shaken a lot the planning system in terms of the fields we discussed above. Adjoining in the changes the establishment of labor market can be the most significant. Ever since the time of the awareness and utilization of this market, the rural laborers for the first time have found themselves no longer bounded to farmland as in history. Realizing the fact, governments of all levels, especially the township ones in interior provinces, working together with some employment service organizations, started to try to organize the labor movement from rural to urban areas, and from agricultural to nonagricultural sectors. And this is the phenomenon we will elaborate later as a market mechanism.

In contemporary China, when talking about the rural development, there has been an oft-repeated term named in Chinese “sannong wenti” (triple rural issues) <sup>47</sup> to cover the endless embarrassing and frustrating status quo concerning problems with “peasants, agriculture and countryside”. This is actually what the country has encountered in the transitional period from the system of planning to market. The rural to urban migration issue is just one side of the vista to prove the process of institutional domination, quasi-marketization, and market oriented operation, which in turn exert great impact on the parts with regulations of China’s modernization.

### **1.3 Comments on Literature of Related Researches**

#### **1.3.1 Conventional Theories and Findings Concerned**

As far as the immigration and migration studies are concerned in even recent years, given the differences of the time period and culture of places, scholarly attention almost never withdraws from the repetition of uses of some economic and sociological observations and explanations of the phenomenon. In this respect, theory construction and findings are always focusing on certain terminologies that help us with framework or

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<sup>47</sup> This is just one kind of translation by myself. The issues in Chinese as “sannong wenti” namely in English are “those on Peasantry, Agriculture and Countryside”

approaches for analysis. The most conventional ones related to my researches here on migration in the past half century, if we try some efforts to interpret how they move on in academic significance rather than in timing sequences, can be of great value and reference. To make a classification of them all, these theoretical findings to be commented here include: model of movement motivation, migration by structural impact, elaboration of theory of forms of capital, neoclassic conceptual framework for social interaction of migrants, classic theory of modernization initiated from modernity and the bases of related theories of regulations and “life world” (lebenswelt), etc.

First of all, related to motivation of the movement of people and the features of attractiveness and otherwise of regions which would result in the constant migration of people, the most conventional and prevailing theory in this area of study, judging from the frequency of citing, might be the development economist Todaro’s analytical model used to elaborate on the “Push and Pull” factors<sup>48</sup>. In his model, the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas is functionally associated to two principal variables: 1) the urban-rural income differential, and 2) the probability of obtaining an urban job. Then, after two times of refining this widely influential as well as initial model to scholarly studies, Todaro over and over again argued that the decision to migrate should be represented

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<sup>48</sup> Michael Todaro, (1969). P139

on the basis of income, which may be at different stages and of realistic uncertainties, from an expectation of it to a permanent calculation of it<sup>49</sup>. Though greatly enlarging our understanding of labor migration behavior in an explicit and stochastic model, it is often under constant criticism, since non-economic factors affecting migration are implicitly assumed to be constant over the life time spanning horizon and are not adequately dealt with<sup>50</sup>. My study later in Chapter 2 will have arguments to support and refute it as well.

The second approach is originated from the interpretation of structure of dual economy. Developed by W.A. Lewis, this early examination of the internal movement of labor is based on the idea that the main determinant of the internal migration is the prevailing real income differentials between the sectors of the development of economy. As Nobel Prize winner, Lewis became famous for his description of the sharp contrasts of dual phenomena in developing countries: 1) contrast between high and low development levels, 2) contrast between rich and poor living environments and 3) contrast between rural and urban cultures<sup>51</sup>. Though mainly used in economic explanations, the term “dual structure” is actually of great significance and impact as a conceptual tool for other disciplines as sociological, political and spatial sciences. In this

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<sup>49</sup> Michael Todaro, (1971), ( 1980)

<sup>50</sup> Choi, Jung Whan, (1990)

<sup>51</sup> W. A. Lewis( 1954)



research, whenever comparing traditional and modern, rural and urban, coastal and interior, I will never give it up so as to break it up.

The third one is the capital sense approach, which is directly applicable to this research on the population movement, either migration or remigration. Developed originally by Larry A. Sjaastad<sup>52</sup>, this theory treats migration as investment in human capital that has to be analyzed by comparing the cost and benefits associated with the investment over relevant period of time. Embodied in each of the migrant, migration is no longer just an act for monetary wage, but a process of accumulation of great advantages as returning sources for future life development, which means his return from labor services is actually much higher from all sorts of experiences. This return as different forms of capital, being even calculated by some studies following Sjaadas' pioneering framework<sup>53</sup>, was later explicitly turned to be an elaboration of capital theory by Bourdieu. In his adaptation of a wide range of economic and non-economic resources with consideration of knowledge, relationship and status, Bordieu's understanding of "capital" is mainly in three forms: 1) *economic capital*, which is loosely referred to material wealth rather than traditional term in meaning. 2) *social capital*, in the sense of the power and resources that accrue to individuals or groups by virtue of their social networks and contacts. 3) *cultural capital*, which refers to

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<sup>52</sup> Larry A. Sjaastad, (1969)

<sup>53</sup> Laber & Chase (1971), Jerimiah. Allen (1979)

knowledge and skills in early socialization and education. With other forms of capital like symbolic capital or political capital perceived and recognized, one of Boudieu's key insights is that each form of capital can be converted to the other forms<sup>54</sup>. Personally, whether this definition is accurate or not exactly for the migration study is simply one thing, while the line of thinking is rather helpful for the understanding of resources as forms of capital from the action of migration in much deeper sense in later researches of my own and, I deem it possible, of others' as well.

The fourth is the focus of a series of neoclassic concepts from economic sociology and sociology of immigration. Being different from some old concepts like marginality, acculturative stress, "eth-class", assimilation emerged as the field evolved during the first half of last century, the new ones with both the earlier tradition and modern neoclassical views include: socially oriented economic action, embedded transactions, social networks, social capital, cumulative and unintended effects, core-periphery influence and structural unbalancing, modes of incorporation, middleman group and ethnic enclaves, the informal economy and so on<sup>55</sup>. Among all these, with most of them employed in the course of my study, the new structural type of "social networks" should be particularly noteworthy, for they are sets of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial,

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<sup>54</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre, (1986) pp 241-58

<sup>55</sup> Alejandro Ports, (1995) pp.3-34

cultural or affective ties. As for how this tool, with information, social ties and related networks put together<sup>56</sup>, can be applied to the interpretation of capital accumulation and spatial development, I will try it in next chapters.

Finally, the theory of modernization with modernity as its core value should be especially discussed. Stemmed from his reflexivity a preceding state close to “post-modernity,” “post-modernism”, “post-industrial society” or “post-capitalism”, Anthony Giddens draws very vivid pictures for the abstract term of modernity with understanding of factors like separation of time and space, disembedding, displacement, re-embedding, trust and so forth<sup>57</sup>. Since the views he developed have their points of origin which he used to call a “discontinuist” interpretation of modern social development, Giddens always, on the one hand, considers that modern social institutions are in some respects unique—distinct in form from all types of traditional order. On the other hand, he constructed a model of flow of action, consequence and condition, which covers through adjustment of reflexivity of an individual’s behavior from the unintended start to the unexpected ending<sup>58</sup>. As modernization is a process of all new factors continuously involving with different time and space condition, my special attention thus goes to two other fields of

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<sup>56</sup> Saskia Sassen, (1995) P. 106

<sup>57</sup> Anthony Giddens, (1990)

<sup>58</sup> Anthony Giddens, (1984)

study for further comments. One is the regulation theory and relevant application, which is based on social regulation of the process of modernization and related to three regulation clusters connected to each other as well as functioning independently of each other<sup>59</sup>: systemic regulation as a specific form of accumulation logic of control of production and circulation, the cultural regulation and the life world (lebenswelt) regulation. Among these three, is the other important concept concerning the lebenswelt, its articulation by Habermas in his theory of communicative action<sup>60</sup> is that the economy and politics impregnate lebenswelt with increasing strength for the course of modernization.

In addition, the comprehensive understanding of modernization is not one value orientation, for instance, in his elaboration of diversity of development models, Eisenstadt once explained the dimensions of different orientations in Japan and in USA<sup>61</sup>, which as an important interpretation approach, must also be emphasized in studies concerned. To conclude, all these elaborations of thinking line of modernization are surely worthwhile in the studies of the process and for the analysis of results of migration issues.

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<sup>59</sup> T. Romer de H. Rosenthal, (1987)

<sup>60</sup> Habermas, (1989)

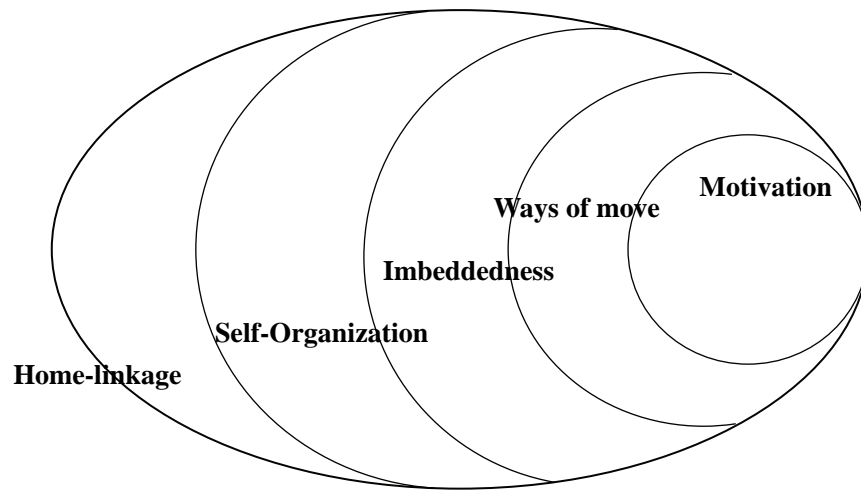
<sup>61</sup> Eisenstadt, (2000)

### **1.3.2 Empirical Studies Done in China**

China's reform goes so fast that the researches never seem to be able to catch up with the pace of the actual practice. Therefore there is often a saying, especially in those dynamic regions as the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong, to describe it as "name the baby only after it is born". In this respect, the term of "borrowing" as businessmen's "ship-borrowing for ocean sail" is actually popular in scholarly studies as well.

Borrowing does not mean copying. Like monetary capital when borrowed for investment, it can be usually incremented, the theories as analytical framework or tool, when they are taken and applied to some related researches, the value is imposing as well. In the past two decades, though there have not been much brilliant findings for theoretical construction in the field of migration studies, the empirical studies guided by some conventional or other newly constructed theories have proved to be as well meaningful and colorful. The results of the researches, especially those empirical ones, have made great contributions to findings for sociology, anthropology, economics, demography, political science, cultural geography as well as planning science. Accordingly, the studies, with scientific design, have always tried to cover different categories of constant appearing migration issues. (see figure 1.4)

Figure 1.3: Recent empirical study categories in China



In fact, in different time periods, in different places or under different funding resources, there are often researches conducted with similar purposes and targets. Since attention is always paid by researchers to the above categories, I think comments should be made on some of the most recent typical studies.

As usual, the motivation of the migrants' movement, whether it is migration or remigration, is a key point of research. In most studies on migration issue, results are predestined to match Todara's model of reaction to respected income, which I have already mentioned before, but Cai, Fang and Du Yang definitely have other findings. In their research done in four impoverished western counties in 2000, they concluded that the outgoing migration is only partially due to income expectation, but

mainly for wishes of changing social status in the home region<sup>62</sup>. At the same time, in another research funded by Ford Foundation in four counties in Anhui and Sichuan Provinces, Bai Nansheng, an expert from the State Council, indicates that besides income, outgoing migration may result in the conditions and context of on-going unemployment in rural areas from 1978 to 1997 and decrease of income from agricultural production in recent years. When he mentions the reasons of return migration, income is not included either.<sup>63</sup>

It is interesting that in many researches, the facts of ways of movement and migrants' imbeddedness to the destination society are often closely correlated. Since numerous interviewees express that their first foot-step to cities are under the help of their friends, kinships or home villagers, the initial imbeddedness to urban life is of course realized through the introducers. But for later adaptation to urban life, Wang Chunguang did a very good interpretation in his paper entitled "Neo Generation of Migrants': Social Recognition and the Melting of Rural-urban Relations"<sup>64</sup>. In addition, vivid description of how migrants imbed into urban society in the issues of alienation, children education, healthcare, problem solving and so on can also be found in a joint survey

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<sup>62</sup> Cai Fang and Du Yang, (2002)

<sup>63</sup> Bai Nansheng and He Yu Peng, (2003), P 17-23

<sup>64</sup> Wang Chunguang, (2001)

in Shenyang and Chengdu, chaired by Guang and Jiang from Nankai University<sup>65</sup>.

As for migrants self-organization and the linkage building among themselves and between the destination and the home areas of origins, a special research on “virtual community” construction should be emphasized here. Based on non-territorial community concept and social network theory, Li Hanlin from Chinese Academy of Social Sciences did his important questionnaire survey simultaneously in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou in 1999<sup>66</sup>. With the statistic analysis of the data obtained, he finds out that whether the relationship tie among a group is strong or not depends on the degree of trust that changes not only the migrants’ value system but also makes them confident for future development. In his conclusion, he put forward an assessment that a kind of non-regional, but actual virtual community has taken shape with all sorts of relationship among migrants as organizing structures, which influence linkage between both migrants themselves and regions concerned.

Apart from studies on these phenomenon categories, another large scale research program funded by FAO under the direction of Huang Ping, from Institute of Sociology, CASS, should also be highly remarkable, that is “In search for survival: A Sociological Study of Rural Urban Migration”. By adopting the structural theory of Giddens, for explanation

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<sup>65</sup> Guan & Jiang, (2003), P 252

<sup>66</sup> Li Hanlin, (2003) P. 97



of the migrant behavior options and changes, the research has tried to prove that movement structural mode as composed of “preconditions, adjustment of decisions and final responses” for moving plan can always be considered as an action chain of migration<sup>67</sup>. Unlike many other studies, this one was carried out with investigations all in rural areas or the origins of migration, where migrants’ life background is decisive.

### **1.3.3 Understanding of Space and Related Development**

The related theory which must be essential to this research concerns the understanding of space and its application. Space, in surface meaning, seems to be just a common word that we always use to describe acreage or cubage. When it is adopted as an academic term, however, the meaning turns out much more complicated, for “space is the everywhere of modern thought”<sup>68</sup>. Actually, by summarizing the species of spaces with spaces of language; spaces of self and other, interiority and exteriority; metonymic spaces; space of experience; agitated spaces as well as spaces of writing, some authorities insist that “space” can be used with such abandon that its meanings run into each other before they have been properly interrogated<sup>69</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> Huang Ping, (1997) P.8

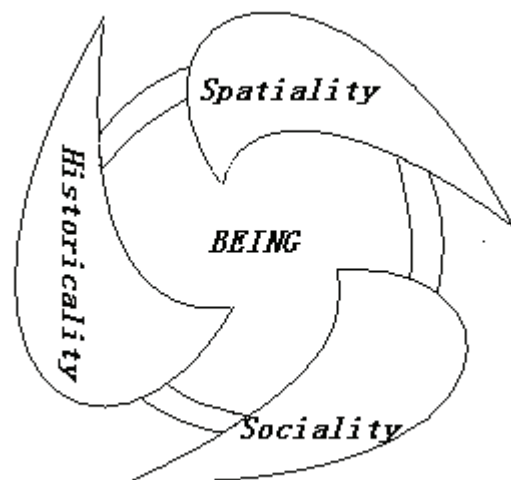
<sup>68</sup> Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift, (2000), pp 1-30

<sup>69</sup> ibid

Since the term of space is widely used in recent years in so many studies of social sciences, to understand it, in such a sense, one has to fully exercise one's academic imagination with interdisciplinary thinking. Therefore, in his rather sophisticated explanation, Edward W. Soja successfully opened two windows for us to enter the field with specially designed simple but helpful trialectics<sup>70</sup>.

The first one presents an ontological trialectic, a statement of what the world must be like in order for us to have knowledge of it. It is a crude picture of the basic knowledge of perception of being, in which spatiality can be as equally important as sociality and historicity. The interchange of the three is the base of human existence, and the entrance of the research for practical understanding. (See figure 1.4)

Figure 1.4: The trialectics of being

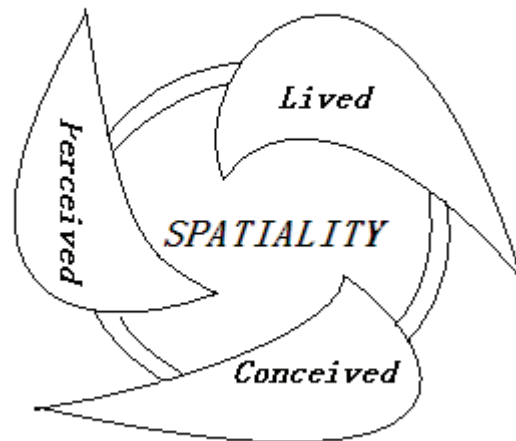


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<sup>70</sup> Edward W. Soja, (1996) pp 70-82

Building off the first, he then draws a second triagram (see figure 1.5) with Lefebvre's trialectic way of thinking to move us further into the multiple meanings of the epistemology of space, it tells how we can obtain accurate and practicable knowledge of our existential spatiality. Just by deciphering the epistemologies of the first space, which tends to privilege objectivity and materiality, such as the human occupancy of the earth, the relations between society and nature, etc, and the second space which is the interpretive locale of the creative artist and artful architect, visually or literally representing in the image of "poetics" of space or as "symbolic" space, Soja thus elaborated his third space epistemologies as "arising from the sympathetic deconstruction and heuristic reconstruction of the first-second space duality". This way of spatial thinking, from physical to mental and then to social, can be a new philosophy to break open the prevailing dualism to a third alternative, to other ways of making practical sense of the spatiality of social life.

Figure 1.5: The trialectics of spatiality



Space indeed is not just only abstract in meaning as the above discussion, though we can find hints of that through Soja's paraphrasing from Lefebvre, the absolute space with practical significance as Lefebvre always used in his triad of "spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces"<sup>71</sup>, has already been under the imaginary way of development.

In the application sense, the specific framework that Manuel Castells has worked out is his "social theory of space and the space of flows". By defining the space as the expression of society with the material support of time-sharing social practice, he made the construction of it in the spatial forms and processes as flow: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds and symbols. Flows in his elaboration are not

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<sup>71</sup> Henri Lefebvre, (1991), p33

just the one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes dominating our economic, political and symbolic life, they influence people living in places as a locale, rather than the whole realm of human experiences, whose form, function and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity<sup>72</sup>. Another example of the use of it was the five spatial structural observations summarized by Detlev Ipsen in his recently published work, namely, center-periphery, segmentation, insularity, space of flows, and placeless spaces<sup>73</sup>. The framework as a tool for the interpretation of spatial development is rather practical and significant hence in terms of my study concerning migration accumulation for spatial development, they will be fully adopted in the next, especially the final chapters.

As it is a “modern” way of analytical thinking, it should be noted that the term of space still lies far from China’s academia. Though lightly mentioned by one or two papers on the 2002 Beijing symposium on “Peasants’ migration: status quo, tendency and counter-measures”, it has not yet become any sense of an approach in the study of development issues from the process of migration. Up to now, the one typical case I found in Chinese is a research by Dong Qun for his dissertation on the transformation and interaction of multiple urban spaces<sup>74</sup>. It was a very

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<sup>72</sup> Manuel Castells, (1996), pp 410-424

<sup>73</sup> Detlev Ipsen, (2005), p 29-31

<sup>74</sup> Dong Qun, (1999)

good theoretical endeavour for his case study on changes of Tuen Mun New Town in Hong Kong, with his understanding of physical space, economic space, humanistic space and space of high technology. And the final part of a little spatial thinking on the question of how to design and promote the long-term, middle-term and short-term plans of the town can be considered enlightening for the use of this analytical tool.

For space and spatial development theory and related application, there should be much more to be critically mentioned. Lots of literatures from the western countries with comments are worth absorbing for the grips of our thinking, for instance, the concept of landscape as a methodological tool for the elaboration of regional conditions and development. However, because of the limited space here in this part, I will leave them to next chapters while discussing the spatial development caused by migration and remigration.

## **1.4 Research Design**

### **1.4.1 Outline of the Research with Theoretical Basis**

This is a research neither focusing only on migration, rural to urban or the vice versa, nor the spatial development itself, but on the interrelationship of the two. In other words, it intends to find out the circulation of flows occurred with migration, first from developing interior rural regions to considerably developed coastal urban ones, then with remigration from the working destinations back to the region of the origin where they came out. In order to cover the causes of the migrant population movement and the effects of it, the research unfolds lively unprecedented social vistas from the motivation, the imbedding form, and the accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital from the expectation to behavior and then to the results of the migrant flows.

Comparatively speaking, this is a kind of pioneering study in China with social and economic phenomena from both outgoing migration and return migration as causes and effects on spatial development. As it is designed, there will be four parts of the research, which can be unified as a combination of a cohesive chain focusing on the study of migration and spatial development.

The first part shown in this chapter is a macro study on the background of the contemporary migration in China. The political, social and economic institutional context is comprehensively interpreted with a general understanding of push-and-pull factors of rural to urban migration. Based on that and generated from some related research literature comments, a research design is made to outline the next steps of empirical studies and theoretical elaborations.

The second part unfolded in chapter 2 includes micro studies done with both quantitative and qualitative descriptions and analysis of data collected in Guangzhou and satellite urban districts, which has long been regarded as one of China's most important and typical coastal urban destination regions for migrants. In order to signify the process of migration with accumulation by two generations of migrants, cases by my earlier study and by others in 1990's are cited together with detailed new interview data analysis from the field work conducted from 2002 to 2004. The research results turn out to be the very interesting comparison of life experience in different stages between two generations of migrants with different motivation, expectation and accumulation of forms of capital. To the interpretation of that and even more, some specific theses other than hypothesis are discussed with special findings in this chapter.

The third chapter covers mainly micro studies done for the development in different regions of origin, where the well organized

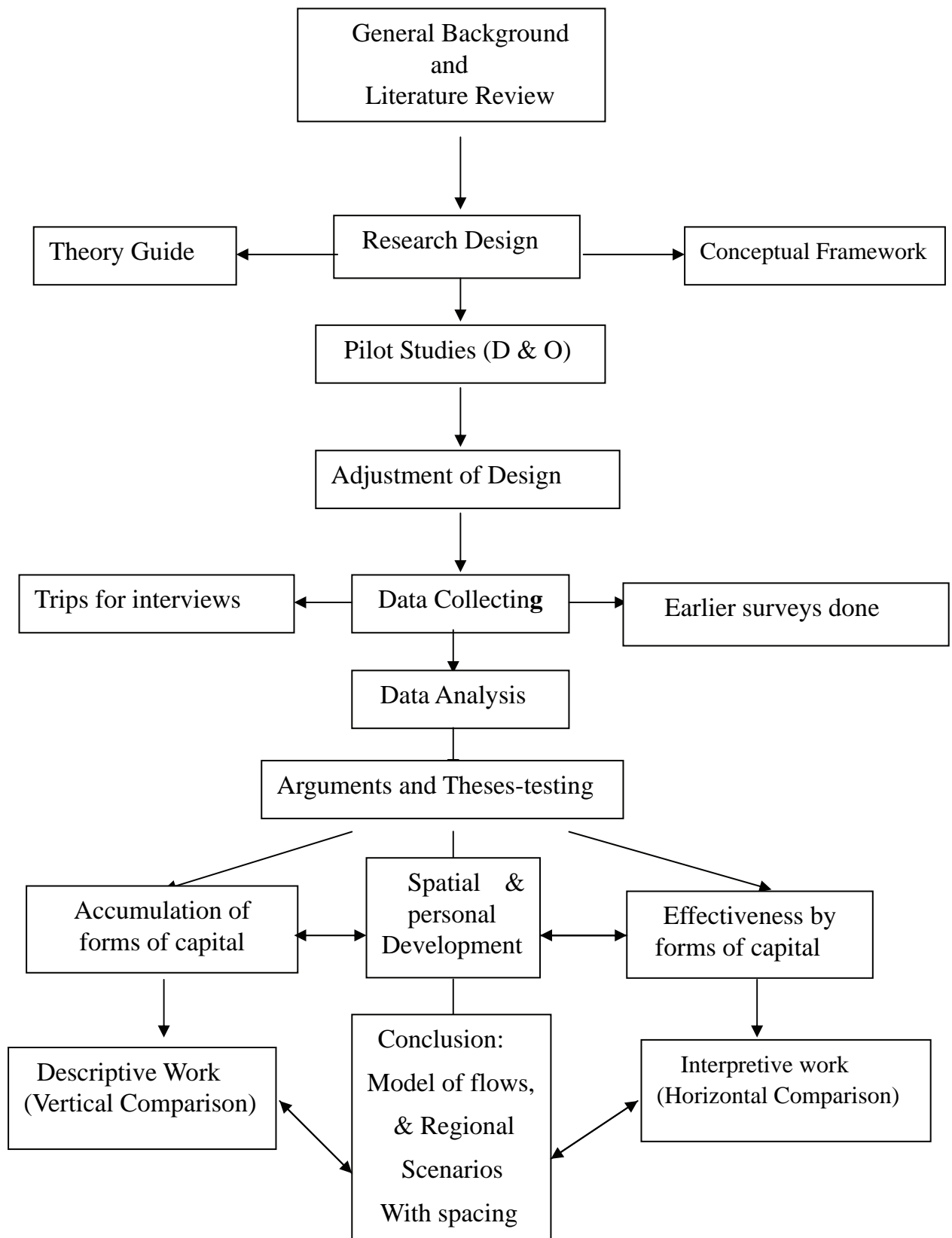


return migration by policy preparation and now-and-then self returning have initiated. With assumptions that the accumulation of different forms of capital flowing back either with or without remigration, the home region will be affected by the migrants' resources, the intention of this part of research is to compare the development of regions close to and far from the coastal urban destinations. Thus distancing is the base of the hypothesis for horizontal comparative study between regions.

In the final chapter, the research moves back to the macro study for discussion on spatial development in China. After a prediction of flows of space, which can draw some scenarios in the future, field effect is used to decipher the spatial structural changes possible and the model of pluralistic regional development, which leads to the final conclusion of the whole research and some policy implications concerned.

In order to make a clear linkage of whole research composing of different level of macro and micro studies, the work flow as Figure 1.7 shown below can be a general guide of steps taken.

Figure 1.6: The design of research work flow



After general discussion of the background of migratory population movement in typical dual structural society in China and with review of such literature of the related studies, the road map for this research can now be distinctively described. It is a three-stage study following a line first from macro-views to micro-cases and then move on to macro perspectives of development. Each of the chapters can be regarded as an independent study, but when the four chapters are integrated, an implied logic of spatial development based on the migratory population movement becomes explicit and reasonable.

Therefore, the argumentations of the research, if we put them as a whole, would be summarized simply in four aspects: 1) what are the push-and-pull factors that cause the migration in contemporary China in scale and scope; 2) what development resources the migrants can gain from the accumulation of their experience in destination areas; 3) how these resources as forms of capital from migrants' accumulation can be effective for the development of themselves and their regions of origin and 4) why and how the migration issue can be connected with spatial development in the future.

Accordingly, a theoretical framework with systematic thinking line can be drawn as well with analytical tools from the fields of studies of modernization, capital theory and theory of spatial practice. Because of the complexity of these theories, concepts applied can also vary and

interrelated for adequate adoptions. Specifically, the basic points to be engaged can be such as the elaboration and interpretation of practical process of modernization, the regulation theory, disembeddedness, diversity of modernity orientation, persistency of resources for future development, and so forth. In the meantime, the reliable theoretical points of this research will be the use of the flows as forms of capital, it is extraordinarily important to make it distinguished for understanding of the functions of economic capital, social capital and cultural capital and political capital. Finally, the spacing or the significance of flows of space, and the placing, or the field effect with spatial structure as pluralistic landscape construction for regional development can be essential for concluding discussions as well.

#### **1.4.2 Explanation of Places Chosen for Field Work**

While mentioning the spaces in terms of the regions concerned, I have used “coastal” and “interior” in the subtitle of this research to modify and define them. Indeed what I mean here cannot be all the relative coastal urban places of destinations or interior rural ones as the origin of migration, but those typical ones with coastal and interior features. For instance, the area of Guangzhou and Pearl River Delta (PRD) I define as a coastal for the study of the process of migration is representative

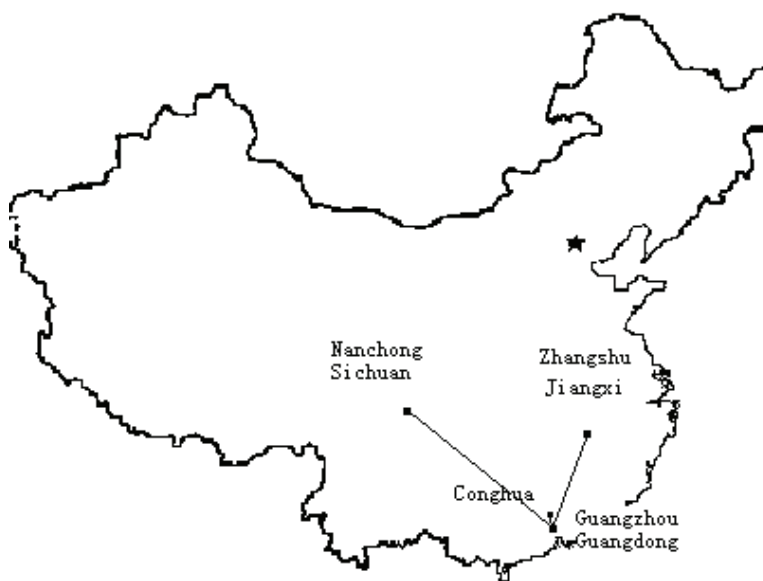
enough of all the fourteen coastal cities as once remarked by Philips and Yeh<sup>75</sup>.

Before we start to observe all sorts of flows originated with migratory population movement, the first flow taken shape from place to place is the flow of migrant people. It is only because of the different conditions of places that the action of migration takes place, hence it is often the same as spatial development that depends primarily on the development of places. For this reason, I have mapped out the ones with typical features for the study (see Map. 1.1) and I will certainly explain it here why and how places are deliberately chosen for my field work as either the original areas where migrants come out or the destination areas where migrants live, work and move on.

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<sup>75</sup> Philips and Yeh, (1990)

Map 1.1: The areas chosen for field work from different regions<sup>76</sup>



The place I naturally decide to do my research survey for migrants destination study is of course Guangzhou, for I have been living, studying and working in the city for over 19 years. The city, according to research results I drew on and collected, is not only a dynamic center of the Pearl River Delta that has witnessed the economic reform<sup>77</sup> one step ahead over the country, but also a coastal and regional metropolis with a population of over 10 million people, among which around 30% are migrants<sup>78</sup>. Situated in South China, next to Hong Kong and a couple of other medium-sized cities in the delta, it has long been regarded as a reservoir of migrant labor force as well as a pivot of migration flow. The migrant

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<sup>76</sup> Proportion of the map to real land is 1: 52000000 and the distance of Nanchong from Guangzhou is over 1500 kilometers while Zhangshu is about 800 kilometer from Guangzhou.

<sup>77</sup> Ezra F. Vogel, (1989)

<sup>78</sup> Guangzhou Urban Planning Bureau, 2002

population issues, in both positive and negative sense, in this city since the middle of 1980's have attracted wide attention throughout China and even outside the country, for the factors can be never worthless as objects for many sorts of academic as well as policy studies. Under the support and together with sociologists from Hong Kong Polytechnic University, I myself was involved as an organizer in a research project of migrants survey in the middle of 1990's. The data collected then and later from a pursuing study designed for this research with interview materials done from 2002 to 2004, are used here in Chapter Two for the discussion of generations of migrants' status quo.

In the meanwhile, two places from interior regions are chosen as the origins of migrants, where both outgoing and return migration will be analyzed to elaborate the further meaning of regional and spatial developments in Chapter Three. The first one is Nanchong City in Sichuan Province located in central west, actually more or less a geographical center of China. Introduced by Professor Zheng Yuan<sup>79</sup> and other professional researchers from San Yat-sen University in Guangzhou and Sichuan Normal University in Nanchong, the city and its surrounding mountainous area, like many other places in Sichuan, are full of traditional dual social and economic color, with rich resources of labor

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<sup>79</sup> Professor Yuan not only indicated the significance of outgoing and return migration in his home area, but also introduced to the author experts from the regional development research center in Sichuan Normal University in Nanchong, who actually provided with very professional help for the field work there.

force but very limited farmland for cultivation. So the local government has taken advantages and successfully imposed by institutional and market means first outgoing migration programs for the jobless peasants and then incentive remigration policies for those who come back wealthy with considerably helpful resources as in forms of economic, social and cultural capital for development. I have been there three times in 2002 and 2003 to observe the typical models of movement and development and had over 30 interviews with outgoing and returning migrants, which prove to be valuable for this research later on. The second place is a county level city named Zhongshu under the administrative jurisdiction of Yichun City in a hinterland province named Jiangxi in the central east of China. There are two reasons why I chose this place to do more interviews with the same intention: one is for comparative use, since this is geographically much closer to the neighboring coastal provinces; the other is because of my knowledge of this area as a former native there myself.<sup>80</sup> This small place that I know is in name a city but in reality an agricultural county with three fourth of its population working on farms. As one of the largest labor force exporters, just like Sichuan, there have been continuous outgoing programs as well, but organized return migration rarely happen. Why? The data collected from interviews will

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<sup>80</sup> Growing up in this district, the author has his own advantages both on the understanding of local dialects and culture. In addition, the acquaintances of the author's, either in township level or in the field work village where the author used to live during the Cultural Revolution in early 1970's as an urban child, did give very accurate information for the interviews.



paraphrase it again in Chapter 3. In addition, there are again a few interview cases in some country areas in suburban places within Guangdong for comparative use as well.

Given other reasons of places chosen, the geographic one can be the most significant and practical, for apparently all these three places (including the one I did related policy study with interviews to official in the suburban town of Guangzhou on the edge of the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong), represent respectively the central, sub-central and coastal regions of the country. This is fundamental for the discussion of regional and spatial development in the following chapters.

## Chapter Two

### Migration as a Process of Accumulation

#### 2.1 Introduction

In the light of results from countless numbers of the migration-related studies, the most important part is often the initial drive of move and the possibility of the migrants' stay and development in the destination areas. This is why Todaro's model has become so overwhelming in the explanation of motivation of internal migration in less developed countries since 1960's and the interpretation of marginality, acculturative stress, "eth-class", assimilation as rural migrants' life feature in early urban settlements so concentrative for years in the last century. As the citation of all these, we have already discussed a lot with findings in the literature review that there has been emergence of neo classical conceptual framework helpful for related researches.

Social reality is always changing with time and circumstances. Due to the background of dual social structure in China the phenomenon of migration from interior rural to coastal urban regions has definitely differentiated from that in other developing countries not only in typology but also in contents<sup>81</sup>. Within just around two decades, the changes of migrants' life motivation and expectation have already been witnessed by

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<sup>81</sup> Zhou, Daming, (2005)

the scholarly defined “two generations of them” in nonstop process of migration. Generally speaking, the first generation of migrants include those who started their outgoing from the origins between the years of mid-1980’s to the mid-1990’s, the second followed with new pursuits and expectation as a new generation from mid-1990’s up to the present<sup>82</sup>. However, in my research , I would like to classify it into three generations, namely, the pioneer group, the mainstream and the institution-balanced one, which will be interpreted later. Since the third generation is just a trend with vague emergence in this one or two years of time, in the research our focus of observation and analysis is still on the first two generations with particular attention paid to their process of accumulation during migration life. For that purposes, at least three questions should primarily be answered: Did the migrants’ motivation of their movement and imbedding approaches to urban societies in destination area maintain the same in their migration lives? What would actually happen to them between the two generations under the world-known fast development in China? How could they respectively realize the accumulation of resources in such a short period of only two decades? By addressing these and other relevant arguments, the findings with elaboration from mainly micro studies conducted in the coastal urban destination regions will proceed as designed and planned.

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<sup>82</sup> Wang Chunguang (2001) ; Wang Dong, Qing Wei (2002)

This chapter covers the study of the process of migration in contemporary China from the general introduction of structure of the flow of people as well as the scope of generations analyzed in the detailed micro level observations. As part of the study in migration issues in 1990's beside citation of studies conducted by others, I used data collected from a questionnaire survey I once organized about 10 years ago in 1995 to find out the living and working conditions of densely populated migrants living and working in the economic and technological development District (GETDD)<sup>83</sup> to the southeast of the urban center of Guangzhou. Since the study then was not as designed for the research of migration with accumulation of development resources, I only quoted some of the related results published with resorting and recalculation just to make it supportive as base of comparison work done in the end of the chapter between changes of the generations of migrants' life pursuits.

For the research of their process of migration with accumulation as second generation, another micro study was carried out here with interview methodology mainly from 2002 to 2004. As it was deliberately designed for this dissertation study, this research can be considered a follow-up to track the changes of migrants objective and subjective life in different periods with new data from interviews collected again from some migrants but in different part of the city. It was in a leather

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<sup>83</sup> The location of it see the map in Figure 2.1

processing factory with German investment located in one of the urban villages in the north of the same destination. For wider understanding of this generation, some interviews done with migrant family members in one village in Jiangxi are cited too as background context. The main field work of these two studies conducted with a near 10-year time gap in the locations of the city can be shown as below.

Map 2.1: Locations of places for field work in Guangzhou<sup>84</sup>



Since the two studies happened to be conducted right before and after the period of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, during which there

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<sup>84</sup> GETDD as the Guangzhou Economic and Technological Development District is now named GDD situated in the east of the city centre and Dewei is a Leather Processing Company located in the north of the urban centre.

was the emergence of new generation of migrants characterized with identities between “survival and experiencing”<sup>85</sup>, or as I interpret it, from “survival to development rationality”, the differences of the features of the two generations then become very obvious. In this sense, if we make a time sequence comparison of the two generations in terms of outgoing motivation, imbedding action into the destination society, the expectation for future development and the ways of constructing social network, we can naturally argue that the time sequences will result in some changes as well as extensions. They can even easily bring us to the theses as the following:

1. the first generation of rural people moved to urban areas only for the accumulation of monetary income with unexpected achievements while the second does it more than that;
2. the first generation of migrants was forced to adapt to the urban society while the second does it more independently and actively.
3. the first generation of migrants would rather like to stay in cities than the second one;
4. the ways of construction of social network between the two generations change with the amount of their accumulation of forms of capital.

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<sup>85</sup> Wang, Chunguang, 2003, P 197-201

5. both generations of migrants have structural accumulation of forms of capital.

Based on these theses to be discussed later on and instead of assumptions, I argue that it is the life status of generations of migrants that impacted their motivation of accumulation of forms of capital other than the changes of the lebenswelt. The elaboration of it will be in the end of this chapter.

## **2.2 From First to Second: Generations of Migrants Life Observed**

By reading and understanding the first generation of migrants and their economic and social status in coastal urban regions of destination, we shall go back to the time from mid-1980' to even late 1990's when the process of migration was there as stages. Then we must find out again their main characters and their early life as migrants with which they started the changes of their life. Based on that, there come out some possible findings from the observation of their initial accumulation of resources for future life development.

### **2.2.1 Process of Migration in Terms of Time and Destination**

While proposing that there have come into being three generations of migrants in contemporary China, instead of adopting the theory of two

generations, I am actually trying to define the stages of the process of migration in the country since early 1980's.

Of course there is not any clear cut as borderline by exact year between the stages. Indeed the pioneering migrants as the first generation turned to move from farmland to small rural factories in townships, then to bigger industrial base in urban regions for almost one decade right after the success of rural reform in the very end of 1970's. This mode of movement before 1985 was at that time called "away from farmland without leaving the rural place"<sup>86</sup>, which means a start of industrialization and urbanization just in home region. These path-breakers, together with certain numbers of migrants pioneering farther away to big cities where workers were needed, was in the real sense the first generation of migrants who quitted their traditional jobs and ventured out with simply the so-called "survival rationality"<sup>87</sup>.

Then from the late 1980's to the end of 1990's or even the beginning of the new century, the mainstream of rural migrants began pouring into destinations from interior to coastal urban regions. Due to the economic development requirements, constant flows of migrants concentrated in the developed regions where industrialization accelerated in speed. Take the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong for example, by the year of 2000, in just 8 super and big cities, the stream of registered migrants numbered around

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<sup>86</sup> Qing Hui, (1994)

<sup>87</sup> Huang Ping, (2001) p205



19.29 million, which accounted for 91.6% of the whole migratory population of the whole province. In the last 10 years of 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of the migrants were coming from interior regions. Taking 71.55% of the whole migrant population of the province, in year of 2000 there were actually migrants from 30 provinces across the country moving into Guangdong, among whom the largest exporters were Sichuan, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Hunan and Henan with a number from one to three million each<sup>88</sup>. This generation, though considered the second, is hard to define. The earlier migrants such as those before 1995 could be pioneers in urban regions who are regarded as the same as the first generation, while later outgoing migrants were more characterized as the second generation toward the third.

The third generation of migrants, if we look upon it as institution-balanced, is the result of improved political environment for the guidance and regulation of the migration process in recent years. As a mater of fact in the past decade, hundreds of laws and regulations have been passed and promulgated by different levels of people's congress and government, which lead to all concerns about migration and remigration issue. By far the most meaningful stress to the income rights protection of migrants is proposed twice in the yearly "Central Government Working Report<sup>89</sup>" by Wen Jiabao, which caused not only discussion in the yearly

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<sup>88</sup> Ye Jianfu, et al, ((2003)

<sup>89</sup> Wen Jiabao, (2004),(2007)

meeting of national people's congress on Hukou-related policy but also some informal and symbolic advices on websites about the amendment of the Constitution to put in again the clause of "freedom of migration"<sup>90</sup>. When more and more social actions are taken to support the migration, the second generation of migrants is starting to change and become the third only in recent years.

In this dissertation research, though the coastal region is used in the subtitle, I often have citation of cases from the urban PRD of Guandong, the south China coastal rather than many other coastal regions in the East and Northeast part of the country, because the region as I mentioned earlier has proved to be the representative one of China's reform and opening economy on the one hand and the most important region of destination which saw the process of migration on the other hand. According to a quantitative study on the spatial structure of the floating population in Chinese cities, based on the 1996 floating population registration, the actual statistics has shown that the Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Xiamen was the largest circle migration, which made up 39.3% of the whole migrant population in coastal regions compared to Beijing-Tianjin-Dalian and Shanghai-Nanjing-Hangzhou circles.<sup>91</sup> As time passes, though the other destinations may become more

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<sup>90</sup> Note: From the second Constitution (1975) on, this clause has been abolished in all later version. See earlier note.

<sup>91</sup> Zhu Chuangeng, et al, (2002), pp 66-68, note: the author's term "floating" means actually "migratory".

important, the PRD is always the typical region of destination for the study of first and second generation of migrants involved in the migration process.

China's migration process indeed started later than that in countries in East, South, and Southeast Asia, but the results of one United Nations' study on the factors associated with net rural-to-urban migration still fits the situation in the past two decades. These factors include: 1) rising levels of personal income, 2) the tendency for income increases to be expended mainly on non-agricultural products, and 3) great efficiency in production and consumption in urban areas<sup>92</sup>. Based on this line of research and referring to the circumstances of development level in China, we can go further to the detailed micro studies on the migration as process of accumulation of forms of capital by migrants in the past ten to twenty years.

### **2.2.2 Characters and Living Conditions of Early Migrants**

The time I organized the following empirical study was 1995 when the migrant population increased from 300,000 in early 1980's to about 1.5 million in Guangzhou, and some had about 10 years of time experience of drifting in the urban areas<sup>93</sup>. While most of the urban

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<sup>92</sup> Philip M. Houser & Robert W. Grander, (1982) p.17

<sup>93</sup> *Decision Making and Consultation for Guangzhou Government*, 2<sup>nd</sup> issue, 1995

people then started to recognize the contribution they had made for economic development in the region and the rural migrant themselves became aware of the existence with their aims of simply “survival rationality” in cities, the city administrators found themselves in trouble of handling housing, traffic, public safety, social security, birth planning, and many more. The mayor of the city of Guangzhou then even gave orders to conduct researches for the issue, which happened to have met the academic interests of the joint research group with experts from both Hong Kong and Guangzhou<sup>94</sup>.

However, with such a large number of people as research objects, researchers then often found it helpless to carry out a really scientific survey of the people involved. On the one hand, the structure of this floating population was very complicated because they had come from so many different rural places with different cultural background and different personal or group requirements in the ways of decision making and action taken. On the other hand, they lived in scattered peasant houses for rent in hundreds of urban villages in and outside the city, stayed in divisive factory or company dormitories, or even in temporary shabby sheds on thousands of worksites, where any kind of samplings for survey may come across the possibilities of failure in representation of the whole of the targeting group.

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<sup>94</sup> See Unpublished document: *Application for Migration Investigation in Urban Areas* by Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences, (1995)

Under these circumstances, we decided to conduct this research in Guangzhou economic and technological development district where there was a concentration of migrant population of about 30,000 taken 7 times of the population de jure in peak time of employment. As most of them lived in factory dormitories with temporary dwellers registration, we easily got a name list from the local bureau of public security for an accurate sampling of 350 out of 9173 people, with a sampling proportion rate of 0.038 ( $f=0.038$ ). With returning rate of 93.7% and valid samples of 314, making up 89.7 % of the whole, the test of error rate for percentage over the sex of investigated versus the whole samples was just 0.03 as well, which means a very acceptable standard of sampling representation<sup>95</sup>. Focusing on 51 questions in a questionnaire composed of six parts as 1) working status, 2) quality of life, 3) social security and service, 4) social intercourse and participation, 5) subjective feelings of life as a migrant, and 6) personal data of the respondent<sup>96</sup>.

As most migrants investigated here in 1995 were pioneers in their first stage of migration into the coastal urban city Guangzhou, they found themselves difficult in imbedding into the society with diversity of rural background, but they had no hesitation of making and saving money, of using traditional relations for staying and of learning skills to keep their

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<sup>95</sup> Note: the test of sampling and other statistical data cited hereafter is based on a report published in journal named Asia Study in Hong Kong ( Second issue, 1995) . Some results for interpretation in this section are done with the resorting and recalculation with recomputed analysis by statistic means necessary.

<sup>96</sup> See English version of the questionnaire in the appendix I.

jobs. In addition, though the harsh and poor living conditions made them feel hard to survive, the accumulation of monetary capital was still of very strong attraction. Now let us have a general picture of migrants' life in this stage:

1. the main characters of migrants in mid-1990's

The pioneering migrants were not well prepared for the urban life, their background was diverse, old or young, educated or illiterate, married or unmarried, they rushed out because they thought that they were poor compared with urban people and they wanted to change their life with a dream in cities full of opportunities.

Generated from the data in the survey I mentioned (the next few figures as well), the following are two figures indicating the main characters of the first generation of migrants coming to Guangzhou in late 1980's and early 1990's with the growing upsurge of migration movement.

2. The living and working conditions of the migrants in mid-1990's

Accordingly, they had to pick up the jobs Solinger described as "harsh, filthy and exhausting"<sup>97</sup> to maintain their life in destinations with endless work, mainly the manual labouring ones as in the figure 2.3.

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<sup>97</sup> D.J Solinger, (1999)

Figure 2.1: Main characters of early migrants in Guangzhou (1)

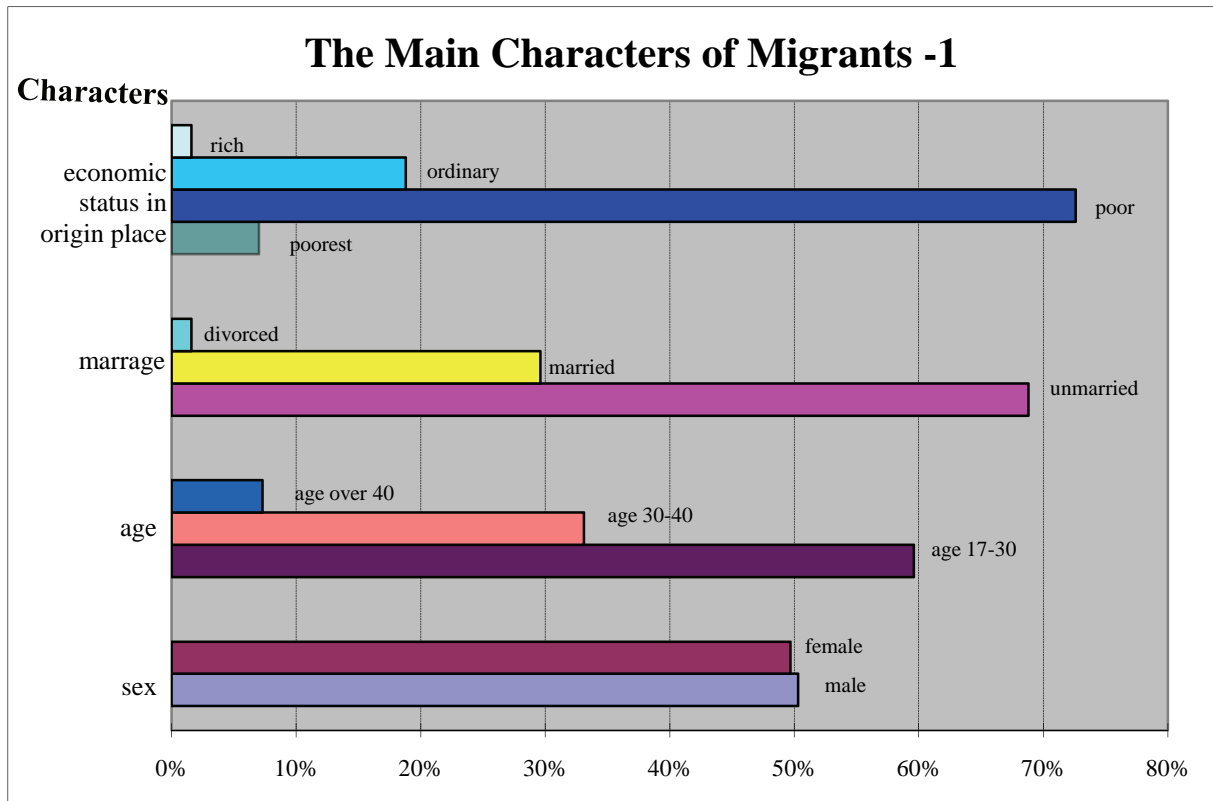


Figure 2.2: Main characters of early migrants in Guangzhou (2)

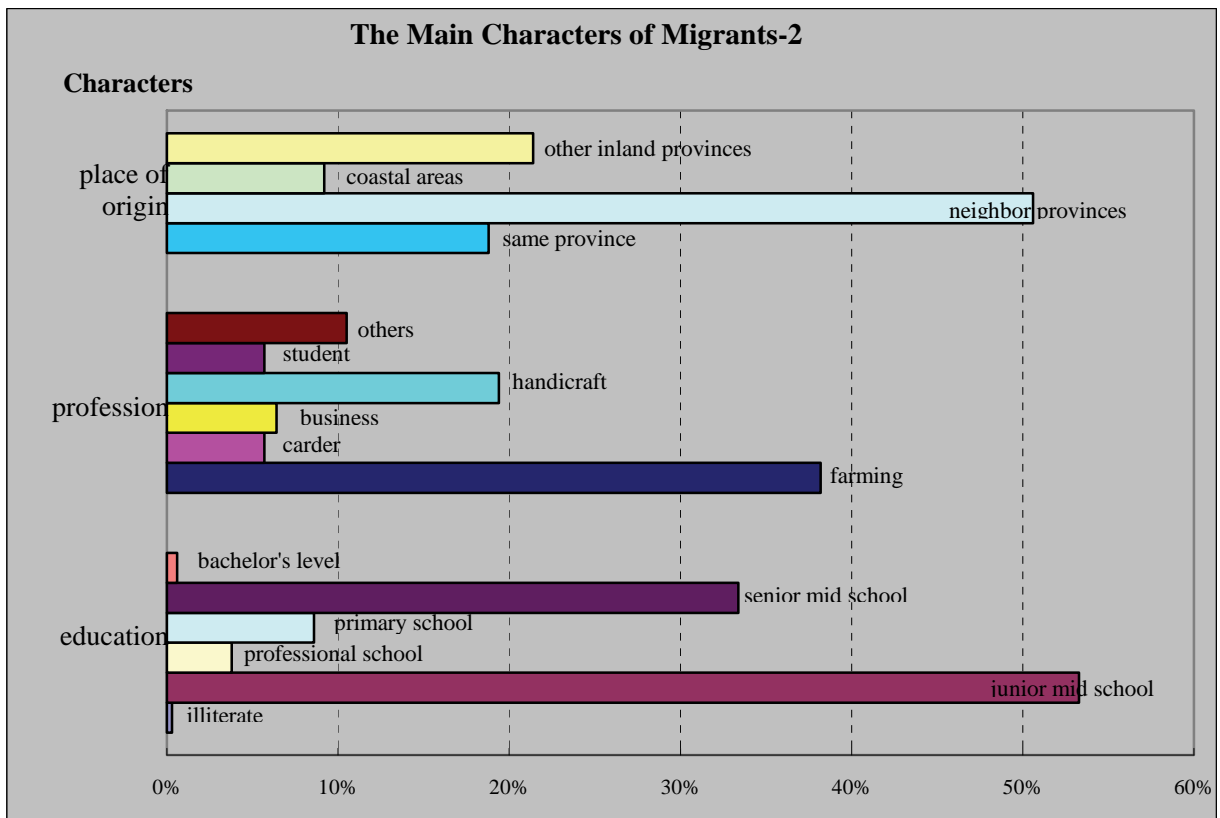
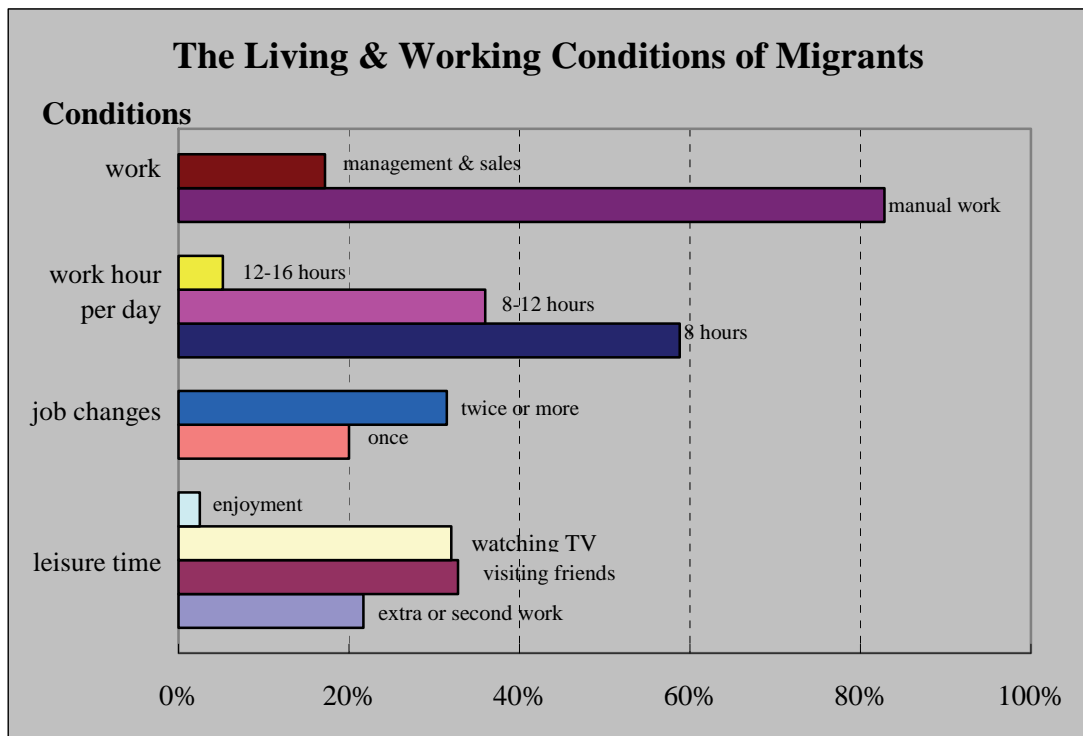


Figure 2.3: Working conditions of early migrants in Guangzhou



As for the quality of life, the migrants in general at that time found themselves almost nothing but survival. Take housing for example, the extreme case was one room for 99 people and the usual number of migrants sharing a room would be 7 or 8, with the average living space for each being just 3 square meters. They had to live in houses not only crowded but also of poor conditions, about 55.5% of the living units had just public bathrooms and 31.1% shared facilities with some other.

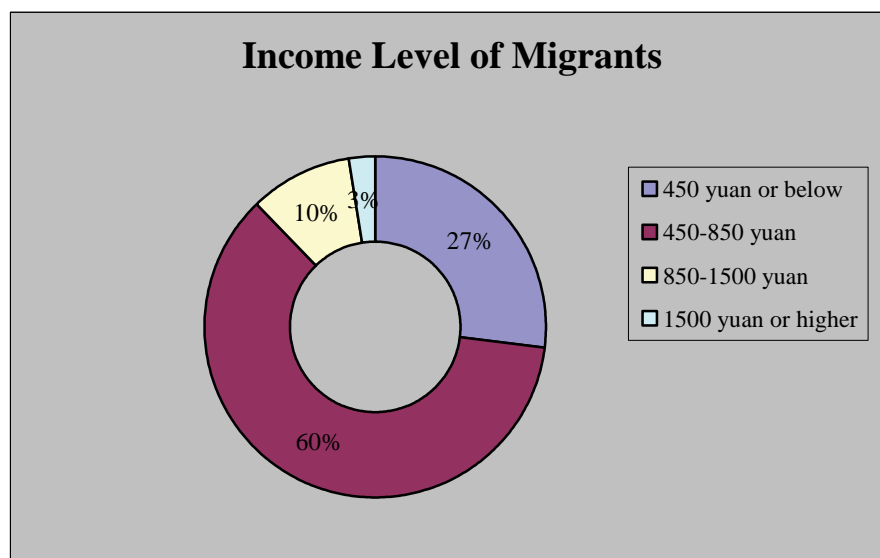
### 3. Their income and ways of consumption in mid 1990's

Speaking of work, one thing I have to describe is their income in that area of Guangzhou then. Statistic results showed that the average of



the monthly income they had was 643.54 yuan (RMB)<sup>98</sup>, with the maximum amount as high as 10,000 yuan (rare just for migrant businessman) and the minimum only 198 yuan. If we have their income classified in 4 levels, the ratio would be shown in the next figure.

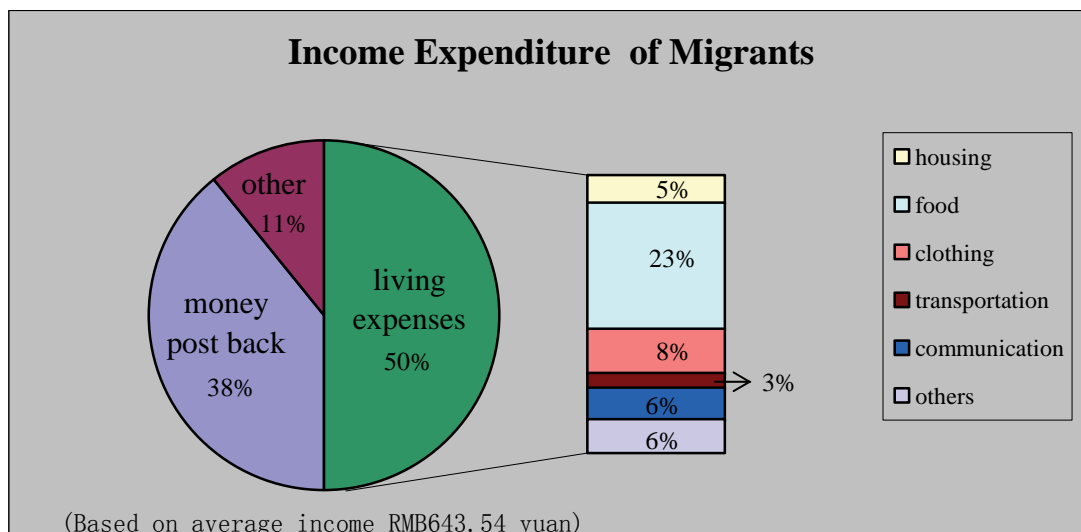
Figure2.4: Ratio of income levels of early migrants in Guangzhou



It is evident the variable of income is always the most important indicator either for the migrants' motivation to move to destinations or for their life expectation to the urban society. Only with money could they come and stay in cities and fulfill their expectation for changing their own and family life status. In the meanwhile, they also tried to live extremely simple life as showing in Figure 2.5 for saving money as economic capital needed.

<sup>98</sup> Note: 100 yuan of RMB is approximately equal to 10 Euros.

Figure 2.5: Average life expenditure of early migrants in Guangzhou



People in this crowded world are driven to move back and forth only by profits.<sup>99</sup> Undoubtedly they all came with a motivation to earn money to send back home to improve quality of life for both themselves and their families in the areas of origin, since over 80% of them would post money back and the average amount was 251.21 yuan, taking over one third of the income of less than 700. Coming with the hope of earning more money to bring both themselves and their family members at home to a status of better and modernized life, however, they would often find a gap between their expectation and reality. On the one hand, they did considerably succeed in the accumulation of meaningful economic capital at that time though the average yearly income in the rich city as

<sup>99</sup> Si Maqian, An ancient Chinese Scholar who wrote *Notes of History. Trading Events*

Guangzhou was around 10,000 yuan per capita compared to those in most rural areas just 2000-3000 for a family<sup>100</sup>. On the other hand, different groups of migrants may gain different payments from urban work because of their personal background and places where to work and thus they differed in the perception of the urban life with their experiences and got lost what to do for the next step.

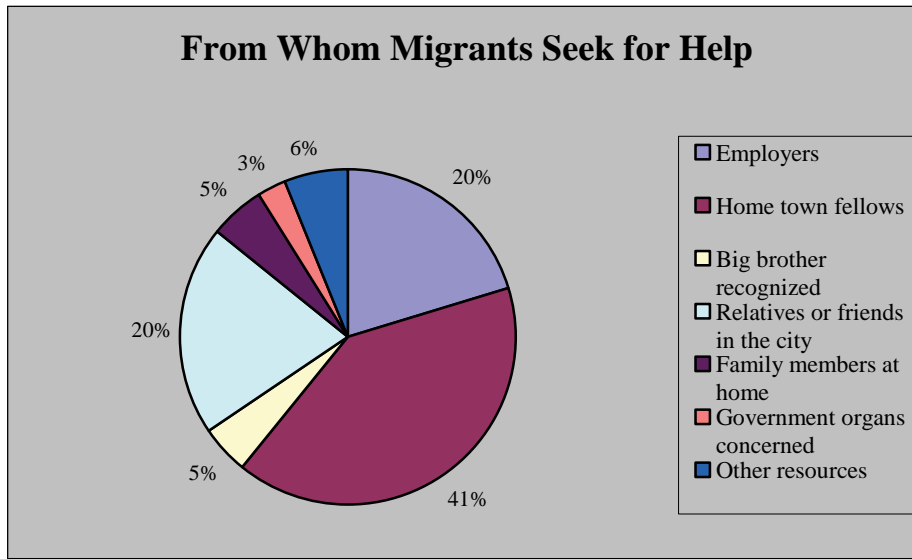
#### 4. The social ties the migrants would rely on during migration

In the early time of migration, with very weak mechanism of market and government policy, most of the migrants could only seek help as in Figure 2.6. No matter where they came from, the most effective resources reliable would be the group of their own or relatives and friends they happened to have. Later on for the survival in strange urban destination areas, they would weave a network with the ties possessed or constructed when they came across economic or life difficulties such as their job changes, health, alienation, accidents, and anything in the case of disimbeddiness to urban life.

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<sup>100</sup> Statistic Year Book of Guangzhou, (1998)

Figure 2.6: From whom the early migrants would seek help



In terms of jobs attained when coming from the rural places of origin to the urban destination areas, the migrants at the time made good use of the primitive ties between friends and country fellows. Due to the imperfectness of labour market and local government organizing work, about 47.6% of the migrants were introduced to Guangzhou by those earlier comers, 15.7% were introduced to their first jobs through relatives or friends in the city. Then a social network from job referral started to be established. For example, when help was needed to solve problems in life, migrants would usually go to ask for support from those who introduced them to the area, of course, but sometimes they also tried to make use of other resources newly obtained. During the time of migration, they were also ready to help those who were in difficulties. As colleagues or especially social ties of home region, they always put their hands to

relieve others' hard burdens. As is shown in the data, 80% of the young people, 73% of the middle aged people and 50% elder ones gave financial help to those of their kinds.

It seemed that the public service at that time was invalid at least in migrants' eyes, as only 2.8% of them would think the government organs could be of help. However, they had their own ways to handle difficulties in the self-organized society with bases of home region fellows, relatives or friends. Some even went to seek for shelter from the "big brothers"<sup>101</sup>, those who used to be heads of informal associations of fellows from same origins and proved to be capable in fighting against outsiders.

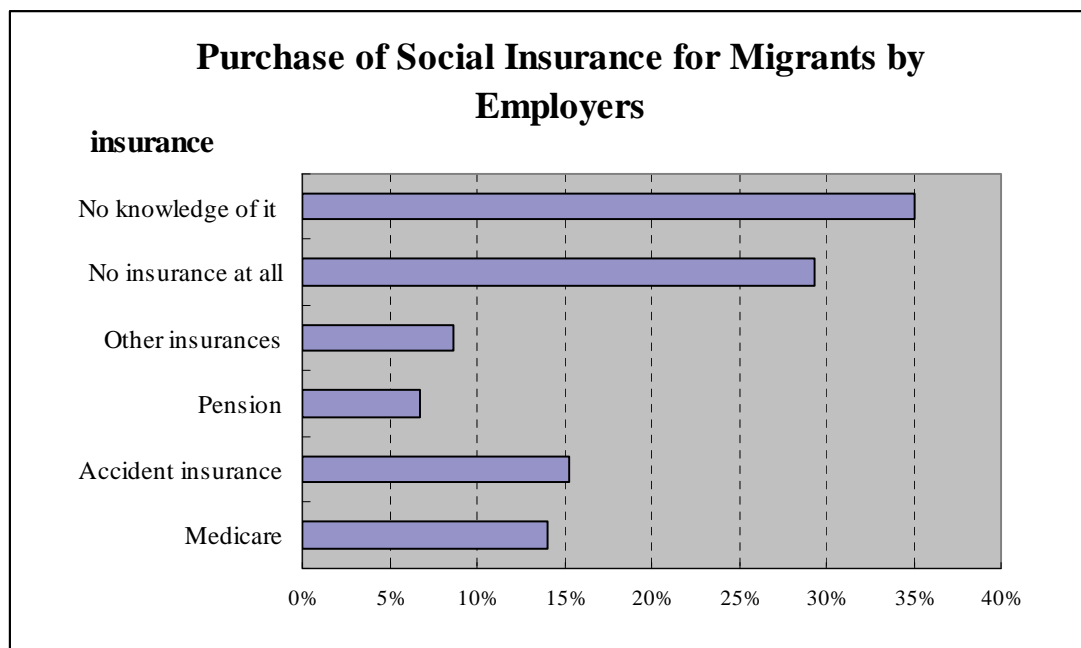
#### 5. The welfare the migrants would enjoy in mid-1990s

One phenomenon to be specially stated as an important part of the status of migrants is the social insurance coverage. As it was the initial time for social insurance policy for rural "temporary labourers" rather than the traditional welfare system for urban fixed employees, the insurance purchased either by the employers or by themselves was rarely carried out for this group as needed. (See Figure 2.7)

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<sup>101</sup> "big brothers" mean those who are considered powerful and successful in the informal social group in Chinese traditional culture.

Figure 2.7: Purchase of social insurance by early migrants in Guangzhou



From this figure, we can see that the reason why there was little purchase of social insurance for the migrants. It could be partially due to the unawareness of self protection by the migrants themselves, as most of them had even rarely heard of it.

### 2.2.3 Migrants' Perception and Expectation with Urban Experience

Under the conditions of their general background and status quo depicted above, how the migrants could have a new perception as *lebenswelt* to start their accumulation of forms capital in the urban society was quite an important process at the time.

The differentiation of background and life experiences would bring as well their perception and choices for future action and form up their new lebenswelt for understanding both themselves and the environments. When asked about the feeling of life in Guangzhou and the perception of the urban features, the migrants had diversified answers in options.

Table 2.1: Migrants' perceptions concerning urban reality (%)<sup>102</sup>

Questions	1	2	3	4	no idea
a. Here is a golden place for moneymakers	2.9	29.1	41.5	8.3	18.2
b. Here is a place that only recognizes money	6.5	23.6	50.5	7.4	12.0
c. There is no feeling of safety in the city	14.4	42.3	33.0	5.1	5.1
d. The competition is too fierce for us to stay, it's better go back with money earned	14.3	44.5	18.2	5.2	17.9
e. Urban residents are all rich and they discriminate against migrants	2.6	14.2	68.7	8.7	5.8
f. Satisfied with life and work in the city	5.4	63.4	14.6	4.5	12.1
j. Plan to introduce friends and relatives to come to work here	1.3	33.8	31.8	5.5	27.6

n= 314

Although the solutions or attitudes are not so concentrated in answers of “agree” and “disagree”, there are significant replies to some

<sup>102</sup> Note: In this table, the numbers have used for the meanings should be: 1. Absolutely right; 2. I agree; 3. I don't agree; 4. totally disagree. Besides, since the original data was lost, this table cited from my publication in Asian Studies ( 3<sup>rd</sup> issue 1996) could not be tested with significances when used here.

of them. For example, in answering of question f, 68.8% of the migrants were satisfied with life and work in the city, but at the same time to question d, 58.8% of them considered that “the competition is too fierce for us to stay, it’s better go back with money earned”. This means they were happy and satisfied with earning money, which could be much more than they had at home, and they disliked the urban life, which was hard for them; they (around 50%) did not think much of “the place as a golden place for money makers” and would like just to go back with accumulation of economic capital possible.

As usual, people may think that money makes one confident in migrant life. The more one earns in the place the more one may think he can achieve there. This can be the transformation of economic capital into forms of other kind, especially the lebenswelt for future expectation in the process of migration. But the reality seemed inexplicit in this regard.

Now let us turn to the next tables for more observation.



Table 2.2: View of Guangzhou by migrants of different income level  
(%)<sup>103</sup>

Here is golden place for money makers	<u>Income</u>			
	low level	middle level	high level	extra-high level
Absolutely agree	29.4	20.3	11.5	0.0
Agree	29.4	45.3	43.8	20.0
Disagree	29.4	25.0	35.5	40.0
Totally disagree	5.9	1.6	5.1	40.0
No idea	5.9	7.8	4.1	0.0

*Pearson Correlation: 0.091*

*Significance: 0.109*

It is interesting that there was almost no correlation between the level of income and the degree of evaluation of the city as a money making place. A total of 80% of the extremely high income migrants and about 40% of high income ones marked the answers of “disagree or totally disagree”. The explanation might be two-fold: the higher the income one can get, the more difficulties one may have experienced; the other is that those who earn less income may often have lower expectation of income and vice versa.

<sup>103</sup> Note: Low level income include those earn monthly 450 yuan or below, accordingly middle level is 451 to 850; high level is 851 to 1500 and the extra high is 1501 or above.

Investigation of income in China is often sensitive. When asking questions concerning income, the answer would always be ambiguous. However, indirect replies which sometimes lead to inaccuracy by misunderstanding of one person's real condition can still be strong evidences as migrants' process of accumulation of economic capital. This is the motivation of movement, the expectation of staying in urban areas and the goal of future life in spite of frequent possible conflicts between what is expected and what they actually encounter.

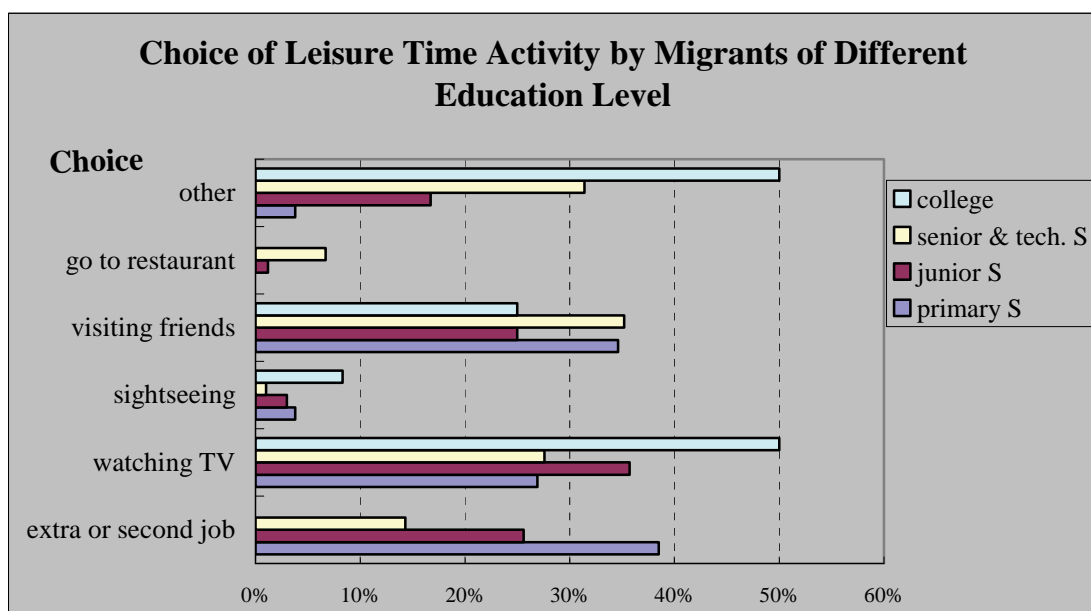
Unlike economic capital which can be accounted by amounts of money, the accumulation of other forms of capital such as social capital and cultural capital is usually unperceived.

Back to the case of migrants' life in Guangzhou economic and technological development district, we can find the traits of their imbedding into urban society with accumulation of unexpected resources, which may have impact not only on their future life but also on action modes of the next generation of the group.

As for the accumulation of cultural capital, it was more or less of a passive progress of experiencing what happened in their life and work such as regulations of urban life, assimilation of urban consumption orientation, social norms to obey for any employees, or many other things. This is due to the reason that many of the migrants had seldom planned then to find meaning from urban culture, for which it may take time for

them to understand. Yet what they did not know does not mean they had no accumulation of perception of it. After tiresome physical labour, they would still try to have information exchanges with their family by letter writing about once a month beside sending money back, and go back once a year, and would try to enjoy urban life by visiting friends in different places or eating in restaurants. For in the after-work activities, for example, the migrants at that time would work for longer time or on other jobs to earn more money, and or just playing around to kill time instead of learning new things with plans. This is why people of different levels of educational background may simply have different choices as in the table below.

Figure2.8: Choice of leisure time activities by migrants of different educational levels



The indicator as “others” here in the figure includes “reading, self study, professional training courses or night schools and so on”. In this case, it seemed that the higher level the educational background the more intentions to learn for development.

Actually the time when the migrants set their feet on the urban land, especially when they tried to have their working jobs attained, they simply started to imbed into the society they had known very little with accumulation of social experiences. Step by step, they learnt to have command of information, to be regulated by the new industrial way of work, to get used to new orientation of consumption, to establish smooth relationship with employers, colleagues and even roommates, and to build up home linkage and social network right in the destination following the changes of every means of communication, etc.

In terms of accumulation of social capital which influences the shape of lebenswelt and may cause more accumulation either in destinations or back in regions of origin, I would also like to have citation of one more micro study conducted at the end of 1990’s by Li Hanlin on the relationship between strength of social networking and their future development wish<sup>104</sup>.

As a survey of rural migrants in Guangzhou, Shanghai and Beijing with 200 valid samples each, this research focuses mainly on the strength

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<sup>104</sup> Li Hanlin, (2003)

of social networking between migrants in association with the establishment of virtual society. The part that I am deliberately using here below is the analysis of the relationship between the strength of social networking and other two variables as “becoming a boss in the future” and “the confidence of future fulfilment”. By Anova analysis and related tests of significance for the support to the assumptions as “the stronger the social relationship built, the more confident in future expectation”, some findings can be stated below.

Table 2.3: The strength of social networking and the wishes to be a boss

	Plan to be a boss	no plan to be a boss
Strength of social networking (n)	175	425
Mean	2.50	2.14
Standard Deviation	1.59	1.64
95% CI for Mean		
lower	2,26	1.99
upper	2.74	2.30
F-Ratio	–	5.99
df	–	1
sig	–	.015

Table 2.4: The strength of social networking and the confidence of future fulfilment

	Sure	Possible	uncertain	unknown	never-think
Strength of social network (n)	137	216	171	32	33
Mean	2.51	2.43	2.00	1.56	1.77
Standard Deviation	1.52	1.49	1.77	1.09	2.19
95% CI for Mean					
lower	2,26	2.23	1,74	1.16	.99
upper	2.77	2.63	2.27	1.95	2.55
F-Ratio	–	–	–	–	4.77
df	–	–	–	–	4
sig	–	–	–	–	.001

It is interesting that the result in Table 2.4 do not totally support the assumption by test of F value and significance value. The possible interpretation then according to the researcher is that the migrants' wish to become a boss may both benefit from and constrained by the social capital they accumulated, since the foundation laid is still not solid for that target. However, in Table 2.5, the result proves that the assumption is totally correct, the closer they can weave their social network the more confidence they will have for future fulfilment in development. This case has shown that by the end of 1990s the migrants are turning from the first

generation to the second one and their accumulation from the migration process became more abundant with transferring from one to another.

In fact, there can be more to be cited with description and interpreted so as to prove the accumulation of forms of capital with the flow of that generation of migrants. Since this is just applied as a timely context to illustrate more of that with the new generation, I would like to leave some space for the next part of my study in the following section.

### **2.3 New Generation of Migrants Life in Guangzhou**

This section is an in-depth pursuing study of the rural and interior migrants' life in Guangzhou. In general, the 19 interviews for this were mainly conducted with new generation of migrants in the same city from early 2002 to 2004, and just one was done in 2005. Since beside those done in Guangzhou there are 6 of them used from interviews with officials, managers of labor services, and migrants' family members or migrants back on holidays in home region as supplementary comments on their life, the data collected is solid under a meticulous design for analysis and interpretation and can be made as a comparative part to the life experience of the earlier generation.

To make it comparable, the investigation was mainly conducted in a leather processing factory (Dewei Co. Ltd) with German investment in an urban village located in a northern part named Baiyun District of

Guangzhou. Beside the density of migrant population living and working there, the background of this factory was introduced by the HR manager as the following:

*Dewei company with German investment was founded in 1995 with only 17 employees at the time. There is a set of rules and regulations for management in the company, such as production, safety, rewards and punishment, welfare and so on. Each worker is trained to understand them before employed, since some of the regulations are very detailed, for example, the disciplines are divided into kinds of verbal and written warnings, disciplinary warning and firing. The rewards can be scored by managers and chiefs or by yearly assessment of work efficiency as we begin to do this year. After years of development, there are now 570 working staffers in the company, with only fewer than 20 Guangzhou household registered. Migrant workers from inland provinces takes 70% of the total while about 30% of the migrant workers are from rural areas outside the PRD. Most of the migrant workers are from the countryside but a small number of them from towns or small cities. Those employed without Guangzhou household registration are demanded to buy social insurance of retirement, unemployment and injury, and the household registered people from Guangzhou should buy medical insurance as well.<sup>105</sup>.*

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<sup>105</sup> Interview # 2, 2003



By a simple sampling of migrants from different working departments, I had 12 interview cases focusing on the questions of their life experiences in the city and published a paper entitled “Voices of migrants” in 8 themes with a classification of raw materials<sup>106</sup>. But here in the dissertation I would like to follow the line again as above on their motivation and expectation in the process of accumulation of forms of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital as well and lebenswelt shaped with an outline of the work<sup>107</sup>.

### **2.3.1 Requirements Dominated New Motivation and Expectation**

This generation of migrants, when they move out, seems to bear with them newer motivation and expectation than that of the older one. As we found in the earlier survey, those who went out as the first generation were puzzled facing the urban life and swung around staying or retreating in terms more or less on the precondition of income. This is why there were so many “no idea” answers by the respondents to the questionnaire and so sporadic the values we can find in some cross-tables from the migrants in the study done in 1995 (see the previous section).

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<sup>106</sup> Note: the publication of that has nothing to do with this research but for the study of migration issue to explain the development of PRD.

<sup>107</sup> See No.2 of Appendix I.

The new generation of migrants are indeed motivated apparently by requirements of change of life status. In the eyes of older people who had all their sons and daughters going out as migrants from rural areas, “this is a lucky generation compared with those before. My parents moved around the home in just a 15 kilometres radius in their life. The farthest place I happened to have been to once was a medium sized city 200 kilometres from my village, but they are working and living now in urban places hundreds even thousands of miles away. They know a lot about the outside world that we don’t know<sup>108</sup>”. “It is the right time for them, they are required and they have their requirements and conditions of movement<sup>109</sup>.”

When we talk about the requirement of movement, the basis of observation is still on the push and pull framework, but rather different from Todaro’s model of “factors of income and job obtaining”, which was defined in Chapter one. Beside the macro political and economic context of drives of migration, which we have discussed earlier, there are many reasons of their movement from the viewpoints of micro level. On the one hand, the limited farmland in most rural areas in China cannot sustain the rapidly growing population of labourers who were mainly born in the birth peak in late 1950’s and the whole of 1960’s<sup>110</sup>. Examples of that can

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<sup>108</sup> Interview# 16& 17 (2003)

<sup>109</sup> Interview# 21, (2003)

<sup>110</sup> It is generally and officially acknowledged that the birth summit with extra growth of population as large as 300 million in China was chiefly in the period from late 1950’s to late 1970’s due to the political movement criticizing the theory of demography by Ma Yingchu, ex-president and professor of Beijing University. See Guangming Daily, (August 5, 1979)

be taken from my interviews of officials either in Changle town of Gaoping district in Nanchaong, Sichuan, where per-capita arable land is just 0.72 mu or in Linjiang town in Zhangshu of Jiangxi, where the arable land is 1.8 mu per capita<sup>111</sup>. In this situation, migrants as surplus laborers would often go one after another following their siblings and others as shown in most of my interview cases from home region, because they would easily find that “farm work was no longer heavy to keep them home they had nothing else to do in the village<sup>112</sup>”.

On the other hand, the urban areas in the new century seem to be more accommodating for the migrants who come as constructors with constant improvements of their living environment. Great changes have been made from income protection, to social insurance and later even substantial regulations to many aspects of their lives<sup>113</sup>. These as pulling factors are content with the migrants’ requirements in destinations. Take the income protection policy for example, when asked about his income level, one migrant worker was happy to express that it is almost impossible now for the neo generation of migrants to earn monthly income just as low as 198 yuan like the earlier comers ten or eight years before. “When I began my work the first month, they told me my salary would be 310, plus 100 as bonus for hard work, I had only over 400 something.” he added, “Fortunately the government promulgated the

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<sup>111</sup> Interview# 38 and Interview#23,(2003) One *mu* in China is equal to 0.066 hectare.

<sup>112</sup> Interview# 10 and Interview# 18, (2002 – 2003)

<sup>113</sup> Labor Law of PRC,( 1994)

minimum monthly wage be 510 this year, so I can earn now over 600 each month”<sup>114</sup>. The amount of 510 was the bottom line of monthly income of the year of 2003, actually in the year of 2004 a more formal announcement calling it for 684 yuan in urban area in Guangzhou and the plan for the time after September of 2006 will be 780 in this city<sup>115</sup>. As for living conditions in general, they can also enjoy the basic standards. In Dewei in Wangang urban village, the manager of human resources described: “We have some welfare policies for the staff who has worked here long and we prepared dormitories with 4 to 8 people in one room and one dining canteen for them<sup>116</sup>”. Migrants themselves also showed satisfaction with the insurance bought in the way “that the company has bought for us life insurance and accident insurance, but not medical coverage yet. Anyway, we feel safe though away from home<sup>117</sup>”.

In addition, while some of the new generation of migrants would express their reluctance of payment of special charges for them in the words that “We come out to make money, yet we have to pay every month 20 or 30 yuan as temporary stay fee. It is unfair and a kind of insult to us low-income migrants<sup>118</sup>”. Most of them have in their minds requirements of gaining life experience rather than simply making money

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<sup>114</sup> Interview#11, (2003)

<sup>115</sup> The bottom line of income varies from city to city in Guangdong according to the living standards of each. Migrants in Guangzhou enjoy the highest level except the economic zone as Shenzhen. See Guangzhou Daily, Aug, 31, 2006

<sup>116</sup> Interview# 2, (2002)

<sup>117</sup> Interview# 3, (2002)

<sup>118</sup> Interview# 6 and Interview# 8. (2003)

and caring about it. These requirements in turn are stated in what they have expected in their lives as migrants. If we have a summary of the expectations from interviews conducted for this study in Guangzhou, the following can be an illustration:

*I don't come for money, I come just to learn new things... Compared with my hometown area, it is really modern here (in Guangzhou). I come out just for this. However, working out is not a lifelong deal, I hope to save more money so that I can run a small business in hometown as I go back...I like to make full use of my youthful vigor to learn more, to accumulate more, to overcome more and to go to more places. With richer working experiences, I hope to have frequent change of my career... I have no way to think of the future and it's difficult to plan. I don't know if I should go back or drift outside in the urban area. But I am aware that no matter where I go, I must be confident and capable. To be specific, my home province develops very fast as I know, so I will probably find a job in a third place in some medium sized or small cities sooner or later<sup>119</sup>.*

Of course, no one of the migrants would consider it exclusive the accumulation of money as income, but “to accumulate more” must be more than that, it should be resources different from economic capital,

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<sup>119</sup> Interview # 4, #5, #7 and # 12, (2002-2003)

which may lead to more observation and deeper understanding in the next step.

### **2.3.2 Planned Accumulation of Cultural Capital**

In short, one of the most important resources beside money is the cultural capital, which as knowledge of industrial and urbanized style of work and life includes working disciplines, techniques and skills, ways of consumption, urban living habits, sciences and cultures, laws and regulations, market and humanity, etc. As one migrant once depicted in his talk to me and his home villagers, “there were numerous things I had never encountered like the strict discipline with a card pressed each time before work, the assembling line, the Cantonese food, clothes, lodging and the traffic infrastructure in the city, even toilet facilities<sup>120</sup>”.

Yet the obtaining and accumulation of experiences as cultural capital may need basis of outside environments and inner desires. In terms of environments as preconditions, one important factor is the possibility of making use of most of the income they get in urban destinations by themselves. It is fortunate that due to the change of life degree from poverty to well-off at home, some migrants now seldom send money back and their capability of consumption thus made it possible to experience

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<sup>120</sup> Interview# 14, (2003)

more of urban life including clothes, food, lodging and traffic facilities<sup>121</sup>.

An extreme example told by the mother of a migrant in Guangzhou is illustrated by the following story:

*As parents, we must be open-minded, we not only earned money ourselves to buy a motorcycle, to install a telephone, or to do the renovation of the old house, but also gave back 4000 yuan my daughter sent back days ago to us for her computer program training fee in Guangzhou. My family doesn't care how much money my son and daughter earn outside, I just want them to learn more knowledge and make bigger progress so that they will be capable of future survival and development.*<sup>122</sup>

Another factor of outside environment is the learning conditions in the destination areas which facilitate the migrants in obtaining training and learning for knowledge necessary. In recent years there are not just sorts of professional training programs organized by the employer's as in Dewei Company in Guangzhou that they have to have some basic training of working skills and regulations as the employees before taking any posts<sup>123</sup>, but people can find easily all kinds of training centers or schools everywhere around the city. What is more is that some urban governmental organs even invest for trainings of migrants for possessions

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<sup>121</sup> Interview# 15,( 2003)

<sup>122</sup> Interview# 19, (2003)

<sup>123</sup> A Quotation found from almost of all the interviews with migrant workers in Dewei Company in Guangzhou.

of qualified human capital. For instance, one report from Guangzhou media declares in the Pearl River Delta news column that the Shenzhen government has accordingly prepared for the next five years to train one million migrants each year free of charge from 100 to 800 yuan per person for high tech industries with concentration of migrants<sup>124</sup>.

Apart from the outside preconditions, what I find from the interviews is more from the migrants' desires in minds for having command of knowledge of all kinds as accumulation of cultural capital. To realize the desires of learning, most of them have not only made plans to participate in active training and continuous educational programs but also invested time, efforts as well as money earned to carry out the planned accumulation of what may be helpful for their life development. The following table can be evidence enough to show their ambitious plan to receive training during migration period from the small group of migrant interviewees whose income are just from 600 to 1500 yuan per month.

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<sup>124</sup> Guangzhou Daily report, (A 17, September 1, 2006)



Table 2.5: Migrants' plans for training programs with their own costs

Interviewee	Programs or Courses	Cost of their own
Interview#2	EMBA (two-year program)	8000 yuan per year <sup>125</sup>
Interview#3	English (training center course)	500 yuan half year
Interview#4	Programs of International Trade	About 400yuan per course
Interview#9	Computer design (night school)	2000 yuan each term
Interview#10	Science and Arts	500 yuan per course
Interview#19	Computer study (training)	4000 yuan whole program

There should be more cases like these that migrants who just earn around 1000 yuan each month would spend most of their income on training programs or other kinds of self study. The reason why I list them in the table is not because of the number of action takers or the amount of money invested, which may be statistically significant, but because of the prevailing phenomena that they tried hard to force themselves into the process of accumulation or preparation for knowledge-based cultural capital. As one of the interviewees above stated that “I can on the one

<sup>125</sup> Most of the migrants interviewed in the factory level as Dewei Company earn from 600 to 1500, depending on the working posts and time duration, but this one was an exception, as HR manager, she gained income as much as around 5000 yuan. I put her case here since coming from an inland province she had been for years as a migrant herself transferring from Siemens to Dewei.

hand improve my knowledge of English and computer application, on the other hand have a better understanding of the urban society”<sup>126</sup>.

Of course, not all the migrants even of the new generation could afford the training fees or have ambition for further study. Some may think it expensive to attend programs because of older age or family burden, but they never give up the opportunities to learn. One migrant of 35 years old and living with his migrant wife was thus realistic in his own way to gain knowledge: “I have got a habit of buying and enjoy reading the local newspaper *Guangzhou Daily* with one buck each day to know the world near and far.<sup>127</sup>” Others may be still on the way of raising a habit of learning or making a plan for that, as one girl migrant expressed: “on weekends and holidays, I spend most of my time in bookstores as I like literature and I buy and enjoy reading literary works as a hobby. I also hope to improve my English by attending training programs.<sup>128</sup>”

In general, no matter how much effort taken in the accumulation of the cultural capital with their migration experience, the migrants have formed up the consensus as their lebenswelt that knowledge either for working skills or for modern lifestyle assimilated from urban value as resources or capital could always be very important for one’s future development. With that on the one hand they can have better chances to

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<sup>126</sup> Interview# 9, (2003)

<sup>127</sup> Interview# 8, (2002)

<sup>128</sup> Interview# 12,(2003)

lead better lives themselves as “one’s quality cannot be judged by any school certificates but it will be based on his knowledge either from books or working practice. I have to study hard to lay foundation for the competition now in the examinations to get promoted and in the future for modernized life<sup>129</sup>”. On the other hand, if they found it too late for them to go on school training, they understand now at least “the importance of knowledge”. One migrant declared “I have made up my mind to let my kids receive better education. It was really stupid during the cultural revolution to advocate to my father’s generation the idea of ‘education meant nothing’<sup>130</sup>”. This perception, as we will find in the next chapter, can turn to be the new model of education consumption in regions where human capital is greatly needed for development.

### **2.3.3 Social Networks for Present and Future Life**

Social network with all sorts of social relationships as its elements of value is not a new thing in China. Social ties have actually long been observed in the country since ancient time by so many scholars. To sum up, one famous explanation of that was the “Differential modes of associations<sup>131</sup>” elaborated by Fei Xiaotong in late 1940’s. In his

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<sup>129</sup> Interview# 9, (2003)

<sup>130</sup> Interview# 15, (2002)

<sup>131</sup> Fei, Xiaotong, (1985), this is one way of the translation of the term “ chaxu jiegou” in Chinese.

preparation of China's earliest own textbook of rural sociology entitled *Rural China*, Fei made a rather vivid metaphor, in which the relationship in Chinese culture means that each person can be regarded as a stone thrown into or just falling in a pond of placid water and cause circles of ripples, from small to large, in distances. The closer the circle to the center, the stronger the social tie would be and the ties can usually be from blood as kinship to regional and then to professional and so forth.

Turning back to the case of migrant's experience, it is a process of constructing social network different from the ones at home region where tradition is dominating, or if they can perceive, it is a process of an accumulation of social capital through migration which involves different relationships they never thought of before.

First of all, the migrants have got accustomed to close circles of trusted relationship from kinship ties or other close ones for their job referral in order to save cost. In the past ten years, though there has been improvements of labor market or job services, which did function as bridges to the obtaining urban jobs for the rural population, the most important channel is still by following elder brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, or cousins who were experienced migrants or by asking help from relatives in destinations. While some may think that they are looking for the safest and smoothest ways of movement, what I found is that they would prefer to make as low cost as possible for a position in urban areas.

An example can be cited from one girl migrant's talk to me during her vacation in the home village: "But the way out took a lot of effort. At first, we tried to have information from the TV program of labor market service and compared the introduction fees among various places. We guess that programs must be run by some private labor service companies as they charge us peasants hundreds or even next to 1000 for a job in a destination area. Then, my parents tried to contact those who were migrants out already and with their help, we spent just a little and found a migrant job for me<sup>132</sup>".

Secondly, if the first circle of relations as mentioned above used to be family or clan members, it can be large or small as needed. During the early time of migration, or to be more exact, while one is not married yet, they would try to benefit from the larger family with what they gained. They take it for granted that wherever they are there is responsibility to the family ties for life purpose. As one pointed out, "I'm the eldest, I support more of the family, not only contact more often my family and give suggestions to my parents about the whole family life, but also send over 5000 yuan home every year<sup>133</sup>". But as the family structure changes, the circle would also be alternative. This is why some migrants would think "many couples after marriage have flown out seeking money for kids. Some went out young, returned home around 25 to get married and

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<sup>132</sup> Interview# 18, (2002)

<sup>133</sup> Interview# 6, (2003)

then went out again leaving their wives home to nurse the child. When the child grows old enough, they both go out with the child left with old folks home<sup>134</sup>” and some would form a nuclear family in destination. They may express that “in first two to three years, I post money back in the amount of 2000-3000 yuan each year, for my father was a patient with mental illness and my mum suffers hardships. As time passed by, I sent home less and less. Now I only send them about 500 yuan or so since I have a family with kids here to support and they have to survive by small savings<sup>135</sup>”.

Thirdly, the relationship among migrants can be fragile if they don't have any social ties as family or regional background to bind them up. Sometimes they may have to try to make use of some professional ties from self survival to self development. “In general”, as one migrant commented, “the migrant life is never stable, so we make friends, but few are very close. In our company or as I was told by migrants from other factories, rarely is there a successful marriage between migrant workers even if they sometimes fall into love. This is similar to the university students dating, for the final departure for respective places can hardly be avoided<sup>136</sup>.”

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<sup>134</sup> Interview# 8, (2003)

<sup>135</sup> Interview# 11, (2003)

<sup>136</sup> Interview # 10, (2003)

However, with the strong desire for survival and development, the professional ties, once it is established, can be of great help. One fortunate example told by a migrant's father is rather illustrative :

*My older son started to make plan to leave home as early as the end of 1994 but hesitated to move on, because he didn't know what to do and where to go. Later he got a chance to go to Shantou city of Guangdong, first toiled around, then found a job as an assistant in an auto body shop. As he was easygoing and established good relationship with the boss and fellow workers, he soon got a position as a regular employee. For the time being, he learnt some techniques of auto repair and had a gradual increase of income...Up to now, he is full of confidence from not just good money made for good life but for the capability of handling all sorts of people around.*<sup>137</sup>

Finally, though living in a mobile society<sup>138</sup> where social relations are complicated, the migrants never give up in the process of the construction of social network. They understand that only by involving embedding and rooting into this new and strange community can one be able to grasp the present and to master the future. They prepare the hardest and hope for the best as in the descriptions below:

*To make life more pleasant and hopeful, I found a room near the factory with rent of around 130 yuan. In the room I often meet with all*

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<sup>137</sup> Interview# 16, (2002)

<sup>138</sup> The title of Huang Siding's unpublished working paper. (2001)

*sorts of friends, some are former schoolmates, some come from the hometown and some new ones I get to know at spare-time school in Guangzhou*<sup>139</sup>

*For the time being, what I achieve most is to get to know more people and through them to understand more of the urban world. With my improvement of mandarin, I feel at ease now to express myself and communicate with others. Besides my contacts with migrants from home area, I am facing the superior, the colleagues, the customers or even strangers in street everyday. The people I meet and tackle here are much more complicated than those in home area. The world is composed of them. Without coming out to know them, I will never get to understand anything of the world*<sup>140</sup>.

Judging from the findings above, we can see that the social network for the migrants still looks very informal under a kind of typical self-organization since most of them do not have the social status like urban *hukou* and are still barred from those formal ties as labor union, residents committee, professional association and so on. However, the experiences of establishing the social ties and the making of active use of them have not only been helpful with their present survival and future development, but also been part of their *lebenswelt*, which will prove

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<sup>139</sup> Interview# 9, (2003)

<sup>140</sup> Interview# 12, (2003)



valuable to the regulation of their action taken for realization of both themselves and regions they move on to.

## **2.4 Interpretation of the Significances of the Process of Migration**

Indeed the migration issues in destination areas are much more complicated than what we have observed above in this chapter. Take the employment characteristics of the migrants, for example, the groups involved as respondents and interviewees in the researches above are mainly workers hired in considerably formal economic units as companies or factories and inhabit usually in prepared dormitories or residences around. Compared with those who are self-employed, or those who are working in informal service sectors with temporary jobs from private housework to public feet-washing, massage, small restaurants and so forth, their lives are in general more stable and sustainable.

Since the changing aspects of the migrants communities formulated in many urban enclaves may result in endless description of phenomena<sup>141</sup>, in this concluding part of this chapter we will concentrate on the significance of their accumulation, while interpreting how it progresses and how it is generated.

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<sup>141</sup> Xie Qingsheng, (1997); Xiang Biao, (2000)

### **2.4.1 Similarities and Differences: Changing Status of Migrants' Life in Destinations**

In the introductory part of this chapter, we have taken into consideration the Push and Pull Factors from conventional theoretical framework, of which rise of income is just one, and modernization of life development is another, and we have had an intention of interpreting the process of migration for two generations with special theses and hypotheses. Now that we have described their migration life, from the desire, expectation in the origin, to later imbedding behavior, skill learning and social associations involved for urban life, we can thus discuss the changing factors with similarities and differences of the generations of rural migrants' life in urban destinations.

It should be noted that most of the peasant migration studies were designed and conducted with the researchers' epistemological knowledge basis, which usually constrains in many ways for the understanding of the migrants<sup>142</sup>. Actually, if we change our minds from scholarly thinking to migrants' realistic way of thinking, their life is full of survival issues to handle and newer expectations to move on. This is why when asking the differences between the life of the older and the new generation of migrants, one may often find similarities in their answers, as one of the interviewees in 2002 simply drew us a lively picture of life of them all.

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<sup>142</sup> Zhou, Daming, (2005) , p 38

*I was shocked by everything upon arrival. Too many vehicles, too many buildings, too many colorful people and too many commodities. I was so scared when crossing the streets for they told me migrants were often hit by trucks. The work was also surprising, the assembly line was huge and non-stop. The local dialects and food were especially different from that home. I was depressed and dizzy for months and slowly I learnt to adapt myself to surroundings. I learnt to work like a machine; I learnt to use money, to make arrangements of life and to get in touch with people...*<sup>143</sup>

It is true that when moving out, both generations of migrants may have the same routine of actions to take, same issues to handle and even same feelings of being way from home. In this sense, the similarities are more emphasized rather than differences. However, if we go further and deeper to observe the process of the rural-urban migration to find out the changes, the differences are more meaningful for the understanding of the process of the issue.

As we mentioned earlier, there have been already researches on the social mobility of migrants by generation. Apart from the study of degree of migrants' embeddedness into urban society, the focal points are more or less on their differential features as age or educational background, previous experience before outgoing, or motivation of migration, etc<sup>144</sup>.

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<sup>143</sup> Interview # 12, (2002)

<sup>144</sup> Wang Dong and Qing Wei, (2002)

In his summary of the results, Zhou Daming has once defined that 1) the first generation of migrants are on average older with 81.8% married while the second generation are younger with 76% unmarried; 2) the first generation received less education than the second one; 3) the first generation have had more experience of farming (54.5%) than the second generation (39.2%); and 4) the first generation came out mainly with purposes of money making or job obtaining while the second has beside these the motivation of experiencing modern urban economic and social life.<sup>145</sup>

It is interesting that the findings from my studies on two generations of migrants have proved to be partially in common, for instance the motivation of outgoing. I must go further here because it is different from the studies targeting only the differences between the earlier and later generations as stated above. My researches here concentrate actually much more on the changes of the ways of accumulation of forms of capital. Thus when we try to have elaboration from the theses, the discussion for the first four would be:

Thesis 1: The first generation of rural people moves to urban areas only for accumulation of monetary income with only some unexpected achievements while the second does more than that. This is true. In the early 1990's, the migrants had almost no accumulation of economic

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<sup>145</sup> Zhou, Daming, (2005) , p 13

income at home and they would come out even for just 200 yuan per month though average wage was higher. They did not notice that they might gain with time valuable experience, which was also important. The second generation of migrants coming out at the turn of the century, however, has clearer motivation of planned accumulation for all sorts of capital needed for future life.

Thesis 2: the first generation of migrants was forced to adapt to the urban society while the second does it more independently and actively. This is partially true. Actually both generations of migrants found difficulties in embedding into the urban society but the reality was that the conditions as urban facilities like housing were worse over 10-15 years ago and the new generation is more confident with better educational and richer family background.

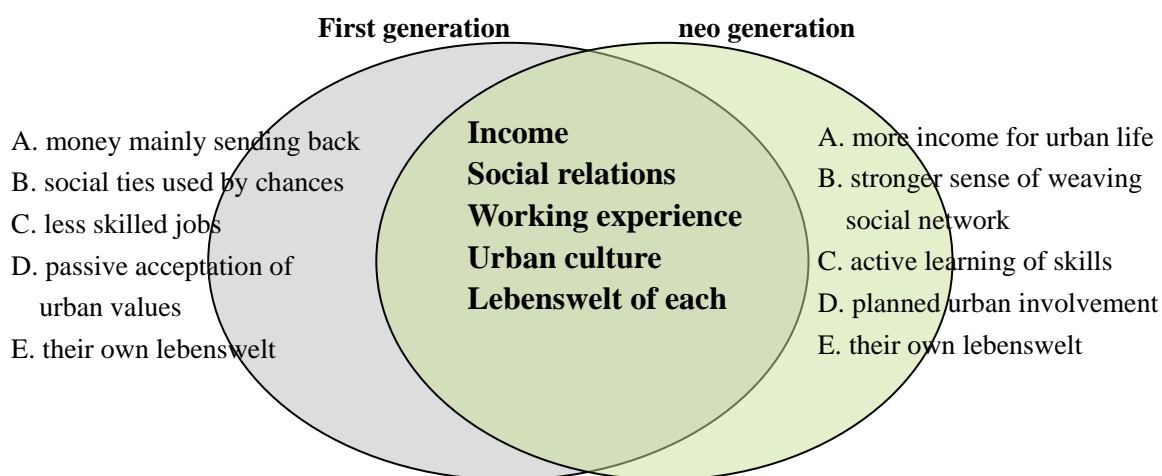
Thesis 3: the first generation of migrants with their accumulation would rather like to stay in the destination cities than the second one. The findings show that this is not the case though there should be exceptions. As a matter of fact, the data collected from both the questionnaires and the interviews have proved that migrants, neither the earlier outgoing peasants nor later ones, would make definite decisions to stay in destination areas. The first generation found life too hard to be embedded into the urban society and the rural area could be more familiar in their life world; the second generation, however, though more confident with

their accumulation gained in urban life, would like to leave the destinations as well for other places like a third place such as city or town in different regions to have new startups of development, yet rather than the farmland in the origins.

Thesis 4: the ways of constructing social network between the two generations change with the amount of their accumulation of forms of capital. This is partially correct. As bases of help-seeking with the first move and embeddedness into the destinations, the use of social relations has been similar. But as time passed by, the way of forming their social networks differed due to the amount of accumulated capital by each group or individual. It is apparent, for instance, that the migrants of the neo generation are finding it easier and effective to enlarge and strengthen their social resources by more possible means of consumption or smoother means of communication with larger amount of accumulation of economic and cultural capital.

To sum up, the similarities and differences of the life status between the two generations of migrants seem to be in general shown in the following aspects, though it is difficult to be modified with any quantitative statement.

Figure 2.9: Comparison of the changes of migrants' life status



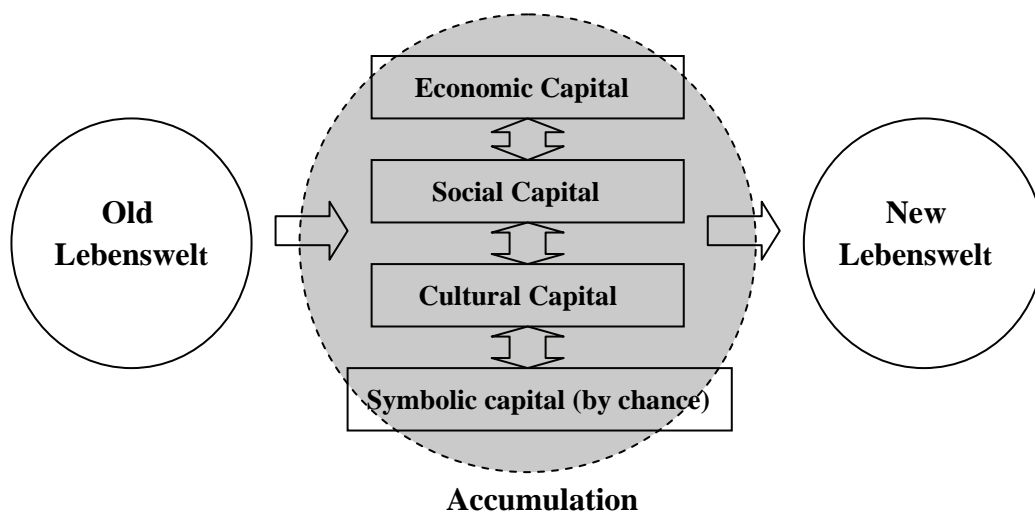
With different personal experience in urban destinations and different personal background, the lebenswelt mentioned in the figure, is not easy to define or interpret. Only when we move on to the next chapter to observe their life changes with development in the remigration process does it become possible.

#### 2.4.2 Structural Accumulation: Elements for Future Development

In spite of the migration studies, mine above is just one example, and it covers a complicated phenomenon of rural migrants' life in the urban destinations, which is helpful for the understanding of the process. The most significant and the final target of migration should always be the migrants' accumulation of forms of capital from the whole process. Since the accumulation of the capital together with their growing lebenswelt

prove to be resources with elements that were interchangeable and multifunctional, it can be shown as a type of structural accumulation as shown in the figure below:

Figure 2.10: Structural accumulation of resources gained



To have interpretation of this structural accumulation, it is necessary now for us to proceed on with the discussion of the final thesis put forward in the introduction of this chapter:

Thesis 5: both generations of migrants have structural accumulation of forms of capital. This is the most important thesis and it absolutely agrees with my research results for the test of it here. Theoretically it is already a conclusion by Bourdiu that each one form of capital can always be transformed into another<sup>146</sup>. Based on that together with empirical researches done for this chapter, I would like to elaborate with further

<sup>146</sup> Painter, Joe (2000)



discussions on the significance of the structural accumulation of forms of capital by migrants so as to make this thesis more explicit and meaningful.

First of all, the accumulation of economic capital is the most important step for the migrants to enter and embed into the destinations because it is not only the motivation of outgoing but also the bases for simultaneous collection of other resources or forms of capital. It is very general as we have found in the description that the migrants never send all the money earned back home and they always invest with the rest to making friends either local or from home region and to the acquirements of new skills. This is typical transformation of economic capital into other forms. It should be noted that the tendency of this interchange, with more and more money earned to be consumed for the accumulation rather than for home use by the new generation, seems to be more obvious as structurally dominated action.

Secondly, the social capital as accumulated can be turned to other forms of capital. Although evidence is not strong enough that the migrants can earn much money in the urban destinations by using the social relations accumulated except benefiting a little for introducing new comers, it is definite that they can make good use of it in their future movement and development, which we will observe in the next chapter. As for the change into cultural capital, there can be a lot of examples as

learning from friends to handle job skills, introducing by colleagues to night schools, or training by earlier comers just in exchange of experiences to adapt to urban life, etc.

Thirdly, the accumulation of cultural capital should by no means be neglected. As employees for any job, the more skillful, the bigger money the migrants can make, not to say the possibilities of being entrepreneurs on their own with knowledge of techniques, marketing, managements and so forth, accumulated during outgoing migration and used after they move back, which we will also discuss in the next chapter. The cultural capital, in the meanwhile from my study here, has also proved to be helpful in the accumulation of social capital in the sense of entering professional circle or at least making urban friends in the ways they are familiar with.

Fourthly, we did not have any description above with interpretation of migrants' accumulation of symbolic capital. Actually there have been some migrants in destinations who gained their symbolic capital with effective use of their accumulation of different forms of capital. An example was the case that with higher income than those staying in the origin, newer lifestyle learned during migration and richer knowledge of market and management, they often find themselves different from before and those at homes. The confidence gained from the use of symbolic capital is in a sense very important for the changes of lebenswelt.

Finally, the accumulation of all these forms of capital, whether it is step by step or in a simultaneous way, has actually very close relations with the accumulation of the migrants' lebenswelt (life world). On the one hand, the different experiences of accumulation of economic capital, social capital and cultural capital and so on have made the process of accumulation of lebenswelt with not only objective but also subjective manners. On the other hand, the lebenswelt in means of values and mature behaviour can shed light and thus have impact on the rational allocation of capital accumulated for further and larger accumulations. The migrants' lebenswelt, when shaped up, can be then decisive for the future development of the individual and the group as we will see in the following researches.

## Chapter Three

### Remigration and Effective Use of Flows of Capital

#### 3.1 Introduction

After a period of time, working and living in urban areas and with accumulation of forms of capital and life experience, many of the migrants, willingly or unwillingly, have to move back to the places of origins. This movement, as return migration or remigration, has been also in large scale, which brings forth great changes as spacing to the regional development in interior provincial regions.

In this chapter, the research focus turns to the motivation of return migrants, re-embedding to the home area society, the approaches with which they use their capitals for development and the actual conditions for them to realize their expectations.

In order to find out the potentials for development, or to be more exact, to improve how “distance and movement can shed light upon how people make sense of today’s complex networks of social interaction, both within and beyond cosmopolitan city life”<sup>147</sup>, I conducted nearly 30 interviews to collect data since the year of 2002. The reasons I chose

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<sup>147</sup> John Allen, 2000, P.55

those places for field work were stated in the first chapter and the location of them also indicated there in Map 1.1.

The interviews done with people in places of origin can be divided mainly in two levels: authorities in their home regions and return migrants or their family members. The intension of inquiry with detailed questions will be stated later in this chapter when describing the contents respectively.

As it is assumed, the distances between the rural interior places of origin and that of the coastal urban destinations would often be the most important factor of impacts. The design in this research then is to compare the data from three places which are in long, medium and short distances to the so recognized coastal urban regions. The first place is Gaoping District, Nanchong City of Sichuan Province. As it is located in almost the center of the country, the region is 200 kilometers west of Chengdu, the Provincial capital, and over 1500-3000 kilometers away from either Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. The second is a county level city named Zhangshu in Jiangxi Province in the middle East China. This is a region where migrants mainly move to Guangzhou and Shanghai, both of which are around 1000 kilometers of distance. The third one is a focusing survey I was partly involved in the analysis of the result in the remigration study in a town named Lutian, in the north of the satellite city of Conghua of Guangzhou, which is just about 100

kilometers from Guangzhou. As it is a far suburban area of the big city, the migration and return migration issues which affect regional development are also very typical for comparison.

The ways of the micro-research in this chapter is again a comparative study. Since the interview cases as data were conducted almost simultaneously in the years from 2002 to 2005, the comparison is no longer vertical with time sequences, but much more in a way of finding out the horizontal similarities and differences. The argumentation is in what way the economic, cultural and social capital flowed back can be effective for development in interior or inland regions. Focusing on the mechanisms of market and institutional arrangements, five theses are put forward for phenomena examination and discussion as the following:

1. the larger the distance the inland region from the coastal urban centers, the weaker the effects will be;
2. the capitals the migrants accumulated from their migration life affect in the same way their home regions when they move back;
3. institutional arrangements usually dominate the return migration and have great impact on their development with remigration;
4. the flow of cultural capital would effect the development of the places of origin in different ways no matter where they locate;
5. the future movements of the migrants depend mainly on the social capital they gained.

Based on these, I will simply propose now here as well three hypotheses to interpret the causes and effects of flow of capitals which impact the spatial development in different regions in China:

First: if an interior region is closer to coastal urban district, the chances for development would be fewer than the ones closer with remigration potentials;

Second: if the migrants are going back with enough accumulated forms of economic, social and cultural capital, they are sure to have opportunities for their own development;

Third: if remigration does not start, the accumulation of capital would mean as well a great deal to their home regional development.

### **3.2 Return Migration in Nanchong of Sichuan**

Due to the reasons of life requirements, for instance, marriage at home or unemployment in destination areas, and new motivation of development in home regions with their accumulation of forms of capital, some migrants would start usually to return first and then think about if going on with another movement. As estimated, the return migrants, especially the first generation, have already been in large number, but up to now there are still not yet accurate official statistics because of the instability of it. However, on the internet and from other sources, there

repeatedly appears news of cases about the success of return migrants or new models to help return migration in different hinterland places. Nanchong's policy-guided remigration model is one of them<sup>148</sup>.

As a densely populated interior region with around 13 million outgoing rural peasants each year, Sichuan Province has long been one of the largest exporters of migrants<sup>149</sup>. As usual, where there are a huge number of migrants there should be a considerably large number of return migrants in the country like China with the tradition of always putting home linkage as a top priority. Take the Changle town chosen for investigation in Gaoping district, Nanchong city, for example, "though it is just a medium-sized suburban area with a population of 22000 people and a limitation of arable land ( 2.8 mu per capita), the average outgoing population can top 10000 (60% of them go to other provinces and 40% to cities inside the province). Up to the year of 2002, over 1000 people have come back to run their own business, and 2000 to 3000 back now and then waiting and watching with short time stay".<sup>150</sup> In this case and actually in general, it seems that there must be each year about 30% of migrants who would return for temporary or even permanent stay depending on personal and regional situation.

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<sup>148</sup> <http://www.icchina.com/news/info.aspx?Category=13&ID=55532> (2002-6-7)

<sup>149</sup> Raymond Zhou, (2003)

<sup>150</sup> Interview# 38, (2002)



The proportion of remigration is one thing and the ways of using resources gained from migration for regional development is another. So in this section, what I intend to focus on for the spatial development with remigration will be the innovation of policy making and the functioning of forms of capital accumulated by migrants as the placing in the region.

### **3.2.1 Resettlement: Inner Motivation Meeting with Policy Support**

In my interviews concerning migration and remigration in Sichuan Province (some in Jiangxi as well), many interviewees mentioned that “the government support in introduction of jobs or organization of movement<sup>151</sup>” is important, for the “first outgoing” as well as some of the returning cases were often based on government authorized information and later on some labor market services or helpful relations from earlier outgoing and remigrating migrants. “Though different kinds of organizations for different service might charge us by person, the policy has been supportive all the time<sup>152</sup>.” In this regard, one town officer from Nanchong City suburb district once had a very vivid remark when talking about migration and remigration issues:

*In our town and the neighboring ones you may find both offices in charge of outgoing and welcome-home programs. In order to organize the*

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<sup>151</sup> Interview# 28

<sup>152</sup> Interview# 11

*movement of migrants going outside for urban jobs, beside some incentive policies, we make arrangements for their contract signing, their transportation, their contacts with outside resources, and even their resettlement when coming back home. Some local non-governmental organizations work with us tackling many of the issues as well.*<sup>153</sup>

As is known in the process of migration, it has received positive feedback that the organizing work of outgoing is successful. But what happened then after years of migration out from rural to urban and from interior to coastal areas? To most of the migrants, their answer would be that it is inevitable to make further decision whether to move back or to go on with the migrant life in urban destinations or elsewhere.

The reasons to be back home can be many: marriage, taking care of the old and young, unemployment in destination area, exhaustion with urban life, newer motivation of development of one's own, to name only a few. But the most dominant of all, according to most of the interviewees, would be the sense of development. If as we found in the previous chapter that the outgoing was dominated by "survival rationality", now the next step would be oriented with, in my understanding, "development rationality". This is why some migrants, especially the younger ones, when asked about the future settlement, would reply simply as "I don't mind where to go but I care a lot about where I can develop myself"<sup>154</sup>.

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<sup>153</sup> Interview# 39, (2002)

<sup>154</sup> Interview# 8, (2003)

Others may be more direct: “I would rather make contributions to the construction of my own hometown than to other’s hometown.”<sup>155</sup>

In addition, why the outgoing migrants, when becoming sooner or later return migrants, would have such a strong sense of development orientation is because they feel much more confident now with resources gained or forms of capital accumulated during their stay in coastal urban regions. As we discussed in the first chapter, the motivation and expectation for “survival” actually met the urban requirement when migration started. Now it is again a question if there is any space and opportunities for “development” being shaped as the bases for remigration.

The environment for interior region of course differs a lot in terms of social and natural and economic conditions. However, it is fortunate that in some areas the local governments did recognize the significance of the construction of basement to make good use of the migrants’ resources for regional development with innovation of policy mechanism. Nanchong of Sichuan is one typical example. While keeping on the push-forward of outgoing, they launched programs in pragmatic incentive policy package with detailed regulations to attract the migrants return to home region for development roughly as summarized below<sup>156</sup>:

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<sup>155</sup> Interview# 31, (2002)

<sup>156</sup> Interview# 38, #38, #40, (2002)

1. while enhancing the organization of outgoing, the local governments have established some offices to carry out the program named as “welcoming back for development”. They officially regard them as the most important human resources for regional construction as those investors in coastal areas;

2. the governments have taken assessments carefully and thoughtfully for each of the restart-up project proposed by return migrants to decide the adoption of preferential policies concerning land use, taxation, power supply and loans and so force;

3. they have made arrangements for their resettlements with construction of even an economic development corridor as long as 15 kilometers for industrial clusters and small business possible to set up and encourage them to invest in the construction of town houses in condition of the changes of the rural *Hukou*;

4. the government is strategically thinking about and planning for the regional flows of labor, capital and other resources to make the outgoing migrants and return migrants communicating with ways of data bank building, information collecting, events organization, in-depth interviewing and so on.

Once the migrants’ needs meet with regional requirements for development, it is the same just as “fish with water,” for in the home region, as one migrant commented, “with convenient access to natural

resources, easy organizing work of manpower and government incentive policy, the business done in hometown should be much easier than outside.”<sup>157</sup> Although there might be more of the policy to be cited, these four general ones up here are enough to bring about dramatic effects of development both for the region and for the migrants themselves, which we can observe right over it.

### **3.2.2 The Flexible and Effective Use of Capital Accumulated**

With the institutional possibilities as bases for the realization of their expectation and being in their home region, what the migrants have found now is to make the use of capital they accumulated from the urban migration life in flexible ways and with effective results.

As usual, the first element of production even in home region is the economic capital. For the return migrants, in spite of the gaining of this form of capital, which might be ordinarily small or seldom large, they had to invest for a new start up for business at the beginning. So it is not the fact that every one of the back-home migrant peasants can be rich enough so as to have the confidence and capability to put in money for business. According to a village head that was a migrant returnee himself, the conditions of the possible investment would not be easy since “50% of all

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<sup>157</sup> Interview# 31, (2002)

the migrant workers are just leading a hand-to-mouth living, 20% have made money and the remaining 30% are scraping by<sup>158</sup>”.

This must be the reality based on estimation, for in Nanchong case, even some of the interviewees from three towns of Gaoping District, who were regarded as well-off return migrants in the local district, found it difficult to have monetary capital sufficient for a startup. Although one or two migrant-turned-businessmen managed the investment for factories like bamboo processing or paper production<sup>159</sup> with even over one million yuan, most of the interviewed there only had thousands of RMB averaging 20,000 to 70,000 yuan, which they accumulated from urban migration work<sup>160</sup>. The amount might be small, but the ways of use are flexible with loans taken, borrowing or collection from relatives or friends, government grant, shares holding with partners<sup>161</sup>, etc.

Compared to the use of economic capital, the use of accumulation of social capital seems much easier. They can now have much better arrangement of life with more or less the “differential modes of association<sup>162</sup>”. On the one hand, when thinking that “the risk one has to take outside is much larger than he does at home”, the start-up can be the same as the outgoing by the home social resources, as one described, “even if I cannot earn much more (outside), I would rather work in

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<sup>158</sup> Interview # 27, (2002)

<sup>159</sup> Interview # 26, #28, (2002)

<sup>160</sup> Interview # 32, # 25, # 31, (2002)

<sup>161</sup> Interview # 31, #36( 2002)

<sup>162</sup> Fei Xiaotong, (1985)

hometown. In the year of 2002, I was told by my sisters and brothers from home that one could earn even bigger money back with Nanchong bamboo processing industry and I quit by job outside and came back to run a bamboo processing branch for Fuda Bamboo Co.Ltd.<sup>163</sup>. On the other hand, what can be regarded as more meaningful is that they found it very easy with newly established social network for the business organizing. One example was that most of the migrant-turned-entrepreneurs would like to employ workers with migration experiences, because they think they “knew them even before working together in coastal urban areas<sup>164</sup>” and “these people”, with similar values and habits, “understand more of working regulations<sup>165</sup>”. Another example was successful use of relations with which they still have contacts outside in terms of sources of information or market connections. Cases of possible cooperation of wine brewery projects between the self-employed return migrants and their friends in the Pearl River Delta and the sales of paper or bamboo products to the urban markets are just few of them<sup>166</sup>.

In addition, due to the accumulation of cultural capital, such as the sense of market, the urban lifestyle, the means of business management, the skills and technology of industrial processing of different materials,

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<sup>163</sup> Interview # 37, (2002)

<sup>164</sup> Interview# 29,31, (2002)

<sup>165</sup> Interview# 26, (2002)

<sup>166</sup> Interview# 25, 26, 28, (2002)

the consensus of standards of quality of life and so forth, the effective use of which in the development either for the home region or for their own, can be much more obvious and popular. Actually the cultural capital, together with their action taken in life development during and after migration in coastal urban regions, is slowly deposited and condensed as their lebenswelt, which, as one concluded is “decisive and fundamental factors and resources as basement for the development when resettling in home region<sup>167</sup>”. This is why some of them can make the bamboo processing industrial cluster well organized in a chain of production with contracts signed in levels of raw material, semi-products and final products and others can adopt the technology from US for different breeds of pig raising<sup>168</sup>.

As the result of the effective use of all the compound accumulation of capitals and local resource, the promising development cases are so many that we can just cite a few of those in the following areas of businesses in this table.

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<sup>167</sup> Interview# 39, (2002)

<sup>168</sup> Interview # 28, 31 and 33, (2002)



Table 3.1: Businesses set up by return migrants in three towns of Gaoping in Nanchong, Sichuan in 2002<sup>169</sup>

Cases cited	migrated once in	professional area	employees hired
Interview#25	PRD in Guangdong	pig raising and wine brewery	10-15
Interview#26	Guangzhou, Tianjin	paper produce and more	over 50
Interview#27	Guangahou, Zhuhai	Hotel, supermarket and more	over 20
Interview#28	Xian and Chengdu	Bamboo products	500-5000
Interview#29	Dongguan of PRD	Bamboo processing and firework	over 40
Interview#30	Japan and PRD	Bamboo processing and more	over 20
Interview#31	PRD and Guangxi	Bambooprocessing	over 30
Interview#33	Yangtse Delta and PRD	pig raising and wine brewery	over 10
Interview#34	Guangdong, Tianjin	petroleum machinery	over 10
Interview#26	Chengdu,Chongqing	Bamboo Processing	over 5

In this table, we find that all, but only two exceptions of migration cases within the province or out to Japan, of the successfully developed return migrants have had migration experiences in coastal areas as the Pearl River Delta, Yangtze River Delta, Beihai in Guangxi or the seaside city like Tianjing. This can be rather explicit that the resources gathered in coastal urban areas, when flowing back, are extremely helpful and of great impact as the spatial development for the interior regions in China.

<sup>169</sup> The employees numbered here are subject to change in case of need. Some just mean to workers involved either by employment or partnership, especially in the bamboo processing industrial chain as shown in interview# 28 to 31.

### **3.2.3 Changes of Regional Landscapes as Initial Placing**

The flows of remigration with accumulated capital back to home region as we have stated above have made many of the migrants energetic and capable in their self-organized development. This is of course partially due to the government incentive institutional arrangement. Indeed ever since the remigration started, some places in the rural regions like the villages and towns in Nanchong became no longer the same as before when agrarian means of production and styles of life were dominating. Apart from the structural change of development sectors, mainly from traditional agriculture, to industrial processing and even to modern service, one of the most important changes was the rearrangement of the landscapes, or reconstruction of the social and natural sites of the region.

The changes of landscapes of the region have usually resulted in the requirements of economic and industrial development as well as enjoyment of modern life, which the return migrants are in favor of. In our cases in Gaoping District of Nanchong, changes can be described in four levels from individual to corporate and then to regional extent.

The individual level is simply the demonstration of the return migrants' housing construction, which can be the assimilation of modern urban value. Since they are now encouraged to build residential houses in

towns, the investment with senses of modern design from urban life experience has made immediate change of the town landscape as one extreme example in the following.

*I understand very much now the gap between rural and urban life and take efforts I can to narrow it in lifestyle and change the values. I built my house in the town street, which totals 700 square meters construction floor. I spent money to have a design of the construction by experts and planners in Nanchang Architecture and Planning Institute. We have got five stores on the first floor with living rooms upstairs<sup>170</sup>.*

Since China's urban planning as a tradition covers only from township above, though there were guiding regulations for development<sup>171</sup>, the village level plan and construction would often rely on the governance level of the village head. If the village head is open-minded and capable, there might be reasonable acceptability of landscapes, otherwise vice versa. In our case below is a vivid story of changing landscapes with innovative ideas: the head of a village in Shunqing county of Nanchong happens to be a knowledgeable and practical migrant returnee, hence there came up the "Road, electricity and water (REW)", the "rice, fruits and fish-feeding (RFF)" and the "Happy Village Life" programs, all of which brought about the changes of village landscapes.

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<sup>170</sup> Interview# 25, (2002)

<sup>171</sup> Ministry of Construction, (2002)

*When I first came home, I didn't know what to do for a startup. It happened that there was an election of village heads, I did a research of the situation and thought it was a good opportunity for me to lay a foundation rather than to run a business immediately. Since I was experienced and the villagers offered me the position. For the next 5 years as the village head, I successfully organized projects to make access to REW (road, electricity and water) for the village. The REW in my mind was essential to change the village life and shorten the distance between the village and the outside world. This made a sensation in the whole district. In addition, I lead the villagers to adjust the agricultural structure by turning sole rice growing which use to be unprofitable to RFF (rice, fruits and fish-feeding). This comprehensive agricultural economy proved to be much more profitable. According to my observation and understanding of urban life, we also tried to develop a kind of sightseeing farm named "Happy Village Life" to attract urban people from cities nearby. This satisfied very much in weekends for inhabitants from gas polluted urban places returning to nature as well as increased income for the villagers and myself.<sup>172</sup>*

In the town and city level, the changes of landscapes are usually and directly caused by remigration economy as well. The land use with housing construction and natural resources like water quality control can

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<sup>172</sup> Interview# 29, (2002)

be conducted jointly by town planning regulations and corporate practice. The next two examples have shown just partially the results of such practices.

*Along the 15 km long business corridor planned as model for remigrants back homes, 85% of the housing and commercial constructions were invested by returning migrants. In the past years, 2800 housing constructions were built with money sent or brought back by migrants and remigrants<sup>173</sup>.*

*But we stress on sustainable development since the beginning. Though the investment might be bigger, we designed and installed at the end of 2001 before the production line the facilities for polluted wastes treatment in the paper factory.<sup>174</sup>*

Finally, for some of the regional level changes of landscape, the remigration economic projects are also leading to immediate solutions. Take the bamboo industrial cluster development at present and in the future for instance, the 72 working branches (stations) around the whole region with circulation work such as planting, cutting and the plan by general production company with ideas of construction of bamboo museum and ecological bamboo park, must be a making-up of totally new landscapes for the places there with very prominent and typical

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<sup>173</sup> Interview # 39, (2002)

<sup>174</sup> Interview# 26, (2002)

characteristics. For the understanding of it, let us turn to the detailed story told by interviewees concerned.

*At the moment, there have been 72 working branches in different towns or villages in the outskirts of the city. People have a kind of division of labor according to demands. Some specialize in bamboo growing, others in harvesting, dissecting them into pieces and waving them as semi-finished products. The general processing factory would purchase the hand-made products and press them with machines into bamboo boards used for construction mode frame boards and sell them as construction materials. The whole industry by now has provided jobs to over 5000 people in the rural areas, most of which are migrants back home, especially the branch heads and skillful workers. By the time of 2005, about 15,000 of employees will be working in this industry.*

*In order to meet the 10,000 tons of bamboo for the production capacity, there should be more than 10,000 mu of bamboo plantation. This would on the one hand afforest the mountains with new types of landscape, it will on the other hand greatly increase peasants income.*

*With a new collection of funds to 120 million soon, the second range of the construction will be equipped with many more production lines for bamboo floor, bamboo furniture, bamboo door and bamboo decoration parts for interior renovation and other uses. In the year of 2010, together with the government support they plan to build a bamboo museum and a*

*few ecological bamboo parks, for the ecological tourism would be a new hot spot for economic growth*<sup>175</sup>.

In general, it should be noted that the changes of landscape in the region can be characterized with at least two features: one is the remigration tide and the other is the government support. As a result, the changes will soon make the places different from before and different from other rural regions. The time when “one village shares a common process with most other Chinese villages<sup>176</sup>,” has passed and a trend of positioning a region by its unique strength has just begun.

### **3.3 Jiangxi and Guangdong: Flows Back with Less Remigration**

In Nanchong of Sichuan, the remigration from coastal urban areas back to home region was considerably in a large scale and of great impact to the rural development as we have described above. In the meantime, in field work places in Jiangxi and Guangdong, which are just from 100 to 900 kilometers away from the coastal urban centers, the phenomenon found revealed of great difference. Neither in Lingjiang town of Zhangshu, Jiangxi Province nor in Lutian Town of Conghua, Guangdong Province, were there many cases of significance in regard to the home

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<sup>175</sup> Interview# 28, (2002)

<sup>176</sup> Fei Xiaotong, (1983), p.119.

regional development projects launched by return migrants. What then the accumulation of forms of capital by outgoing migrants would impact their home areas? Where then the migrants would go after a period of time of working, living and staying in coastal urban places? In answering these and even more questions, we can now turn to the observation of the facts from the relevant investigations.

### **3.3.1 Impacts of Just Capital Accumulation Flowing Back**

On a damp, snowy and rather cold winter morning, a small Shanghai-made Volkswagon car was bumping forward on a narrow muddy country road to a small village named Fujia situated inside a big village named Fenglinguan near Linjiang town of Zhangshu city in Jiangxi. The car was driven by a female migrant who married a young businessman from Dongguan of the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong, over 950 kilometers away. She was together with her husband and her younger sister, a new migrant outgoing after her, coming back home for a short stay to have family reunion for Spring Festival in 2002, the most important holiday in China.

The village was one of the rural places I have chosen apart from those in Nanchong for comparative study of remigration. According to the village head, however, “in Fenglinguan, one of the villages under the



jurisdiction of the town, where most of the interviewees lived, 600 out of 2321 people had gone out. It took 25% of the villagers and 60% of the laborers. Chiefly for the low economic return from the limited amount of arable land (1.8 mu per capita), there were very few cases of migrants back home for development, by the time of the end of 2002 only about fewer than 50 people reluctantly returned home waiting to see other chances to go out again<sup>177</sup>”.

Since I used to live there to spend my childhood with my parents during the chaotic years of “Cultural Revolution” from urban area, I got to know very well the place where even in 1970’s peasants standing or working in watered rice fields would usually be uncomfortable and jealous when someone riding a bicycle passed by from town, not to say a car. But this time, to my surprise, the villagers considered it very normal to see this modern vehicle appearing around. The driver came down from the car when I was doing interview with her mother, knowing I was once a villager of her parents’ time, she told her sister at once to join our talk together with her mother, while she had to move off and handle the presents brought from the coastal urban areas. The following was just some of her sister’s and her mother’s view of how the money and ideas flowing back without remigration had influenced their life.

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<sup>177</sup> Interview# 23, (2002)

The sister: *I have really changed myself a lot in value of life during my migration life with my elder sister. I often talk to my parents about our house built before I was out and told them if it were being built now I would have many more suggestions. The telephone now installed at home was a persuasion to my parents by my sister and me. But we seldom call them back home for there is not much to say. There is little change in home village and they understand very little of our life as migrants outside. We call just to say hello, to tell them some knowledge of health care for older people and to show our concern to the younger brother's study at school at home.*

*Having long been away from home village, I am now finding life home is out of date. Being not accustomed to that, I have almost made up my mind not to go back as my sister did. If I can make big money in the future, I will invest to run a factory or other business but I never consider the place is important. Where there is environment for investment and development there is the place to be chosen. The conditions in my hometown are poor and we don't like to develop here.*

The mother: *In our village, the main channel of income increase is working as migrants outside and approximately 60% of the villagers' cash income is from the children's money sent back. Generally speaking, for the money earned in each family, the most part is put into education for kids, the next the expense of housing construction and finally the cost*

*of agricultural production. The living cost as food and clothes usually is just a little. With two daughters working as migrants outside in Guangdong, my family is envied by villagers here, especially in the season when they see my son-in-law drives a car back to visit us...As more and more people outgoing, we are used to new things as well. The more access to usage of telephone, mobile phone and motorcycle and the understanding of the knowledge of hygiene, for example, is mainly by their influence<sup>178</sup>.*

Given the fact that one of the two outgoing migrants in this family married a rich man in coastal area, thus would live better life than others, we still should agree that the money sent back by outgoing migrants is generally decisive as economic source of the villagers' life. To prove this, another interviewee who was back for the festival holiday made a more detailed estimation of the status quo from the viewpoints of level of consumption there.

*With about 3000 yuan of the money I sent back saved, they can pay my brother's education fee for the present and the future. In our village, the largest investment is the education for the next generation, usually there would be tens of thousands for a child to accomplish his or her school training until university level. This is the reality for, without junior high school education, it is even impossible to find a way out as a*

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<sup>178</sup> Interview# 14, (2003)

*migrant worker. The second way of money consumption is the construction of a house, which may often cost about 30,000. The farming tools or transportation means like purchase of a bike is now no longer a problem. There are now nearly 20 motorcycles among 81 households here in the village<sup>179</sup>.*

Beside the economic capital flowing back to the home region, the accumulation of cultural capital mainly in the form of values of urban life, may seem more prevailing and colourful. Nowadays in the towns, “when building their own new houses, making comments on the town infrastructures as street lights or pedestrian ways with gardening, they were much more modern-minded than local people who stayed behind<sup>180</sup>”. Back to the village, in addition to example of the impact of the car driven home, the migrants, when coming back, are actually messengers as sources of information of ways of working, living, consuming as well as planning. Being regarded as open-minded and well known, one migrant was proud to tell me his feeling of spreading new ideas to the home villagers.

*I go back to see my family once a year usually in Spring Festival season. Each time I am back home, I have to take some amount of time, longer or shorter, to tell them what happens outside, explain to them how*

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<sup>179</sup> Interview# 18, (2003)

<sup>180</sup> Interview# 23, (2003)

*to handle all sorts of urban strangers, how I use skill as a welder, especially how to make big money with knowledge, etc, all of which seem influential to villagers who visited me. We don't have telephone now installed at home but I teach my parents to use gas stove to make the kitchen clean. Seldom going out, most of my home village people are close-minded and my communication with them is sometimes rather difficult. Living in the old house that is much different from the style of urban ones, I often feel uneasy and uncomfortable.<sup>181</sup>*

In terms of the reasons why there were very few cases of remigration in this area, there are many interpretations such as shortage of development resources, low level of consumption, income comparison and so on as some interviewees expressed. However, what I found as the main factors can be two: the mass orientation of value and the nonfeasance of the local government concerning the remigration.

Under the condition that migrants usually make bigger money and live richer life than those who stay at home, it has long been seen that the villagers would consider it honourable and successful to migrate out into urban areas. In this sense, they even want to invest to train their children to be qualified to “find a way out as a migrant worker” as in one earlier statement. What is more, if one outgoing migrant has to be back he would often be looked down upon. Up to the time of the investigation in 2002,

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<sup>181</sup> Interview# 15, (2002)

there were just dozens of people, out of 600, returning in Fengliguan, and this can also explain why the only return migrant who came back now and then mainly for farming seasons in Fujia village was despised by his father as “himself half peasant and half migrant worker and stubborn-minded with his lifestyle still more or less rather rural”.<sup>182</sup>

As for the nonfeasance of the local government, it is chiefly a kind of comment on the ineffectiveness concerning the organizing work for remigration. As a matter of fact, they did take some counter measures for helping those empty-nestled families for the life as well as the farm work. The officials are indeed very positive and satisfied with monetary capital sent back, which at least should be 400 million yuan (about twice as the tax revenue of whole city for the year of 2001) generated from their work outside. “The remigration”, one township official who gave the above basic introduction said in an easy way, “same as outgoing migration, depends on labor market and the migrants are competitive and capable enough to deal with it themselves<sup>183</sup>”.

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<sup>182</sup> Interview #17, (2002)

<sup>183</sup> Interview# 23. (2002)

### 3.3.2 Moderate Remigration to Rural Areas Right in Guangdong

In the rural places closer to coastal regions in Jiangxi, though there are flows of capital back from migrants all the time, which had already impacted regional development in many ways, the remigration scale seemed to be much different from that in Sichuan. What then will be the phenomenon in rural places right at the edge of urban centers in the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong? As designed and with that in mind, in January 2003 I phoned a friend named Liu, the county magistrate in Guangning County of Guangdong Province, which is just miles away from the central part of PRD, to express my wishes to collect interview data from there. To my surprise, he persuaded me not to go and instead he would like to be an interviewee of mine on line. He informed me of what he considered nothing more special than that in Jiangxi.

*It is meaningless to compare remigration circumstances in my county to that in Jiangxi. There are by now 110,000 people (accounting for 30% of the county population) from about 75-80% families were away from home doing migrant jobs mainly within the province. Since here is a mountainous area with great limitation for development, I don't think there are many returnees to be interviewed. But the amount of money*

*(about 500-600 million yuan each year) sent back by them is a great resource for development*<sup>184</sup>.

Although later in the leather-processing factory with German investment in an urban village in Guangzhou some of my interviews with peasant-turned-workers from poor rural areas of Guangdong apparently proved Liu's statement, I still thought I should have some detailed data for regional comparison. Just in the time when I plan to go to Guangning in spite of Liu's dissuasion, a colleague of mine from Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences asked me to join one of her research projects on the issue of migration and remigration in a town named Lutian in the northeast of the satellite city of Conghua, 100 kilometers away from Guangzhou. As a matter of fact, compared to those rural places in Guangning, this place, being the northern entrance into the Coastal PRD and the gateway to other interior regions, is very typical for observation as needed.

In this town with population of around 30,000, among which one third is rural labor force, over 5000 peasants have had experiences as migrant workers in big and small cities in PRD. Since the villages under the jurisdiction of the town are located in the mountainous area at the edge of coastal central city as Guangzhou, they have witnessed special changes with tides of outgoing migration and remigration. On the one

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<sup>184</sup> Interview # 13, (2003)



hand, there have always been pushes to peasants outgoing because of the shortage of arable land (average 0.96 mu per capita), and the pulls from near home chances with Guangzhou government policies for the employment programs with training and contract signs and even funds needed<sup>185</sup>; on the other hand, the local traditional and new industries development in and around the town are constantly attracting not return migrant workers only, but also migrants from interior regions also.

The research done in the year of 2004 with data collection from interviews and focus group work was actually done by several people, but I am allowed to use the data and joint research conclusions drawn from an unpublished policy report, which can be concluded as the following<sup>186</sup>:

First, there have been only temporary return migrants since they are living around the coastal urban center, the employment chances made them semi-migrants. In this sense, the actual statistic of back home settlements is not accurate and available.

Secondly, when moving back, some of the return migrants would like to use their cultural capital gained from their urban experiences to compete for a position as village heads or other management jobs. This has now become a trend for they consider the choice making is a way to

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<sup>185</sup> Examples of that can be services and funds Guangzhou municipal government provided to the suburban towns in nearby recent years, See Nanfang Urban Newspaper, Feb 4, 2004

<sup>186</sup> Cuiling Zhou, et al (2004)

fulfill their own value and due to the policy in this area, the village heads can have monthly salary over 800 yuan as set income.

Thirdly, although going out back and forth like a clock pendulum, each time when staying at homes, they are willing to take part in the village social and economic management programs in the means of assessment, planning as well as conducting with their own knowledge and other resources accumulated from migration life.

Fourthly, the migrants either returned or not are usually found to donate more money for public facilities. In most of the villages, the construction of schools, kindergartens, roads, recreation centers, waste treatment and so on are invested not only by the government but also by some migrants' families. In so doing, they have input the economic capital as well as the cultural and social capital they have accumulated;

Finally, the investigation results show that many of the migrants are trying to reassess their own values when thinking about the action taken for the remigration. Being away from home and with accumulation of new resources, they no longer take it for granted to rely on the traditional power from the village clans, ethnic groups, or even organizations. Instead, they behave independently in the course both for the development of their home areas and for themselves.

Though the situation of remigration to rural home areas would differ in and close to the coastal region, from this case above, we could at

least have the points that the considerably small number of return migrants are the important human resources in the name of elites for their home development, and whether their remigration is self organized or not, the accumulation of forms of capital are still effective as sources of spatial development.

### **3.3.3 Consumption Driven Movement: Development for a Region or for Oneself?**

Compared to the Sichuan cases, the remigration in Jiangxi and Guangdong seemed to be in much smaller scale, and the re-moving rate from home region to coastal urban regions seemed to be higher. This does not mean anything special, since the migration action, according to the “pendulum theory”<sup>187</sup> we mentioned earlier, taken by the migrants, no matter outgoing from or returning to home regions, are always like migratory birds driven to move with the aim of profits gaining and development orientation. The profits as defined of course can be in the form of economical, social, cultural and symbolic capital.

What I have found and have to stress here from the Jiangxi and Guangdong cases, is the effect mainly resulting from the new mode of consumption, which seemed to be very decisive for the development of

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<sup>187</sup> Tang Bing, ( 2002)

the migrants home region as well as for the migrants themselves. Unlike the cases in Nanchong of Sichuan, where the migrants are trying to invest back to home areas by developing the industries to realize the modernization of the region and of themselves, in Jiangxi and Guangdong, the migrants are actually carrying out the same kinds of development without or with much less remigration move. They simply make effective use of the accumulation of capital flown back in the mode of consumption. The amount of economic capital they sent or brought back, together with new values of life style, has meant a significant new approach toward new regional and personal modernization.

For the development of a region, the tide of remigration in Jiangxi and Guangdong as found in our field worksites cannot be compared by scale with Sichuan. However, the effects of new ways of consumption, with strong power of purchasing and other investment, have greatly changed the regional landscapes, in an unbelievable depth and breadth. In our earlier description I have mentioned that in Lutian town near Guangzhou there have come up the dozens of new construction of village clan temples, recreation centers with basketball, football playgrounds, swimming pools as well as schools and old people homes with modern facilities with migrants donation and investment. What I felt even more impressive was an example of my visit to a café in Zhuangshu of Jiangxi, where hundreds of migrants have bought apartments in urban living

quarters for their families or their own temporary stay when coming back. In this quite modern looking café decorated with European style, enjoying an Italian brand coffee with half price as that in coastal cities, I could have been in Guangzhou, Zhuhai or Shanghai. When I asked how the business was, one of my interviewees happened to be there and he answered, “Very well, for there is now a market for it.”<sup>188</sup>

Coffee drinking may be just an extreme case to show the life change driven by consumption in a small city in an interior region. What can be more tremendously stressed is the housing industry development brought greatly with the monetary capital collected from migrants either returned or not. One example to prove this is found as the following from an interviewee who is a manager of Migration Service living in a newly built living quarter in Zhangshu, Jiangxi:

*From 2002 to 2005, in this living quarter named Wuzhou Garden, 400 of the 640 apartments were sold out. Among those who did the purchase, 60% are just the rural people from towns and villages around without Hukou registration in the city. This is very common in one dozen of the new living quarters. As we know most of the buyers are migrants or families in the countryside with outgoing migrants. According to some housing and real estate development companies' estimate, on average 40-50% of the apartments have been or will be bought with money sent*

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<sup>188</sup> Interview # 22, ( 2004)

*back from coastal areas. When these peasants become rich, the whole region becomes prosperous*<sup>189</sup>.

With considerable large amount of economic capital sent or brought back to the interior and even coastal rural regions as basis of high level of consumption, and with cultural capital such as value system which greatly influences the lifestyle, the processes of modernization can be found on the one hand through the regional development as in above cases, and on the hand on the development of migrants themselves, when thinking about where to stay in the future, they regard it decisive where they can find chances for their own development.

In regard of where to live, there can usually be three choices: to return to the home region, to stay in destination areas or to move to a third place in between such as in medium sized or small cities even towns either in coastal or interior regions. For the decision making in the cases of second and the would-be third generation of migrants in our research here seems now very rational: they are no longer worrying where to stay for just living, but instead, they mind a lot where each of them can individually develop for the self-fulfillment.

The first choice for home returning is still in the initial stage. Although there have been cases as in Sichuan and Guangdong, that when a certain number of migrants went back to home region, they had

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<sup>189</sup> Interview # 24, (2005)

successful resettlement turning out to be entrepreneurs or village heads with effective use of their different forms of capital accumulated, most of the migrants are in a manner of ongoing movement with remigration meaning temporary staying in home regions. This is especially seen in Jiangxi where migrants hesitate to return for resettlement because of the poor condition for development of their own home region:

*With no increase of income for over one year and delay of payment sometimes, I felt unfair and no interest. This was why I quitted the job and jump back home. The feeling of home village is very good and relaxed with familiar earth road and self-regulated way of farm work arrangement... However, being at home for a period of time, I found it boring and backward again. With no chance for development, my skills mastered become useless. Besides, the villagers around are trying their way to go out one after another, plus my parents encouragement, I think that I have to make a new resolution to find one more chance out. It seems to many people that outgoing as a migrant is mainly the way for future development. If I just stay at home, I can make no progress in life<sup>190</sup>.*

In this sense, even those who have had their business in Nanchong of Sichuan or Lutian of Guangzhou, may start to move out again if they get bankrupt or with other necessary requirement. If not becoming too old,

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<sup>190</sup> Interview# 19, (2003)

temporary returning stay is always a mode of remigration in contemporary China, as once the migrants established with them their new lebenswelt from migration life, the movement can mean the development.

To stay in the destination areas as second choice is different. Due to the obstacle like *hukou* system as we discussed earlier, it is rather difficult for any rural migrant to have household registration in big coastal cities like Guangzhou or Shanghai and so forth, except very few who have made great social and economic contributions.<sup>191</sup> However, there are possible ways of permanent stay in the coastal urban destinations in smaller cities or even towns, one example is by marriage to somebody there as the Jiangxi female migrant's (Interview# 14) settlement in Dongguan with her husband; another example would be the migrant who is very successful in destination either with rich accumulation of economic capital or cultural capital (skills). The following is one from Fujia, Lingjiang town of Zhangshu, Jiangxi Province. He is strong enough with money and technology with which he can stay on in the coastal region worrying very little about the *hukou* there.

*Talking of my elder son, he has really gained a lot of knowledge and experience. When he talked about the structure of a car, the parts of a*

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<sup>191</sup> In terms of policy concerned, coastal urban city governments have various regulations as encouragement, but very few could really be implemented as expected.



*truck, and the way to make money by fixing an auto body, I found myself completely a layman. The lifestyle in the coastal area as enjoying sea food, Cantonese tea drinking habit, has always made us astonished. He has now his own saving and the cost for his future life even back in home area is out of question. He had a plan to buy a new house and stay in a nearby city or town, but there is not any good policy yet in regard to the career development for the migrants back around here. In the coming boom of China's auto industry, I think that he is capable and confident for future success. Once he runs an auto body company, he will probably become a millionaire and can easily make a permanent stay in the coastal region<sup>192</sup>.*

The third choice for living and development with a move to the third place either as the medium sized cities or towns anywhere between the coastal destinations or home region is actually very popular and can be an important mode of migration and remigration. This trend is influential for spatial development because it may mean the second round flow of resources after initial migration, which results both for the development of different regions and for the different individual migrant. Actually in our Jiangxi cases, many have already practiced it in this way or at least have this in mind. One interviewee, a mother of three migrant children, expressed in good remarks what has happened and will be coming up.

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<sup>192</sup> Interview # 20

*My son is now living in a third place. He was one of the first intending to develop back in home area but failed to do it due to the small local market and absence of policy. Then 1999 he went to Nanchang, the capital city of our province which is one hundred kilometers away from home. But a startup of a painting service with just 20,000 yuan of investment in the third place was not easy either. Only a try for over a half year, he got bankrupt as he had not enough connections and management experience. Like his grandfather, he is a man with willpower for he went out to coastal area again as a migrant and his skills made him recover from failure very soon. In 2001, with more experience and a local cooperator, he went to where he lost money once more to do the same business. By signing contract of some painting projects, he made it this time and earned profit the end of the year. It seems that since then he is confident of his development there. I don't know now how much money he has made but is told that he plans to buy a new apartment in or near the provincial capital city for living.*

*As for my daughter, things are just under planning. According to her viewpoints, the home area is not a good place for development because of the low level of consumption and social enclosure. Like her brother, she only thinks that one day when she has laid a good foundation outside, she would have a plan to bring our old folks to live in urban places<sup>193</sup>.*

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<sup>193</sup> Interview# 21, (2003)

Over two thousand years ago, the Chinese sage Lao Tse said in his *Tao Te Jing* that “Retrospect calls for reaction; ... Work joyfully after peacefully settled down.”<sup>194</sup> The reaction of migrants’ choices of movement has been definitely the sense of development. As for where is the place for their settling down depends on the regional development, which can bring to them better chances and lower cost for easier stay. In a word, the modernization process with the facts that the migrant as an individual acting for the realization of good way of life is always based on the integration of both regional and personal resources for development.

### **3.4 Comparisons of the Effects**

#### **3.4.1 Significance of Distance**

In general, “homesickness” is very popular in family value-minded Chinese culture from the ancient time to the modern time. This can be found not only in the contemporary migrants’ life in our coastal urban cases, but as I know it is the feeling of many immigrants studying or living outside the country also. With this home longing in mind, they never forget to find ways back or at least to do something beneficial for

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<sup>194</sup> Laotse, A famous ancient Chinese Sage who wrote *Tao Te Ching*

home development. This is why one migrant would express his wish for future action aim in the way that “comparatively speaking, I would rather make contributions to the construction of my own hometown than to other’s hometown”<sup>195</sup>.

As usual, the Chinese would not go away from home too far and too long, the statement from the Fujia (Jiangxi) case that the parents and grandparents in their age had seldom been to anywhere over 50 kilometers away is actually the truth for peasants’ life in old times. Beside the pre-industrial situation, what they might have assumed can be that the closer to be near home, the more possibilities for existence and development. This background can lead us to testing interpretation to our first hypothesis in this chapter.

Hypothesis 1: “If an interior region is closer to coastal urban district, the remigration would be in larger scale and the chances for development with remigration potential would be more than the ones further away.” From my research based on the investigation in the interior rural regions, the reality does not totally support this. In Nanchong, Sichuan, which is much further away from the coastal areas (on average around 2000 kilometers in distance) than that of Jiangxi (less than 1000 kilometers), the remigration wave seems to be considerably much higher with even meaningful numbers of resettlement. Compared to this, in Jiangxi and the

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<sup>195</sup> An interviewee’s quotation, Interview # 32

suburban rural areas of Guangzhou, the remigration is just characterized with temporary return shifting for chances of next-step development.

Given almost the same circumstances of accumulation of capital through migration and outgoing as peasant workers, the ways of using their resources to develop their home region as well as fulfillment of themselves are differing from regions. If we take the distance from and to the coastal urban regions as a variable to judge the development mode, differences can be summarized as in the following table:

Table 3.2: Differences of remigration for regional development<sup>196</sup>

Name & Locations	Remigration in scale	Development Resources	Resettlement motivation	Future movement
Nanchong Sichuan (far away from the costal urban areas)	large number of remigrants in village and town level	Incentive Policy for remigrants with integration of forms of capital accumulated	Development of home region and of themselves	Somewhere around the home areas rather than too far
Zhangshu, Jiangxi (closer to the coastal urban areas)	Few cases of remigration with many just for short stay	Forms of capital flowing back with no policy to attract remigration	Housing estate purchase for future life	Third place would be good choices

<sup>196</sup> Note: these are expressions from interview cases to show the objective and subjective realities in the regions with migrants outgoing and returning.

Chonghua , Guangzhou (right in the coastal peri- urban region)	More frequent Outgoing and home stay	Family and clan ties integrated with accumulate d capitals	More for self-fulfillme nt as rural elites	Back and forth between rural and urban
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Based on the statement in this table, the second hypothesis as “if the migrants are going back with enough accumulated forms of economic, social and cultural capital, they are sure to have opportunities for their own development” is not fully supported either. The reason that the remigration to Sichuan and to Jiangxi would vary in scale in our research has been greatly due to the policy implemented to attract them or the lack thereof, while in Conghua of Guangzhou, the remigration start only with the social network at home area for their self-fulfillment. The capital they gained can be just partially effective in different situations.

After the interpretation with the fact tests of the first two hypotheses, now we can turn to the third one: “if remigration does not start, the accumulation of capital would as well mean a great deal to their home region development”. This is proved to be true. Indeed even if there has been none or very few cases of remigration as in Jiangxi, the accumulation of capital in different forms would still mean important resources of the region of the origins of migration. The economic and

cultural capital flown back would usually change their home region in the means of consumption, which we could find from the new landscapes construction and so forth.

### **3.4.2 Changes of Regional Landscapes and Migrants' Future Life**

In his early classic study of rural-urban continuum, Simmel once concluded that “the significance of money in determining the pace of life in a given period is first of all illustrated by the fact that a change in monetary circumstances brings about a change in the pace of life”.<sup>197</sup> In the respect of a change in the pace of life in a given period, his elaboration of the significance of money is still quite to the point. But in the long run, money as economic capital is just one resource for changes, other forms of capital, which may be established in certain social culture and stemmed and transformed from money and each individual *lebenswelt*, can also be effective for the changes of the pace of life through regional development and the migrants self-fulfillment.

In our cases from the interior or coastal rural regions, though remigration differs in scale of resettlements, the process of migration in the initial stage and final results seemed to be very similar with outgoing accumulation of capital and input for home regional as well as their own

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<sup>197</sup> Simmel, 1990: 498, emphasis in original.

development. To make it simple, the following two figures can be explicit enough to show the pace of life changes with them in the last ten years.

Figure 3.1: Changes in the pace of people’s life of Nanchong, Sichuan in last decade

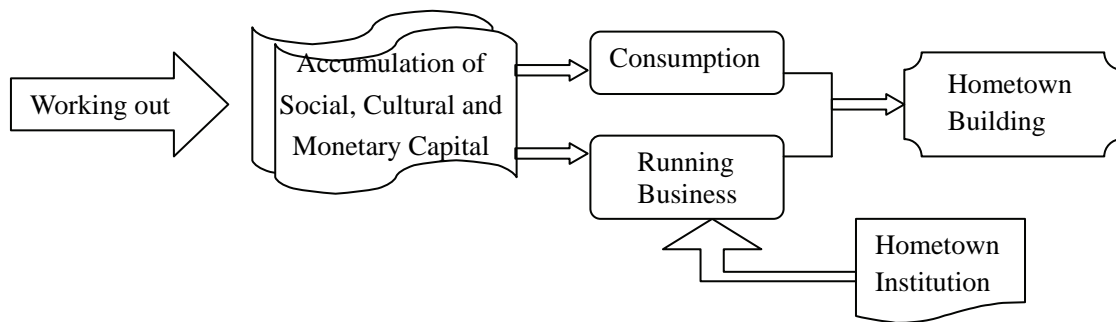
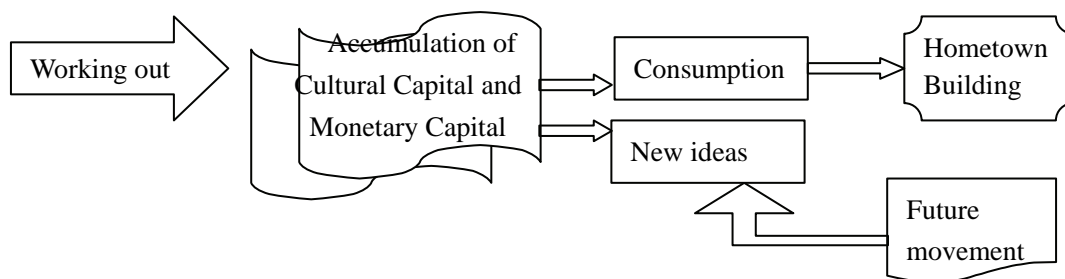


Figure 3.2: Changes of in the pace of people’s life in different regions in Jiangxi and Guangdong in the last decade



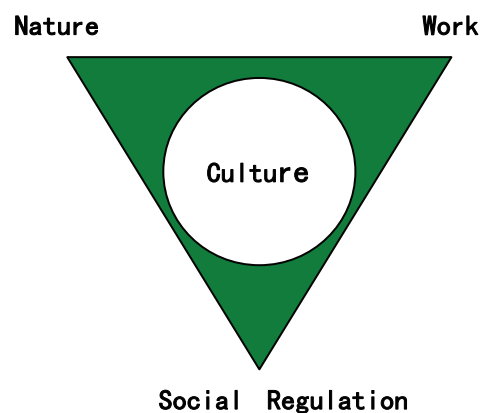
The actual changes may be in much more differential circumstances as we discussed in the above two chapters. However, no matter how complicated the process would be, the results of the changes would always mean two aspects: the hometown building for the



modernization of the home region and the self-fulfillment for their own development in the future. For the ending of this chapter, let us turn to deeper interpretation of it.

Before we start to interpret the results with discussion of the thesis put forward for this chapter, one particular concept for spatial development analysis should be adopted here as a tool or framework. That is “landscape”. Unlike the Chinese understanding with mainly the esthetic meaning, Detlev Ipsen defined it as in the following figure<sup>198</sup>:

Figure 3.3: The concept of Landscape



What we can read from this triangle is that the relationship between “nature, work and social regulations” centralized with “culture” as system of interpretation and evaluation of a region would mean not only the landscape image but also the landscape development both in rural and urban spaces. In spatial development, the landscape image construction

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<sup>198</sup> Detlev Ipsen, (2005)

then would often have involvement of change of nature, input of work and implementation of social regulations, which is based on human culture with values from people's long time accumulation.

In this regard, the following theses can be elaborated as migrants' life embedding and disembedding in the development of certain landscapes. This development, in spite of different ways in changing the landscapes either with emergence of new industries or with construction of new living facilities in the original places, can be considered as the modernization of the region.

1. The larger the distance the inland region from the coastal urban centers, the weaker the effects will be. This thesis has actually been tested with discussion of our first hypothesis in this chapter. The distancing as a geographic indicator can mean very little to regional landscape changes, economic and cultural innovation from local social regulations and migrants lebenswelt are more important indicators.

2. The capitals the migrants accumulated from their migration life affect in the same way their home regions when they move back. The facts we found proves that in the mode of consumption driven development with design and construction for new regional landscapes, this is correct. However, in Nanchong the remigration economy has brought and will bring more changes of features with new industrious development as identification of local natural resources like "bamboo",

3. The institutional arrangements usually dominate the return migration and have great impact on their development with remigration. This thesis arouses our research interest of the local policy's impact on remigration development in the rural regions. In Nanchong of Sichuan the effectiveness has prevailed for both regional and personal development. But the impact of market mechanism is as well dominating all the time in the process of the outgoing migration and the remigration. This is why most return-migrants in Jiangxi and Guangdong, including some in the Sichuan rural regions, turned out to be a kind of "migratory birds" between the destinations and the origins and third place settlement seems to be a future trend.

4. The flow of cultural capital would effect the development of the places of origin in different ways no matter where they locate. This has become now very common. In fact, either in Sichuan, Jiangxi or right in the rural regions in Guangdong, the gaining and collection of the resources in forms of economic, social and cultural capital, has always been highly evaluated for the transformation of each of them and the integrated use of them all has proved to be effective to great extent to the

development of the regions of the origin, the destinations and the third places they move to.

5. The future movements of the migrants depend mainly on the social capital they gained. In terms of social capital, the migrants turn to use now more of the social network established and accumulated during migration life rather than the ones of blood and geographic ties inherited from their previous generations. China has long been a “Guanxi” (social relationship) oriented society concerning any kinds of development<sup>199</sup>, but the results that they intend to develop themselves as well as their business, their regions with more modern life concerned ties of profession, market, and common value (as in the bamboo processing industries) rather than just the traditional ties from clan or family faces, have really meant some progress in the way toward modernization and can be surely regarded as newly regulated ways of lifestyle from agricultural society to the industrial and even the post-industrial one.

In conclusion of this chapter, the effective use of the forms of capital flown back either with or without remigration is generally decisive. No matter where the migrants would have moved on next step, for instance, becoming an urban citizen, making the village the permanent home, and living in between, the results of spatial development can just be in the modes in accordance with development in and of the cities, development

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<sup>199</sup> Thomas Gold, et al, eds, (2002)

in destination or development in and of the countryside as origins. In this aspect, we can go on with more discussions on the impact of spatial development in contemporary China with a view of the decision making and action taken by migrants in the future.

## Chapter Four

### Perspectives of Migration and Spatial Development

#### 4.1 Introduction

As discussed above in the micro studies of migration and remigration, the associated spatial development actually started right after the time from the mid-1980's in the coastal urban regions as the destination and then step by step turn to the interior rural regions of original areas where migrants hail from.

While the contributions which migrants have made to the industrial construction in the coastal urban areas have been widely recognized and highly approved with a general evaluation that they are the cheap and industrial force of labour in urban society<sup>200</sup>, the impact the outgoing migration and return migration bring about to development of the inland regions remains somewhat hidden and inexplicit. This is because the resources generated from migration as flows of all sorts of capitals accumulated slowly are invisible and the changes of the latter are always beyond one's expectation. The differential perspectives of this seem to be stemmed from orientations of the understanding of modernization process. On the one hand, dualistic way of thinking has still been dominating the

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<sup>200</sup> Ye Jianfu, et al, (2003) p.8

one-way traffic of looking into the issues with viewpoints of the developed and the developing, which aroused constant comments on the so-called “Mathieu Effects”<sup>201</sup> from the development economic and sociological interpretation. On the other hand, the spatial practice with ways of pluralistic utilization of resources for modernization of places would find opportunities and challenges as the new approaches for development of the rural areas, though it will take time and efforts to realize it.

The problematic space and spatial practice can be regarded as one thing with two sides. In his six points of basic repertoire providing strategic options for human action, David Harvey once put them out as the spatial orderings with solutions of “mobility and migrations coupled with the production of space for distinctive purposes such as escape, defense, organizational consolidation, transport, and communication, and the organization of the spatially articulated material support system for the life of individuals, collectives, and the species”<sup>202</sup>. But what will then be the real features of the problematic space with clear roadmaps? What can be used to form a structured space of positions? And how can the factors as accumulated capitals be functioning for pluralistic future spatial development rather than the continuous making of traditional

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<sup>201</sup> See Ben Li, ed, (2007)

<sup>202</sup> David Harvey, (2000)

dualism-oriented contrasts? This chapter will perform an act or a debate with concluding remarks as well as an opening for new ideas.

In order to fully demonstrate the tendencies of spatial development in China in general sense and based on the research results gained from the previous micro studies, the conclusive research here will start with a description of space of flows. Targeting on this, some scenarios will be constructed as the background of continuous migration, both outgoing and returning, because the movement of migrant population has often resulted in the simultaneous flows of economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and etc. Only in this predictive thinking, the planning and realization of space flows as “spacing”<sup>203</sup>, are then more meaningful to explain: why the space flows can be oriented to the functions of division of labor and bring about actual dynamic effects for regional social and economic development.

After that, a detailed discussion on effects of spacing will be unfolding, for which many findings will be used to make an interpretation of structural changes in some years in the future in China. For the work of this part, I will fully focus on the structural changes of space, either in the way of making it a social process or, to be specific, in a new way of thinking with placing as means of future regional development. In the meanwhile, a new kind of terminology as “field effects”, which has been

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<sup>203</sup> Detlev Ipsen, (2004)



entangling in my thinking and later found in Bourdieu's insightful academic categories into the spatial analysis as "field and strategy", will be applied to the elaboration, for I consider it so important to use it as a tool of analysis. As Joe Painter remarks, the field is thus a relational concept, a structural space of positioning, which are determined by the uneven distribution of the various forms of capital<sup>204</sup>. It is really a helpful analytical and theoretical instrument that finally leads to my new debating and discussion on the spatial development issues with concepts like *pluralistic regional development* and *field effects*.

In spite of the market mechanism that has now occupied in many areas of social and economic life in China, lots of studies show that in recent years, most of the developments, either coastal or interior, either rural or urban, either industrial or agricultural and either economic or political, are always government dominated and guided. For example, the urban development in Guangzhou, central city of Pearl River Delta in South China, has all the time been planned and organized, directly and indirectly, by the institutional arrangements, from inner changes of structure of industries to outward economic and cultural building of connections. Very often the market measures are just taken with specific programs, which are conducted by different sorts of corporations. As effective ways of urban and regional management, this, for a period of

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<sup>204</sup> Joe Painter, (2000)

time in the future, will still be prevailing and constructive. In addition to all these discussions and with some recognition and comments on the studies of the areas to be followed, I will draw out the general conclusions for the whole research with findings depicted and stressed in the very end of this chapter. For an extra discussion more or less on the formulation of future capital of politics for spatial development, a few of the institutional implications for the development of migrants, for regional management and services imposing and so forth will be put forward in the sense of future spacing and spatial construction.

## **4.2 Space of Flows**

Having done the micro studies with interpretations of findings of migrants' accumulations of capital in urban destination areas and the use of all forms of the capital for the construction of modernization in the places of origin, I would now turn back to a macro level to discuss the whole spatial development in China. In this part of the research, some scenarios of spacing with social process of flows of space will be built up as the general basis of the development in one to two decades in the future. Again, if we highlight on the migration phenomena, we can have shortcuts of the elaborations of all sorts of flows.

### 4.2.1 Flows of Migrant Population

We have already noted that in the years of the beginning of this century, the estimated number of rural to urban migrants in is more than ten hundred million. The actual number in the past two decades, however, if we have a rough calculation of them all, would be much larger. We can have an approximation that over two hundred million of China's peasants may have had experiences, longer or shorter, of migration and this means they are experienced in the movement for urban Life. In fact, most of my interviewees who were outgoing from actually, beside Sichuan, Jiangxi and Guangdong, many different interior provinces have told me that young people of their ages (from 16 to 35) who are able to migrate must have left home. The words from a county magistrate in Guangdong can be a refrain for many of the kind: "So many of the strong laborers have left for cities, that the farmlands can only be cultivated by small groups of the considerably older guys and younger kids. One of our tasks is now to help these people with their farming as well as healthcare."<sup>205</sup>

It should be noticed that many of the very recent studies have the emphasis of the "shortage of migrant labors", or to be more exact, if we mention it with equivalent from Chinese (minggonghuang) "the crisis of

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<sup>205</sup> This is a telephone interview with one top official from Guangning County in Guangdong, which mentioned earlier in the research.

lack of migrant laborers”<sup>206</sup>. It seems to us that there is a decline of the movement action. But the reality is rather different from the phenomenon. There are continuous flows of migration with diverse options of jobs and destinations. According to my last interview with an organizer of outgoing migration, who introduced with his partners over 50 thousand migrants into the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong from Zhangshu of Jiangxi, there have been at least five reasons for the shortage of migrant laborers in recent years:

*First, some youngsters intend to study longer time in some professional schools for better competition status; secondly, there is a tendency of movement to diverse destinations, opportunities in many other cities in stead of PRD, this may cause the shortage in some places; thirdly, when the urban cost of living increases, some migrants would like to wait for better chance; fourthly, it is time for most the first generation of migrants move back home region or other places for settlements and finally, the living conditions at home turn to be more improved with China’s new rural development policy.*<sup>207</sup>

Given the possibilities of somewhat the surface-meaning decrease of the numbers of migrants, the tide of migration actually seldom falls and the flow of movement never stops. It is not only still in large scale, but also more professionally organized. One good example is a very recent

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<sup>206</sup> Zhu, Zhongwen and Wang Hongmei (2006); Si Zhengzuo & Xu Kangning, (2006)

<sup>207</sup> Interview# 24 in Jiangxi, 2005

program of organized migration initiated from the end of 2005. With the assistance of the program, over 10000 trained maids will be exported to Guangdong from Jilin, a Northeastern Province nearly 4000 kilometers away from the destination<sup>208</sup>. These “Northeastern Sisters” as named by local people will be moving into the urban areas of Guangdong within one year to handle house work for thousands of families. There are likewise many contracts of employing migrants between some factories in coastal areas and professional schools from interior regions. In addition, hundreds of all other kinds of linkages like internet services are all efficient with easy access of employment information. The waves of that outgoing migration can be changed probably in forms but not in reality.

While observing the trends of outgoing migration, we should as well pay great attention to the continuous migratory population movement with the remigration or return migration in China. Generally speaking, two urban development policies in China will result in even more large scale of migration movements between regions. One is the household registration in big cities, where the present thresholds of permanent stay are still too high for rural migrants, who are never accepted as formal city residents. For example, those who move to the City of Guangzhou to get the household registers must at least have the educational degree of the bachelor level as qualification<sup>209</sup>. The other is the releasing policy for

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<sup>208</sup> Reports from Guangzhou Daily, (June 9, 2006 )

<sup>209</sup> Refer to “ the implementation rules of administration of household registration

rural people's settlement with household registrations in some medium sized cities, especially the small cities and all the towns<sup>210</sup>. With the two kinds of institutional drives, most of the migrants working in big coastal urban areas or center cities like Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, or even living in the provincial capitals, must go back to home villages or, if there are development possibilities, move to third places as small cities and towns either inside or outside their outgoing origins. If about 90% of all the outgoing migrants have to leave the urban destination areas and one fourth would start their return migration or remigration to other places, the number of return and on-moving migrants will be about 20 million each year with the estimated total number as another 100 million in just a few years of time. As approximate calculation here, the number of invisible migrants, either illegal in the form of "blind drifters" or "move for odd jobs just with seasonal requirements"<sup>211</sup>, can be also as big as the normal, which can be development resources in a sense as well. All of this again can be regarded as dynamic force for development in both rural and urban regions.

In addition, the high urbanization speed which will be processed in next 20 to 30 years of time can be an even more important driving factor for rural to urban population movement. Up to the year of 2000, the

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in the city (Guangzhou)", (guanyu woshi hujiguanli shishiyijian)  
<http://www.online.gz.cn/Papers/Aggregate/Plan/18002.html>

<sup>210</sup> Ministry of Public Security, (2001)

<sup>211</sup> Interview case in Jiangxi

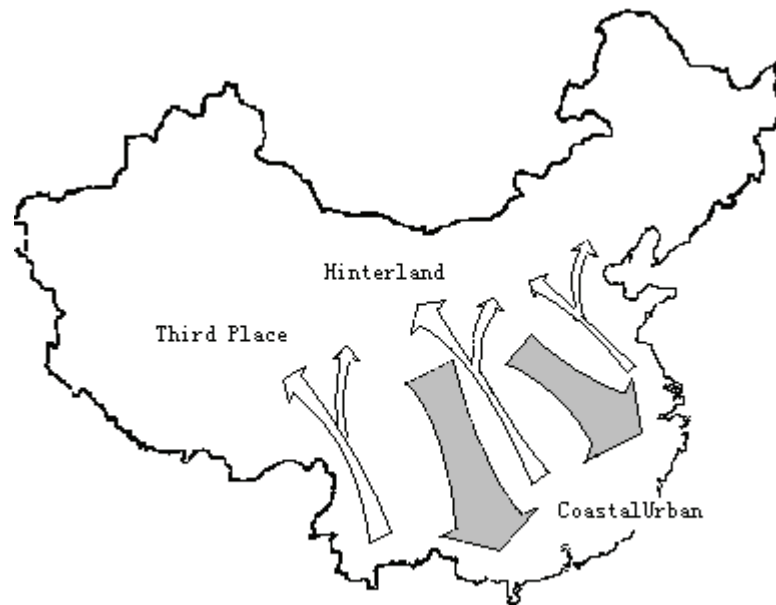
statistical rural population was over 830 million<sup>212</sup>. If as planned, the urbanization rate will be over 50% in the base of a whole population of 1.5 billion by then, about 200 million migrants who are qualified with the accumulation of capitals will definitely become small city or town urban residents. This means there will always be a circulation of migrant population moving around with a considerably stable number more or less of 100 million in each ten years.

Though we can imagine that migration issue would vary from time to time and region to region, one can still have a clear picture of the flows of migrant population between regions within the country. (See map 4.1). Generation after generation of migrants may go on with a route map their fathers have drawn from the so defined undeveloped regions to developed regions and then move back with flows of other things, both material and cultural. Their aim would be the realization of modernization for the life of themselves first and of the development of different regions as follow-ups.

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<sup>212</sup> See the forecast by Wang, Mark Yaolin (2002) p.25

Figure 4.1: The tentative flow of migrant population in the future



By the means of migration, not any piece of absolute space or place in geographic sense can be created, however, the social space for development will be certainly restructured. This now can be really imagined and regarded as the production of third space, where flows of resources in forms of capital are decisive in the process of modernization with pluralistic development initiatives across regions.

#### **4.2.2 Accompanying Flows of Capital**

From the results of micro studies, we know that there has been tremendous accumulation of all forms of capital by the migrants during their life experience of migration. When they move, they are defined very often as the flow of floating population. This is because the movement is



visible. Though, in economic sense, the income they earn and consume and send back home is always highly stressed and evaluated, there is in fact neglecting of some other hidden flows as speech flows, lifestyle flows, data flows, image flows, technology flows as well as flows of social relationship, etc. These flows accompanying with the flow of migration, are actually more to the deep sense of development either for the migrants themselves or to the regions concerned, for they represent not only interchanges between labor and returning resources but also the formulation of their lebenswelt as well as of forms of social capital, cultural capital, political capital, in addition to economic capital. But as usual, people would simply find it obviously meaningful with money, the economic capital. It is explicit that almost in all the rural places the local authority interviewees can not only figure out the estimated numbers of migrants going out and returning, but also never hide their great interest in talking about the estimated sum of the money the migrants have sent back. They can point to you the new houses the migrants' families build up with big money back and how much the migrants can now afford to send their children to good schools. But very few of them can easily explain why they would build the houses with advanced sanitation facilities and send children to schools of high fees.

These flows, when in means of spacing, despite of the difficulties in making it statistically meaningful, actually prove to be more decisive for

spatial practice with the changes of structure of space. With the combination of the cultural capital, social capital and together with the economic capital, they can change the phases of the regional development and the process of modernization. The impacts and effects can be distinct in the description and interpretation in Chapter 3, where the “return migrant laborers development corridor” being constructed in Nanchong of Sichuan was already defined as a good example of the effectiveness of the capitals. We cannot conclude that the flows will immediately create the gestalt of spaces but at least they are changing the spatial structure to form a new shape of space for future development.

The reasons for neglecting the flows of the hidden social and cultural capital may be many. One of them is probably the unawareness of the progress of the means of transportation and communication. An example of that can be taken from Chapter 2. In the vertical comparison with time frequency, we can simply find out the differentiation. In early 1990s migrants could contact with home only by writing letters once a month. Later in the late 1990s, they call home once a month besides writing letters. But now, instead of writing letters home, they talk very often with family members on the phone, some send SM home with their mobile phones everyday or even get connected with home region through internet access rather frequently. In the meanwhile, the ways of transportation have also been changing incredibly fast with a speed

beyond expectation. The early migrants go back to home once a year because of the rare resource of transportation means, like trains or long-distance coaches. Now they find it much easier to have access to reach home regions, for most of the regions are connected with highway system, by one-night train, in case of emergency, a very small number of them even fly back to home area.

It is known to all that one of the main characteristics of the Chinese culture is social relationship (guanxi) that can be, as the study of “Social Connections in China from viewpoints of Institutions, Culture, and the Changing Nature of Guanxi” once put it, a universal resource with which nothing cannot be handled<sup>213</sup>. Social relationship, as norms of values, and represented by all sorts of social network with ties between people possessed from heritages and constructed in life, is often understood as something “that is there”. As a matter of fact, there are always things happening behind it. People usually perceive it when it functions with utilities in life. In the migration process, for instance, only when the chances come with social ties for imbedding into the destination society realized with support of social network, then is its importance known by migrants themselves. Another example can be seen in what happens with remigration or return migration process. When the time comes for lots of migrants to start their business up at home region, they actually make

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<sup>213</sup> Thomas Gold, et, al, ( 2002)

very good use of social and cultural capital -- apart from the transformation of economic capital. The Nanchong case did tell us how the social network of market functions in the industrial development and how the experience of skills handling enables them for business organizing job. Indeed, the understanding and utilizing of these flows will certainly lead to the creation of other resources such as new policy or capital of politics, which already proves to be pragmatic in some other rural places<sup>214</sup> beside Nanchong.

In the long run, given the background of the huge flow of continuous movement of migrant population, the accompanying flows of all forms of capital will be more and more apparent not only in density but in ways of acceleration as well. This tendency can be explained in a dimensional way of thinking. Materially, the improvement of infrastructures and new application of high technologies will speed up the flows. The minimum time for the electronic transfers of money, information, business contracts can be just in a minute and the maximum time of the delivering of products and living goods, or passenger carrying from one place to another, can be completed in no more than a day<sup>215</sup>. Spiritually, the consciousness of making best use of the flows of capital, when migrants work and live with new types of “*lebenswelt*” (life world),

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<sup>214</sup> Note: there have been reports often from Jiangxi, Hunan and Henan of new policies to attract remigration, but not yet now any statistics of it in large scale.

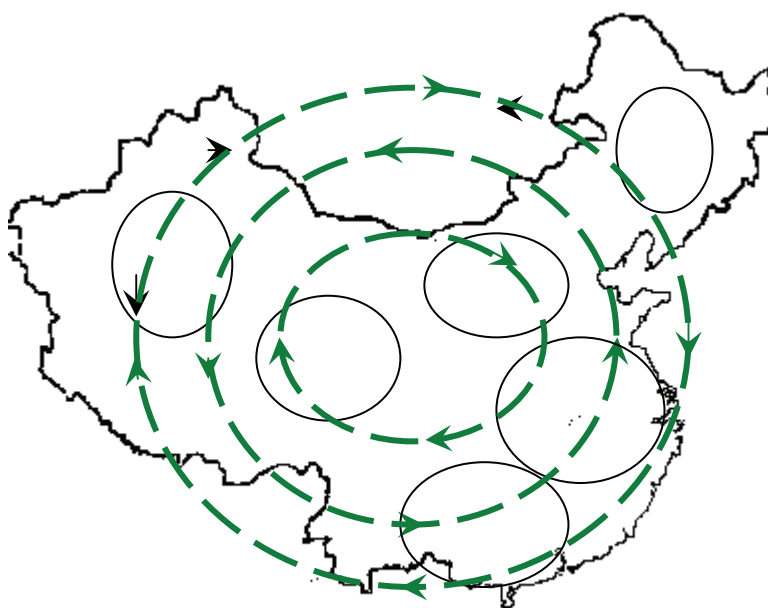
<sup>215</sup> See emphasis on the infrastructure and service system improvement plan in the “2007 Central Government Working Report”.

will enhance their motivation of action of making the spacing with the circulation of all flows as much as possible.

If we try to have a figurative imagination of the accompanying flows which would formulate the spacing process in future China, there will certainly be a circulation of transfers of capitals as in the following map.

(See figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2: Process of flows of capitals between regions in China



In this figure, the arrows with dotted line can be any directions, that means the flows of forms of capital can be anywhere within the country as long as there is the migration or remigration process, no matter rural to urban or vice versa. It is no longer a question we have resources or not, but it is important how the migrants will have their decision making of next-step movement and how the regional plans can be

integrated with the policy and market resources. Based on that, we can turn to the building of scenarios of spacing between regions in the future.

### **4.2.3 Scenarios of Spacing Between Regions**

Up to now, the migrant population movement and the spontaneous flows of capitals with that have experienced initial stage from 1980s to 1990s and will pass over soon the transitional stage in the near future. The distinguishing line of the two, as we have discussed, can always be the perception of flows of capitals accumulated by migrants through their life experience of movement and the realization of active and effective utilization of them. To predict the real rational or well organized spacing of that, I think, some scenarios of social process of regional development have to be established for future strategic planning.

The scenarios here to be constructed will cover first the migration issue itself and then move to the perspectives to the interchanges or interaction between regions, from which we can find the new form of spatial practice that is both the target and result of migration. These interrelations may cause positive effects to most of the involved regions or the negative ones to some of them with unplanned and unprepared situations.

Let us start with the possible process of migrants' future decision making. After a period of time of moving, the migrants would have choices of settlement and make the possible decisions: going back home area, moving to a third place or staying in the destination region. However, this has a lot to do with the political, social and economic and even the cultural environment such as government policies and other regional resources, and the results would also be different.

### 1. Migrants' choices

(a) If the migrants would stay in destination areas, the home region may find less resource for development. This is the loss of active people or kind of human resources with comparatively high quality. Just assuming that they decide to go back and start up enterprises there, the home region is able to fully benefit from different sorts of capital accumulated and invested by them.

(b) When the migrants decide not go back home, they will send money to the home areas. The collecting of money from people working outside can be one of the important sources for home regional development. This in turn would be investment in the home region or at least raises the living standard to stimulate the market with greater purchasing capability in their home region.

(c) There comes out a balance of the gain over the loss. In term of decision making, there should be choices by both the migrants themselves

and the home region local governments. If the migrants are going back without local supportive resources, they are pushed back by other reasons. But if they are back with help for resettlement, there will be input of capital of many kinds, including social, monetary, cultural and new values when they need them.

2. Political capital or policy conditions provided by local government to support remigration

(a) If nothing is done as resettlement environmental preparation, there would be just self-planned movement by market mechanism (in the level of the developed or the underdeveloped), the circumstances can be like those cases from Jiangxi.

(b) There are some help from the local government, for instance, the encouragement with incentive policy for their coming back, which helps the development of the home areas. This is the general situation since there are initiatives now and then with the utilization of economic capital in different places in interior regions.

(c) If well organized with the incentive policy, there should be some very good programs launched. Cases from Sichuan with strong policy implementation for remigration back to home region in Chapter 3 showed the solutions. Great opportunities for the regeneration and revival either agricultural or nonagricultural industries in the home region come from mainly the government-created political capital.



From the above deduction, the spatial development in the future, in condition of the spacing process, can then be illustrated by the overlapped decision makings of the regional governments as well as the migrants themselves. This means the decisions may either lead to positive effects or negative ones as the following:

Table 4.1: Scenarios of possible positive and negative results

Migration to	<u>Positive Effects</u>		<u>Negative Effects</u>	
	Economic	Social	Economic	Social
Destinations	Capitals accumulated	imbedded	Unemployed and chaos	disimbedded
Origins (back)	Capitals functioning	use of network	jobless move again	without settlements
Third places	Capitals accumulated & functioning	Network and imbedding	uncompetitive	rootless

The phenomena in this table have explicitly depicted the two side effects resulted in the same issue. They can be the future scenarios, which actually based on the present reality we have found in our micro studies. If the situation turns out to be on the positive side, the action of migration

will benefit both the migrants individually or as a social group as well as spatial development for all the regions, which can be the areas of destination, of origin and of third place. However, when the migration as a social process fails to be on the track of the spacing as we learned and planned, a vicious circle, a chain reaction of social turmoil or riots will take place. Thus the scenarios can be optimistic as sunny landscapes but in the meanwhile things will be opposite if we make no preparation of forming new solid structure to sustain and support them.

What will the new spatial structure look like? And in what ways can we make best alternatives for future regional development. Let us move to the discussion of *field effects* which can lead to more details of imagination of physical and spiritual spacing.

### **4.3 Field Effects for Spatial Development**

Field as a concept from physics to be used in social and humanistic sciences is not a new invention. Among all the social scientists, Bourdieu is one of the most frequent users of the term of field. In his mind, the social formation is seen as a hierarchically organized series of fields such as the intellectual, educational, economic ones, etc<sup>216</sup>. He himself even considers that a field as an analytic term “may be defined as network, or a

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<sup>216</sup> Garham and Williams, (1980) p 215

configuration, of objective relations between positions”<sup>217</sup>. As Bourdieu often tried to closely link the concept of the field to the concept of capital we have cited over and over again in this research, it is adequate to use the term to elaborate the spatial development with capital functioning.

As usual, the concept of field can be used in static and deterministic fashion, but a field can also be adopted in the fluid, dynamic and embodied notion of practice or practical sense. It is then more of field making or “fielding” as the use of the concept of “spacing” by Detlev<sup>218</sup>. In this sense, it stresses more on field effects in a process of social action. With this as framework, what I will do next is to interpret the spatial structural changes and modes of pluralistic regional development.

#### **4.3.1 The Stages of the Break-up of Dual Structure**

The spatial structural change by field making can be taken in three progressive and sometimes overlapping stages. As to the migration-induced regional development, it starts first the initial stage, during which the flow of migrant population is observed as the most distinguishing phenomenon of the social process. This, being the initial stage such as the case in China since late 1980s to early years of the new century, can hardly make any effects to the traditional dual structure of

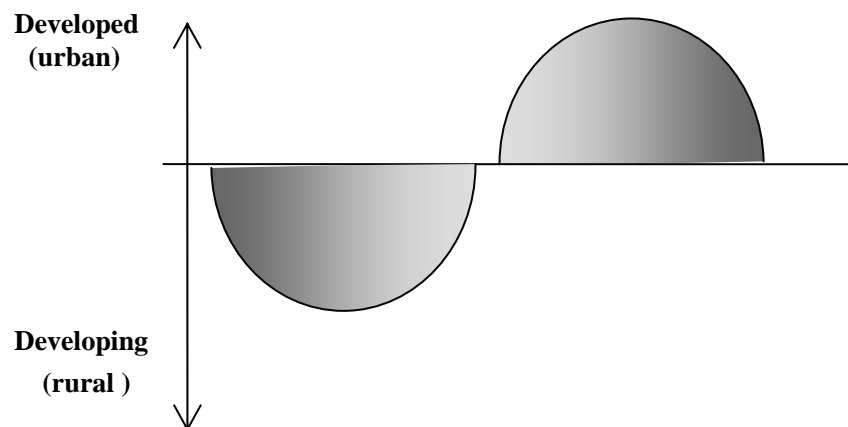
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<sup>217</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant, (1992), p97

<sup>218</sup> Detlev Ipsen, (2004)

the rural and the urban, the agriculture and the industry, the interior and the coastal spaces, etc. The sharp contrasts of the developed and the developing areas are said to be totally different worlds<sup>219</sup> with “different mountains and even a different moon”<sup>220</sup>. The dual structure problem once elaborated by Lewis, from his observation of the developed or the developing, is no longer hidden, but immediately brings to light hundreds of millions of people either outgoing from the rural or living in the urban areas. If we just regard that as displacing of segmentation, and simply use the traditional dualism definition for analysis, there can be a configuration as below. (See figure 4.3 )

**Figure 4.3: Clear appearance of dual structure in China**



While in China the most frequently used term in media, or to be more exact, in people’s minds, was the “tide of migration”, which implied

<sup>219</sup> This is the saying to be found in most of my interviews

<sup>220</sup> Li Peilin, (2003)

with shocks that there is clearly a large gap with appearance of differences between urban and rural life, the endless waves arrive one after another. Despite that, there were sometimes complaints with problems of handling difficulties in urban areas, which is academically defined as vanishing of community, structure strains of society and collapse of social ties in urban life<sup>221</sup> from early studies by Chicago school of urban sociology. No one can hold back the migration movement. Only the social institutions and market mechanism react step by step to smoothen and regulate them as we noticed earlier in the research, for instances, the formulation of administrative regulations of migrant population in cities like Guangzhou, and the organization of labor force markets in Sichuan, Jiangxi, and others.

After a period of the process of migration with movement of millions of rural people nationwide, it is still far behind “the end of peasants’ life” by Henri Mendras. But the time he mentioned when rural people were just at the entrance of industrial civilization<sup>222</sup> has passed, at least in China. With the accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital and especially the *lebenswelt* of almost two generations of migrants, the transitional stage has come. The characteristics of this period since the beginning of this century in China are the spacing with flows of different forms of capital circulated all over the country as we

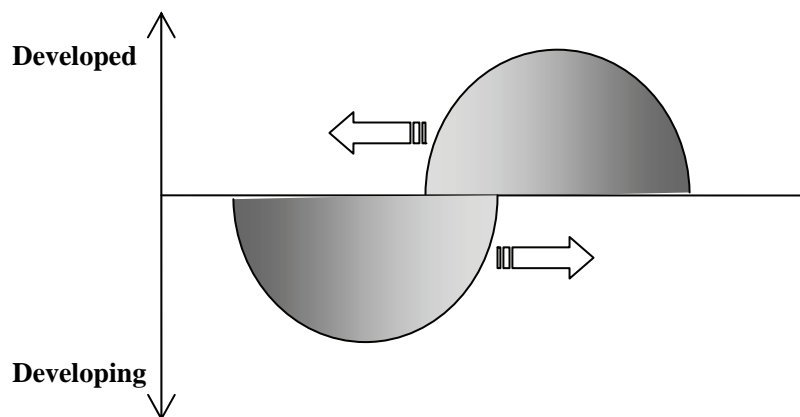
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<sup>221</sup> Liu Shiding & Liu Neng, (2003) p.264

<sup>222</sup> Henri Mendras, (1984)

have discussed, which may have partially broken up the dual structure of tradition and is bringing about, in a sense, an overlapping structure of mixture of the rural and urban lifestyle of the developed and the developing social landscapes in some places. The situation or the trends of this embodiment of each other can be depicted as simple as a model of the following. (See figure 4.4)

**Figure 4.4: The overlapping status of dual structure**



Of course, spatial structural change can be hardly defined just in such a simple configuration. It can be a much more sophisticated format of spacing with regulations of political, economic, social and cultural life changes. But it is apparent in many observable perspectives. Take mixture of the rural and urban, or agricultural and industrial landscapes for example, some areas in the urban villages in Guangzhou or in suburban places in Nanchong of Sichuan, Dongguan of Guangdong, even

Zhangshu of Jiangxi, it is very difficult for anyone to distinguish the features of landscapes as merely urban or rural. This is why when German planning scientists tried to look for identities of the region of the Pearl River Delta, they would “start with the spatial breaks and transitions of these landscapes, with the undefined of spatial development, with the emptiness, with the simultaneity of motionlessness and movement and with the contradictory unity of rural and urban landscape areas”<sup>223</sup>.

After the initial stage and transitional stage of the process of breaking up the traditional dual structure, the final stage is more of a kind of scenario oriented thinking. Though it is a reality in many western countries characterized by social structure of post modernity or post industry, it is yet far beyond the spatial development achievements in contemporary China. If we make it an ideal type<sup>224</sup> which Max Weber used as his methodologically analytical model to have an imagination of future spatial structure in China, it can be described as the simultaneity of realization of modernization in different regions, where the traditional definition of the developed and the developing in dual social and economic structure is challenged and will be abolished, and where regional differences will be mainly featured by pluralistic planned development with natural identities. This ideal type will be based,

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<sup>223</sup> Christl Drey, (2004) p121

<sup>224</sup> Max Weber, (1997), (1958)

according to Detlev, on the thinking of spatial socialization,<sup>225</sup> which, with pluralistic landscape construction, is elaborated totally different from the dualistic definition of the developed and the developing. In this ideal type, new invention of models of modernization and industrialization will realize through interchanges of different kind of developing resources. A good example is the emergence of the form of Fordism, from which we can think that each region with new mechanism of politics and market in China can have the export and import of special kinds of goods, services and ideas or forms of capital as resources of life with its own characteristic identities. Another example is the practice of “construction of new countryside”<sup>226</sup> under way in China with new definitions of standards of modernization. To make it clear, my imagination of the spatial structure can be as the model below. (See figure 4.5)

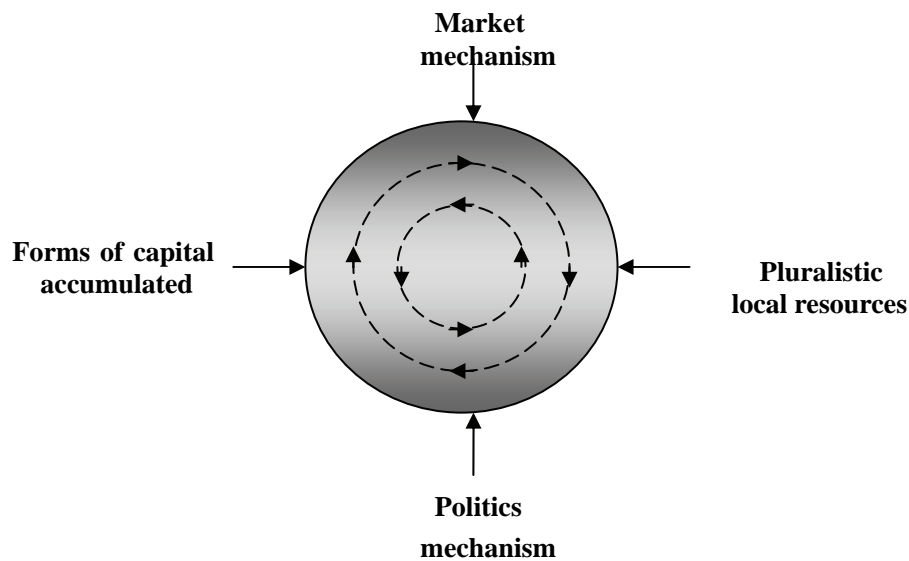
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<sup>225</sup> Detlev Ipsen, (1987)

<sup>226</sup> The Outline of China National 11th Five –Year –Plan for Social and Economic Development, passed by National People’s Congress, 2006



**Figure 4.5: The Ideal Type of Future Spatial Structure**



In this ideal type of configuration, the traditional segmentations in space caused by the effect of dualism no longer exist. The dotted line in the figure is just more or less the meaning of geographic edge of border of regions. This does not mean the loss of labor division of social group, neither does it manifest the vanishing of regional identities, rather more than that, it means that a social space where the diversity of option, both physical and spiritual, will be produced by each one's decision making on the process of modernization. On the contrary, with the continuous process of spacing, the on-going of effects as fielding will be more efficient and influential than ever before. A new form of space regulated with the integration of forms of capital and characterized by pluralistic modernization standards will be appearing finally in most regions in China.

### 4.3.2 Field Effects with Capitals Functioning

As we have observed earlier, field making as spatial practice with ongoing active effects by spacing is often based on the structural changes of space. In addition to all of the flows moving between regions, there must be the drives of the flowing factors. These drives, which can be regarded as mechanisms to push forward the social process, are always important for academic consideration. As findings in this research, we should carry on even further to do analysis of these mechanisms.

From the macro and micro studies in previous chapters, two mechanisms have been effective all the time, which caused the fielding between regions. One is the market orientation with associated elements, and the other is the institutional arrangements with innovations.

Years ago, the conventional economic theory concluded that the market as the invisible hand<sup>227</sup> has without exception been forceful whenever people start to have exchanges of products as one of the two factors of commodity<sup>228</sup>. In the case of migration followed by flows of all forms of capital, the rule of exchange is also essential.

It is always the case that the economic capital has its priority as the most important resource for regional development. As we have found in Bourdieu's theory, other forms of capital, when they are effective, can be

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<sup>227</sup> Adam Smith, (2004 Chinese version)

<sup>228</sup> Karl Marx, (2004 Chinese version)

interchangeable often in the results back to the form of economic capital. Thus we can start with the analysis on the effects of economic capital. On the individual level, a migrant as an employee can have supply of his labor for exchange of income from the employer. Then, when his income as economic capital is sent back home, his family members can have it for the exchanges for goods, either material or spiritual, with that for the improvement of quality of life. Even if a migrant goes back with rather rich social and cultural capital, he still needs to use money accumulated to have exchanges for materials of production in market so that he is able to have a restart of his business.

On the social level, there have also been exchanges in another sense of market between organizations, either economic or governmental. In business sector, the labor services companies or agencies, between the areas of origin and destination, can be cases typical enough to prove the power of market mechanism. Actually the interviews with organizers of migration in all the field trip areas all showed the success of utilization of labor market. While in political sector, the sense of market has only to be enlarged, the governments may have exchanges for what they really find is lacking. An example is “the cooperative framework agreement” with regional exchange of different kinds of resources, including human

capital between regions, which cover nine provinces and two SARs<sup>229</sup> in the so-called Pan Pearl River Delta in south China.<sup>230</sup>

It seems that this is the economic capital domination or orientation for development. Actually, if we then turn to interpret the effectiveness of other forms of capital, they are also reliable resources for development. For instance, the return migrant, owner of the Fuda Bamboo Co. Ltd in Nanchong, as it was described in Chapter 3, has succeeded in making use of his social capital and cultural capital. With new ideas of business management by absorbing the contract working groups as partners and his other social network built up during migration, his enterprise has been established with efficient organization of work and wide occupation of urban markets. There are many other examples of these. Some even show that the other forms of capital, however, beside changes back to economic capital or as money makers when functioning in running business, can be effective in social development toward modernization as well, such as ideas of new rural house construction with urban design in style to improve the quality of life, the large investment to children's education and so forth.

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<sup>229</sup> SAR is abbreviated form of Special Administrative Region, the two SARs now in China refer to Hong Kong and Macao.

<sup>230</sup> Note: The exchange of human resources is just one. In the past years from 2003 to 2006, there have already been 65 agreements of cooperation between regions which covered 17 areas with 12000 social and economic programs in process. See the website: <http://www.nanfangdaily.com.cn/southnews/fzsj/200703090522.asp>

No matter how the market mechanism would work on individual level or social level, we can conclude that it has great impact on regional or trans-regional development with field effects. In another sense, it is the market mechanism that has built up such strong linkages with exchange within or between regions that the fielding based on spacing can be realized.

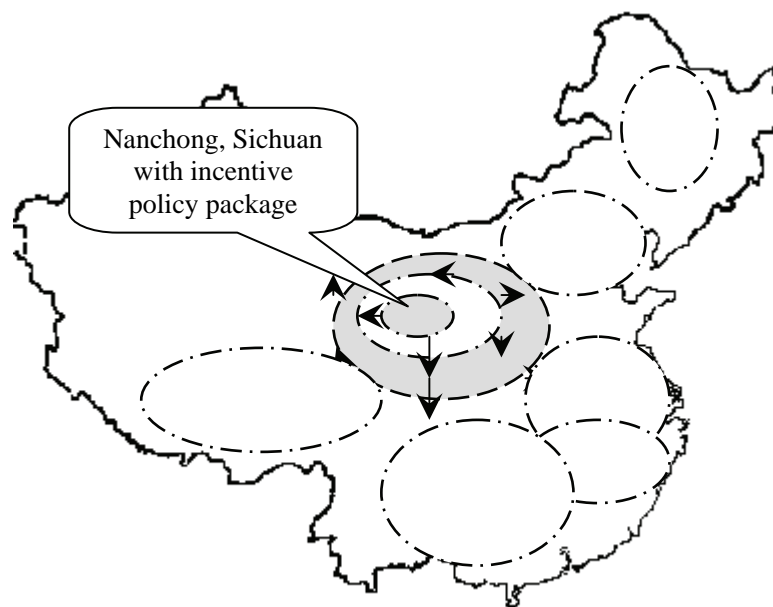
In addition to the market mechanism, another driving factor of fielding is the institutional arrangement. Derived from planning system, China's development seems to be very much correlated with government guiding domination. However, this mechanism differs in the ways of impact because there can be always different local government creation which brings about exceptions even if the macro policy base is in common.

As we have had detailed discussion already in the chapter of how the central government policy can be of so decisive power in controlling the movement of population in scale and direction, we will here mainly focus on the policy mechanism as institutional arrangement on the micro level.

Again we can turn back to the very pragmatic case of Nanchong in Sichuan. As we have described in the micro study in Chapter 3, the return migration is very well organized in the suburban towns or villages of the city, with successful new startups of maximum use of local resources for industries of plantation, bamboo processing, wine, paper producing, breed

aquatics, etc. It is very obvious that beside the market mechanism functioning as in many regions the typical policy mechanism built in this region have special field effect here with incentive institutions like government loan, preferential land use, tax deduction, plan of economic corridor for remigration economy and so forth. Thus the case can be defined as a real sense of emergence of development pole of drive with its own innovation of policy mechanism just for the region. The imaginative effect of this is a typical example of placing with regional intuitional arrangements as shown in figure 4.6.

**Figure 4.6: Fielding in a region with incentive policy**



Field effect based on spacing can be dynamic as well as pragmatic across region and it can be within a region as well, especially when the

local government initiates its own innovative institutional arrangements for creation of development of opportunities in time. The arrangements as that of incentive policy package in Nanchong of Sichuan, when it functions as political mechanism, can turn to be a decisive new source in the form of political capital, which will prove to be a solid foundation with regional identity for pluralistic regional development as placing in the regions all around the country.

#### **4.3.3 Pluralistic Development with Regional Identity**

The pluralistic regional development has actually started already in recent years in China since more and more academic and political attention has now been paid to the recognition and understanding of local advantages. One extremely significant and important example is the newly promulgated outline of the national 11<sup>th</sup> five-year-plan for social and economic development. In this top level strategic plan, for the first time the sense of regional development has changed from the traditional geographic and economic level domination to the function oriented guidance. The formerly defined east, central and west regions characterized by economic growth as the coastal and interior terminology are no longer highly stressed, instead, with mentioning of some geographically shaped areas, the national land space is divided into four

types of functioning regions. In these regions new strategies shed light more on the functioning models as the optimized development, the key program headed development, the resources controlled development and the development with non-exploitation of natural resources<sup>231</sup>.

As strategic plan with harmonized social guideline principles for the whole national spatial development, the dominating rules can really restructure and adjust the development effects in systematic orders. But being so macro as central government policy, it is still far beyond pragmatic operation with spatial practice in respective regions. For instance, who is the main force as human resources for the development? With what initiatives can the development proceed? And how can people in a region in China be well organized for efficient development? If we really would make startup of pluralistic regional development for any spaces, by no means should these be neglected.

First of all, in this of study with cases from coastal and interior regions, which combines the migration and spatial development, we have found the largest and strongest group of population for pluralistic regional development are rural migrants either outgoing, returning or third-place moving. This population in China, 100 million now and maybe 200 million in 10 years of time, when moving with amounts of accumulation of earned money, growing creative lebenswelt, and new ways of working

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<sup>231</sup> The Outline of China National 11th Five –Year –Plan for Social and Economic Development, passed by National People’s Congress, 2006



habitus<sup>232</sup>, they can become simultaneously the construction force of regions either of their origins or of different sorts of destinations.

Followed by the human resources, would be the resources generated from the movement of migrant population, namely the economic capital, the social capital and the cultural capital. In general, these can be somewhat effective in any regions for the development with more input to traditional sectors of production and new modernized ways of consumption, which we have found from all the interviewees from different provinces. But their use can be also very particular if migrants find themselves capable to take the advantages of regional resources for their own business and economy, which compose of parts of the regional development. The Nanchong case is one of the best.

Even with the process of spacing, with the rich flowing resources into a region, local natural advantages should be identified for development. In Nanchong, the returned migrants found use for the endless and reproduced natural resource of bamboo, which can form an economic cluster and start a chain of industry. While in other places, there must be other sources for development as well. The natural and social resources that characterize a region with different identities can be source of water, tourist landscape, network center of transportation, climate for special kinds of plantation, designing of handicraft, production of local

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<sup>232</sup> Bourdieu and Wacziarg, (1992)

specialties, etc. It then depends on how far the people can choose their own way of development. If this will be the case and this can be supported or hindered by politicians and regional planners, a model of pluralistic trends of regional development will be created with respective identities.

Finally, pluralistic regional development relies highly on regional government innovation of institutions. As in the case of Nanchong, the incentive policy as institutional arrangements characterizes the most of the regional identity for the development. Compared with other forms of capital flowing back with remigration, this is a kind of locally created political capital. This tells the truth that when special political capital investment to special region can be especially effective, the placing becomes really and finally significant, since it is the resource which can most productively and efficiently integrate all other resources for development. It has actually pointed out a way that pluralistic regional development can be in a sense facilitated by pluralistic creation of political capital.

## **4.4 Conclusions and Policy Implications**

### **4.4.1 Conclusions and Space Open for More Inclusion**

By carrying out this research, I have been trying to make efforts in changes of focuses on the integration of the issues concerning migration, remigration and the spatial development in contemporary China. In so doing, there is always combination of the studies of the modernization of the migrants themselves with accumulation of forms of capital and lebenswelt as well as the regions of their origins by the effective use of the gained resources from outgoing migration and remigration. As designed in coherent logics, on the one hand, the whole dissertation can be simply regarded as an accomplishment of one impartial study with successive causes and effects. For that purposes and by means of theoretical analysis and empirical interpretations, findings have varied from macro level at first, micro level in the middle and macro level again in the end. On the other hand, each of the four chapters in turn can be separately viewed as an independent study from which conclusions of the whole can be drawn as the following:

First of all, I tried in the beginning to unfold a picture to show the general background of the migration issue in China since as Rome was not built in a day, what we find today as the “tide of migrants” is not just

water flow without sources but the historical heritage from certain policies and strategies of certain times.<sup>233</sup> Thinking this way, my interpretation of the reasons of segmentation of rural and urban space, which made the country in long time under the dual social and economic structure, focuses mainly on blockades as “*hukou*, the urban welfare policy and the mechanism of employment”, which featured the spaces before 1980s. Compared to the institutional indebts like “*hukou*, unified sale and purchase, and people’s commune” once described as “three horse wagons”,<sup>234</sup> the interpretation of the background of the “three blockades” lead to the later breakthroughs, which were characterized by the rural reform that emancipated the labor forces from rural land, the change of economic structure with ownership that facilitated the employment in large scale in coastal urban regions, and slowly established labor market with government policies for allowance of migration from rural to urban and remigration possible.

Based on the social and demographic changes with institutional arrangements and some critical findings from related literature review on studies of theories and methodology of migration, capital, spatial development and modernization, the design of this dissertation research was made with definitions of places of field work in different regions and general assumptions of next step working purposes proposed.

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<sup>233</sup> Cai Fang, (2000), p.17

<sup>234</sup> Cai Fang (2000) P.22

Secondly, in the light of Bourdieu's theory of interpretation of development resources in forms of economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital, some empirical data collected from my field work in the years between 2003 and 2005 in Guangzhou is used to make some conclusions of rural-urban migration study from some special viewpoints. Unlike many other studies on migration done in contemporary China with emphases on motivation and experiences and embedding into urban societies in general, and some vertical comparison of generations of migrants in the process of migration, this sub-research insists on the description and interpretation of the migrants' accumulation of different forms of capital during their migration life. Upon the discussion on some hypotheses and theses put forward for this part of research, the conclusions were actually made from status of changes of generations of migrants' life to structural accumulation of forms of capitals gained. To be specific, the gaining of economic capital is just initial purposes of migration, the social and cultural capital are obtained from unexpected perception to planned pursuit, the symbolic capital is accompanied with the status change anywhere they find themselves involved.

In addition to the conclusions of this part stressing on the process of migration with accumulation of forms of capital, the formulation of migrants' lebenswelt is included as an important finding. The recognition

of the changes of migrants' lebenswelt with each individual experience from the interior rural societies to the coastal urban ones in general will have great impact on the future of their life modernization either with ongoing migration, remigration or stay in the destinations.

Thirdly, some more conclusions are drawn in from another comparative empirical study conducted in rural areas mainly in interior regions with just one exceptional case in coastal rural area focusing on spatial development with effective uses of capitals accumulated from outgoing migrants. Strongly believing that "a capital does not exit and function except in relation to a field"<sup>235</sup>, I deliberately made a design of this sub-research as an important micro level one to follow the previous study with a logic that accumulation in the destinations can be as well just for the functioning in the origins. The findings with interpretation of interview data collected from the field work with elaboration of hypotheses and theses are chiefly characterized with the following: 1) the distance between the interior region to coastal one is not important for the potentials of remigration, what can be more influential to the action taken for home return is the local institutional arrangements; 2) whether remigration and migrants' resettlements in home region, the effective use of accumulation of forms of capital will bring about spatial development in the regions of origin, these cases found in Sichuan, Jiangxi and right in

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<sup>235</sup> Bourdieu and Wacziarg, (1992) p.101

Guangdong can be startup of new business, housing construction and purchase, consumption in modern transportation and communications means, as well as new programs launched for towns and villages; 3) the different and integrated ways of using the forms of capital brings about changes of regional landscapes, which can be not only modernization of the region but also of the migrants and local people themselves; and 4) where the migrants would choose to live can be new potentials for the development and modernization of the migrants themselves as well as the places of origin, of destination and places in between.

The final chapter is actually a part which overviews and summarizes the whole research with a series of concluding remarks. To begin with, I tried to make as Henri Lefebvre once mentioned “a distinction to be drawn between the problematic of space and spatial practice”<sup>236</sup> with discussion of flow of space and hence predicted the future of flows of forms of capital effective to spatial development. In addition, scenarios of migration and remigration have been made with positive and negative sides possible for spatial practices in China, since “the segmentation, however”, according to Detlev Ipsen, “will not be maintained in the future because in the long run migrants will not be willing to accept the status of invisible population.”<sup>237</sup> Along with these and as an elaboration of the findings from the empirical studies based on all the theoretical

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<sup>236</sup> Henri Lefebvre (2000) p. 413

<sup>237</sup> Detlev Ipsen, (2005) p.31

interpretation, there came the most important conclusion that the traditional dual social and economic structure have been shaken with migration and related spacing process, the new structure of overlapping of development resources has come into being, and pluralistic ways of spatial development by construction of regional landscapes with changes by migrants' new lebenswelt can be the realization of modernization of both the regions and the people inevitably involved and covered.

Up to now as I know, the research like this in China with a combination of migration and spatial development is still quite an exploring and experimental one. I am bold to this endeavor because, beside the guidance of my advisors, I was somewhat encouraged by Edward Soja's expression of academic innovation: "If you would like to invent a different term to capture what I am trying to convey, go ahead and do so."<sup>238</sup> In spite of the imperfectness of this research, it has been conducted with new approaches rather than invention of any new term. After that and even for more wishes, I would like to leave open floors in the end for the consideration of future studies with at least three points raised: 1) based on the ways of comparison of the accumulation of forms of capital between first and second generation of migrants, the preparation of study on the third generation should be made with more

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<sup>238</sup> Edward W, Soja, (1996), p.2. It is Soja's trying of defining the term of "third space" that I am confident in combing the migration with spatial development in this dissertation.



intention of the changes of their status and lebenswelt; 2) the comparison of construction of regional landscapes both in the destination and origin contributed by migrants with planning concepts should be a new field of study as shown in the ideal type, and 3) the migrants' future movement to third places, in forms of remigration, or staying in destination can always be essential to spatial development in rather more pluralistic ways, which should attract more detailed academic attention as tendencies of spatial practices.

#### **4.4.2 Policy Implications for the Future Development**

Maintaining and promoting national integration is a primary function of national governments, as Salah once put it. The impact of such a process, however, on development disparities (inter-regional, inter-urban, and inter-personal ) depends to a large extent on the level of initial disparities in resources, levels of development, and effective shares in political power.<sup>239</sup> In our case here, the governments intervention and innovation with new policies promulgation and implementation would be of great significance either in market or planning system in the time to come.

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<sup>239</sup> Salah El-Shakhs, (1982)

The policy implications can be many concerning migration and spatial development in contemporary China, what I can do here is just make this research more pragmatic in terms of the related academic findings. The practical and specific policies of governance of a region and the administration of regulating people's action taken are usually promulgated by experts and professionals, the implications I can suggest as a small part of my research are simply perspectives to handle issues in broader senses:

1) Due to the shortage of qualified migrant worker and for the significance of the capitals that the migrants can accumulate and gain from migration, the training of rural migrants is specially in need. According to the "Peasant Workers professional training plan (2003-2010)", though there will be more financial input by each level of governments year by year, only 10% of them have been trained<sup>240</sup>. More resources should be integrated, in doing so, organizations either in the places of destination and origin should be established, with policy support to some medium bodies to launch programs for that.

2) In terms of funding for new start-up with small business for migrants back to the origin, in destinations or in third places, the investigation shows that they always found it difficult to get funds at the initial stage. This reminds me of the well known example of 2006 Nobel

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<sup>240</sup> Department of education of science and technology, Ministry of Agriculture, Document N0.16, (2003)

Peace Prize winner Muhammad Yunus's practice of his loans to support the poor from his Grameen Bank programs. There were some cases of that in Sichuan with incentive policies but seldom in Jiangxi and other places, for the future development of the migrants and of the regions as well, more related financial policies should be implemented, some non-government organizations such as foundations or consulting bodies should be encouraged to be functioning as well.

3) In order to have rational regional plan for the life modernization, it is necessary to introduce to China the method of regional management. Beside the regional plan for industrial development, township and village landscape design should be on the one hand under the government agencies subordinated to urban and rural planning bureaus related in each region and on the other hand with business running by the professional regional managers. There should be regulations for the training and selection of regional managers first, and with his or her guidance for the popularization of regional development knowledge as much as possible.

Indeed there should be more perspectives on policy implications. The above three, in my mind, can be points of departure for further rumination, but it will be beyond the scope of my research to delve into it.

## Appendices:

### Appendix I: A List of Designs for field Work

#### 1. Questionnaire Survey of Floating Population Residing In Urban Villages in Outskirts of Guangzhou

This questionnaire survey with 350 samples was designed by the author, conducted by the Institute of Sociology and sponsored by Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1995. The data achieved and analyzed could be used by the conductors and researchers concerned.

#### Part 1: Working Status

1. Your first time to Guangzhou as a migrant is \_\_\_\_\_(d/m/y)
2. Through what channel you have made your way to Guangzhou?
  - a. introduced by native friends from home region
  - b. employment posters from Guangzhou
  - c. organized by local government in hometown
  - d. come alone yourself
  - e. introduced by friends or relatives in Guangzhou
  - f. others with detailed answers:\_\_\_\_\_
3. What job you had before you came to Guangzhou(showing an answer sheet with defined choices)?
  - a. economic sector:\_\_\_\_\_
  - b. profession:\_\_\_\_\_
  - c. the ownership of the working unit:\_\_\_\_\_
4. After your arrival, you have changed your job for\_\_\_\_\_ time(s); the time you spent for job waiting is \_\_\_\_\_ month(s).
5. Please describe your job change in Guangzhou:
  - a. your first job was in \_\_\_\_\_(sector), with \_\_\_\_\_(profession) and for the employer of \_\_\_\_\_(ownership)
  - b. your second job was in \_\_\_\_\_(sector), with \_\_\_\_\_(profession) and for the employer of \_\_\_\_\_(ownership)
  - c. your present job is in \_\_\_\_\_(sector), with \_\_\_\_\_(profession) and for the employer of \_\_\_\_\_(ownership)

6. You have now \_\_\_\_\_ job(s).
7. How long do plan to work with the present job?
- just one month
  - from one month to half a year
  - from half a year to one year
  - over a year
  - for as long as possible
  - not decided yet

## Part 2: Quality of Life

8. Your last month income was \_\_\_\_\_ yuan  
Your average income each month in Guangzhou is \_\_\_\_\_ yuan
9. The money you sent back home last month was \_\_\_\_\_ yuan  
The money you send home in average each month is \_\_\_\_\_ yuan
10. the money you spend in Guangzhou each month is about \_\_\_\_\_,  
for which how much you spend on as the following?
- rent and cost of electricity and water supply \_\_\_\_\_
  - food \_\_\_\_\_
  - clothes \_\_\_\_\_
  - traffic \_\_\_\_\_
  - entertainment and social activities \_\_\_\_\_
  - others \_\_\_\_\_
11. If you rent an apartment, how do you handle the cost of it?
- share with others
  - pay by my employer
  - on my own
  - on my own but my employer pays part of it
  - other way \_\_\_\_\_
  - no answer
12. You have \_\_\_\_\_ living in one room (apartment), which covers  
as large as \_\_\_\_\_ Square meters construction floor and your  
relationship can be regarded as:

- a. family members
  - b. migrant from home area
  - c. friends
  - d. people not familiar with
  - e. relatives
  - f. others\_\_\_\_\_
  - g. colleagues
  - h. no answer
13. What is the structure of your apartment?
- a. with independent kitchen and bathroom
  - b. independent kitchen but bathroom sharing with others
  - c. independent bathroom but kitchen sharing with others
  - d. both kitchen and bathroom sharing with others
  - e. other kinds\_\_\_\_\_
  - f. no answer
14. Have you purchased the following by your own in your apartment?
- a. refrigerator
  - b. colored TV set
  - c. black-and-white TV set
  - d. washing machine
  - e. air-conditioner
  - f. furniture needed
  - g. nothing like that
15. How did you spend your last weekend?
- a. on extra shift work or on second job
  - b. watch TV or in cinema
  - c. shopping or a visit to parks
  - d. attending training a program
  - e. games playing
  - f. visits to friends or hometown fellows
  - g. drinking or eating with others
  - h. staying home just for a rest
  - i. sports
  - j. others\_\_\_\_\_
16. Your feeling of life and work in Gunagzhou is:
- a. satisfactory

- b. considerably satisfactory
- c. It's all right
- d. unsatisfactory
- e. very unsatisfactory
- f. no feeling of it

17. How many family members are there living with you in Guangzhou?

If there are \_\_\_\_\_, who are they?

- a. parents \_\_\_\_\_ ( dad or mum)
- b. spouse \_\_\_\_\_
- c. siblings \_\_\_\_\_
- d. children \_\_\_\_\_

### **Part 3: Social Security and Public Service**

18. Have you signed any labor contract with your employer?

- a. yes
- b. no
- c. unclear

19. What kind of social insurance has your employer bought for you?

- a. medical insurance
- b. accident insurance
- c. retirement insurance
- d. other \_\_\_\_\_
- e. none
- f. unclear

20. What kinds of welfare can you enjoy from your working unit?

- a. traffic stipend
- b. telephone bill stipend
- c. lunch paid
- d. working clothes (shoes or cap)

e. others \_\_\_\_\_

21. How many hours do you work in average everyday? \_\_\_\_\_Hours.
22. What do you use as transportation means to go to work usually?
- a. bus
  - b. bicycle
  - c. taxi
  - d. unit shuttle bus
  - e. on foot
23. Are you satisfied with the following facilities and social services in the city of Guangzhou? Please score them with numbers.

---

	1	2	3	4	5	no idea
a. public security						
b. medical service						
c. social justice						
d. traffic system						
e. education facilities						
f. labor market						
g. housing						
h. welfare by employers						
i. recreation life						

---

( 1. Satisfied; 2. Considerably satisfied; 3. It is alright; 4. Not very dissatisfied,; 5. Extremely dissatisfied)

#### **Part 4: Social Intercourse and Social Participation**

24. When you are encountered with the following difficulties, who do you think you would go for help?
- a. when you or your family members get ill, your first helper would be \_\_\_\_\_ , second helper would be \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. when you life problem with money shortage, your first helper would be \_\_\_\_\_ , second helper would be \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. when you have problem with work like unemployment, your first helper would be \_\_\_\_\_ , second helper would be \_\_\_\_\_



- b. when you face the problem of love affair or family troubles, your first helper would be \_\_\_\_\_ , second helper would be \_\_\_\_\_  
 ( the choice of helpers you can make: 1. yourself; 2. family members; 3. spouse; 4. hometown people; 5. Colleagues; 6. your employer; 7. “ big brother” in your group; 8. Unit; 9. Local organization; 10. Local government; 11. Friends in Guangzhou or elsewhere)
25. Are you a member of labor union? a. yes; b. no; c. no answer to it  
 Are you a member of other social organs? If yes, name it \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Do you have “big brother” to rely on? a.yes; b. no; c. no answer to it  
 Are you a member of hometown people association, if yes, name it\_\_\_\_\_
26. Can you understand and speak Cantonese?  
 a. yes,  
 b. understand but can not speak  
 c. understand only a little  
 d. nothing of the dialect
27. Do you make any friends with local people in Guangzhou?  
 a. if yes, how many\_\_\_\_\_
- b. no
28. Do you like to be with Guangzhou people?  
 a. very much  
 b. like it  
 c. it is alright  
 d. do not like  
 e. hate it very much  
 f. no idea of it
29. Have you ever participated in the local activities in Guangzhou?  
 a. if yes, the name of the event is\_\_\_\_\_.  
 b. no
- 30.What do you think of your social status in Guangzhou and what do you think of your social status in home area?  
 a. top level  
 b. upper level  
 c. middle  
 d. lower level

- e. bottom
- f. no idea of it

31. Do you often do the following?

---

	1	2	3	4	5	no idea
a. watch TV						
b. listen to radio						
c. reading newspaper						
d. reading magazines						
e. reading specialized books						

---

(1. Very often; 2. Sometimes; 3. Seldom; 4. Only few times; 5. Never)

36. Are you interested in Guangzhou local news?

- a. very interested
- b. interested
- c. just so so
- d. no interested
- e. none of my business
- f. no idea

37. How often do you contact people in home area?

---

	by visit				by telephone				by mail			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
family												
relatives												
friends												
others												

---

( 1. Seldom; 2. Sometimes; 3. Often; 4. No idea)

38. How often do you contact your relatives, friends or acquaintances in Guangzhou?

---

	by visit				by telephone				by mail			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
family												
relatives												

friends  
hometown fellows  
neighbors

---

(1. Seldom; 2. Sometimes; 3. Often; 4. No idea)

39. A. How often you go back home?

\_\_\_\_\_times last year.

B. You go back usually in the occasion of \_\_\_\_\_

- a. Spring Festival;
- b. Mid-autumn Festival;
- c. Busy farm season; d. Other time(\_\_\_\_\_)

C. Your purpose of going back home is \_\_\_\_\_

- a. family reunion
- b. to help family with farmwork
- c. new job opportunity there
- d. just have a look of home area
- e. other reasons: \_\_\_\_\_.

### Part 5: Subjective Feeling as a Migrant

40. What is your personal feeling of the following here in Guangzhou :

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	1	2	3	4	5	no idea
a. residential condition						
b. food						
c. recreational life						
d. income						
e. length of work						
f. stability of job						
g. family life						
h. health						
i. relationship with others						
j. contacts with home						

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(1. Satisfied; 2. Considerably satisfied; 3. It is alright; 4. Not very dissatisfied,; 5. Extremely dissatisfied)

41. What are your comments on the following view of value concerning Gaungzhou?

- 
- |  |   |   |   |   |         |
|--|---|---|---|---|---------|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | no idea |
|--|---|---|---|---|---------|
- a. Here is a golden place for moneymakers
  - b. Here is a place that only recognizes money
  - c. There is no feeling of safety in the city
  - d. The competition is too serious for us to stay
  - e. The government here should show more concern to us migrants
  - f. Life here is tiresome comparing to home area
  - g. There are too many regulations here which make me nervure
  - h. The city is an example for my hometown to follow
  - i. There is a sharp contrast between the poor and the rich here
  - j. The migrants should have same chances of job obtaining as the local inhabitants
  - k. The food here is strange for migrants

---

( 1. Absolutely right; 2. I agree; 3. I don't agree; 4. Objection)

42. Please evaluate the degree of importance of the following:

- 
- |  |   |   |   |   |   |         |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | no idea |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
- a. money
  - b. career development
  - c. marriage/ love affair
  - d. contribution to society
  - e. filial obedience to older generation
  - f. material enjoyment
  - g. to be healthy
  - h. others you find \_\_\_\_\_

---

(1. very important; 2. Considerably important; 3. Neutral; 4.



- a. single
  - b. married
  - c. divorced
  - d. widowed
8. What do you think of your family economic status in your home area?
- a. top level
  - b. upper level
  - c. middle
  - d. lower level
  - e. bottom
  - f. no idea of it

## **2. An Outline Designed for Interviews with Migrants in Destination Areas**

1. Personal Data ( age, gender, originated from, level of education, marital status ...)
2. Time ( length of time) of going out, ways of migration, motivation ( economic, psychological, following the tide, other kinds...)
3. Feeling of work in cities ( hours per day, strength of labor, ways of working, experiences gained from work)
4. Feeling of urban life ( material life including food, lodging, transportation, consumption of clothes and spiritual life as self-study, enjoyment of leisure time, training, etc)
5. Sense of satisfaction and safety ( income, quality of life, loneliness, ways of handling difficulties and trouble )
6. Communication circle in destination (relationship with local people, country fellow. colleagues, ways of communication)
7. Comments on modern urban life ( likes and dislikes, longing or

denying, why ?)

8. Home linkage ( ways and frequency of contacts, economical and informational)
9. Achievements from migration work ( income, skills, sense of market, open-mindedness, rules of management, modern way of life...)
10. Views on hometown development and outgoing migration ( requirements for development, importance of flow of money and more...)
11. Expectation for personal development in the future ( stay in the urban destination, go back home for development, find a third place to work and live, why for each choice)

### **3. An Outline Designed for Interviews with those Involving in Return Migration**

1. Interviewee's personal data ( age, gender, marital status, level of education, family background in the village or town)
2. Out going experiences ( time, name of destination, working conditions, ways of life, money saved )
3. Expectation when going out ( stay outside, making preparation for development back home, other plans, why? )
4. Achievements from past migration( income, relations, information, understanding of modern urban life, which one is the most important, why ?)
5. Reasons for return migration ( family ties, local relation resources, policy, market, capital enough for development, skills adequate for development...)

6. Feelings for remigration (difficult, easy, why ?)
7. Expectation for return migration ( business, village head, farming, others only for construction of home area? )
8. What is the most decisive factor for self development home ( monetary capital, policy, experiences from past migration, relations home and outside, skills learned, and others ? )
9. Comments on other migrants success or failure of development either in the origins or destination ( name special cases)
10. Comments on life in home area ( backwardness, shortage of resources, ways of life, can be improved with new value, hopeless? )
11. What you would do when becoming a millionaire ( invest more for production, high level of consumption, larger input in children's education, ...)
12. What will be required for home area development ( technology, policy, monetary investment, education, human resources... )
13. Near future plan ( stay home for development, going out to coastal urban areas again, live and work in small cities nearby, why ?)
14. Expectation to the local government ( policy, loan, new ways of administration, ...)
15. What is the most impressive differences between rural and urban life, can it be changed? How? ( life style, working style and more ...)



## **Appendix II. A List of Unpublished Documents**

Yu, Jing, Explanation of the promulgation of *Regulation of Management of Migrant Population in Guangzhou*, as consultant paper to the government organs of the city in 2005

*Decision Making and Consultation for Guangzhou Government*, 2<sup>nd</sup> issue, 1995, government working bulletin.

*Application for Migration Investigation in Urban Areas* by Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences, working report (1995)

Huang, Shiding, Working Paper entitled “Management of Moving Society” as part of his study on migrant issues in the city in 2002

Zhou, Cuiling, et al: “Suggestions for Organization Work of Migration and Remigration in Chonghua”, Working Paper to Government organs related in 2005.

### Appendix III. A List Interviews

The following is a list of interviews that I have conducted on my field work trip during the year of 2001- 2005 and have cited in the dissertation. I have fifty four interviews recorded and translated into English, forty three of which were with migrants in destination (D), migrants back home( H) and villagers, and eleven with government officials, labor market organizers, employers and others. To protect the identity of my interviewees, I hereby cite only by broad occupation categories. Interviews not cited are not listed in this table.

<b>Interview#</b>	<b>identity</b>	<b>occupation</b>	<b>year</b>	<b>Site of interview</b>
Interview#1	employer	business	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#2	manager	HRadm	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#3	migrant (D)	worker	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#4	migrant (D)	worker	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#5	migrant (D)	technician	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#6	migrant( D)	worker	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#7	migrant (D)	worker	2002	Guangzhou
Interview#8	migrant (D)	guard	2003	Guangzhou
Interview#9	migrant( D)	worker	2003	Guangzhou
Interview#10	migrant( D)	administration	2003	Guangzhou
Interview#11	migrant (D)	worker	2003	Guangzhou
Interview#12	migrant (D)	receptionist	2004	Guangdong
Interview#13	official	magistrate	2004	Guangdong
Interview#14	migrant(D)	worker	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#15	migrant(D)	worker	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#16	villager	village head	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#17	villager	peasant	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#18	migrant(D)	worker	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#19	migrant(H)	jobless	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#20	villager	peasant	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#21	villager	peasant	2003	Jiangxi
Interview#22	teacher	teaching	2004	Jiangxi
Interview#23	official	town head	2003	Jiangxi

Interview#24	manager	labor service	2005	Jiangxi
Interview#25	migrant(H)	pig raising	2003	Sichuan
Interview#26	migrant(H)	entrepreneur	2003	Sichuan
Interview#27	migrant(H)	businessman	2003	Sichuan
Interview#28	migrant(H)	entrepreneur	2003	Sichuan
Interview#29	migrant(H)	businessman	2003	Sichuan
Interview#30	migrant(H)	business*	2003	Sichuan
Interview#31	migrant(H)	worker	2002	Sichuan
Interview#32	migrant(H)	worker	2002	Sichuan
Interview#33	migrant(H)	entrepreneur	2002	Sichuan
Interview#34	migrant(H)	entrepreneur	2003	Sichuan
Interview#35	migrant(H)	businessman	2003	Sichuan
Interview#36	migrant(H)	culturist	2003	Sichuan
Interview#37	migrant(H)	worker	2003	Sichuan
Interview#38	official	town head	2003	Sichuan
Interview#39	clerk	labor service	2003	Sichuan
Interview#40	official	town leader	2005	Guangzhou

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## Yongning Li ( Resume)

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Objective: Attachment in the dissertation as background of the author

### Professional

Title : Director & Associate Prof, Institute of International  
Studies , GASS. PRC ( current position)

### Research

Experience: 2006-2007

- Preparation of a research program of “Peri-urbanization of PRD funded by DGF as coordinator and member of a research group headed by Prof. Detlev Ipsen, and Prof. Peter Herrle from Germany
- Organizer of a local research program on “the Main Feature and index system of internationalization of Guangzhou metropolis”

2005-2006

- Invited by Asian Institute of Urban Studies of Fuguka , Japan to do a cooperative research on “Government Policy Study in internationalization of East Asian Urban regions” .

2004-2005

- Organizer of a local government research on “The strategic positioning and planning of Guangzhou in Regional International Division of labor” .
- Study of Guangzhou urban features and work as city presenter for the application of Guangzhou’s holding of 2010 Asian Games

2003-2004

- Worked as guest professor at university of Kassel, Germany, giving lectures on “urban planning In China” and “Regional Development of PRD in South China”.
- Field work with experts and students to PRD in Guangdong for regional development study and participated in the editing of the book entitled *The Genesis of Urban landscapes: development of PRD of South China*” .

1997-2002

- Comparative studies on Social Insurances System and Related Political Economic Policies between US and China at the time of 1990’s. at Harvard University, US (1997-1998) .
- Establishment work for the Institute of International Studies with design of research area of city and regional internationalization .
- Chief Organizer with the association of world Metropolis for International conference “A new millennium: Information Society and Urban Development”

1992-1996

- Sociological research on migration issues in South China with an organizing work of a survey on migrants conducted in 1995.
- Participation in a national investigation program on Status quo of the Country, Guangdong Part.

- Education
- B.A. English Language and Culture, Department of Foreign Language, Jiangxi University, P.R.C (1986)
  - M.A . Sociology (specializing in community study), Department of sociology, Dr. San Yesan University, PRC (1989)
  - Visiting Scholar, department of Sociology, Minnesota university, Yanching School of Harvard University (1997-1998)
  - PhD candidate of Planning Science, Faculty of architecture, urban and landscape planning, Kassel university, Germany , (from 1999 on)

- Contributions  
to Recent
- “Urbanization as social Construction and its Relationship with Natural landscapes in PRD of South China,” presentation to 13<sup>th</sup> German sociological congress, Kassel, Germany, 10/2006.

- International  
Conferences
- “Landscape as City Image of Guangzhou and related policies for its Internationalization”, to an international symposium on strategies of Internationalization of East Asian Metropolises, Fuguka, Japan, 12/2005.
  - “Paradox and Ways out: Urbanization Modes in PRD of South China”, to an Urban Development Forum in Birmingham university, Birmingham, UK, 10/2005

- Selected
- “Toward Urban China: Comments on a Few Newest Urban Research Theories” ( in Chinese), in *South China Review* first issue of 2007.

- Publications
- “Analysis of the Modes of Internationalization Shaped in Guangzhou” ,( in Japanese), paper collection of the cooperative research on strategies of Internationalization of East Asian Metropolises, Fuguka, Japan, 3/2006.
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Arrangement and Strategic Planning in the PRD,” background chapter of the book entitled *the Genesis of Urban landscape of the Pearl River Delta In South China*, Kassel university Press, Germany, 12/2005.

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- “Asean Plus 1 and plus 3: Inner Globalization of the International Region”(in Chinese), in journal of *Open Times*, 3<sup>rd</sup> issue, 2003.
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## Erklärung

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Kassel/Guangzhou, 7. März 2007

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